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THE VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE
COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

A HISTORY OF
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
VOLUME IX

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THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

EDITED BY A. J. FLETCHER



THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
INSTITUTE OF
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

INSCRIBED TO THE
MEMORY OF HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE THE TITLE TO
AND ACCEPTED THE DEDICATION
OF THIS HISTORY

A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER

EDITED BY N. M. HERBERT

VOLUME IX

BRADLEY HUNDRED

THE NORTHLEACH AREA
OF THE COTSWOLDS

PUBLISHED FOR
THE INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
BY
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
2001



NORTHLEACH CHURCH: THE SOUTH PORCH

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frontispiece: Northleach church porch. Photograph by A. F. Kersting. Reproduced by permission of Mr. Kersting.

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VICTORIA HISTORY OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Volume Nine is the fruit of a partnership formed to produce the *Victoria History of Gloucestershire* in March 1996 by the Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education, Gloucestershire County Council, and the University of London's Institute of Historical Research. That replaced the arrangement, made in 1958, under which the County Council and the Institute collaborated to produce the previous seven volumes of the Gloucestershire set. Under the new partnership the College employs the two members of the county staff (Dr. Nicholas Herbert, County Editor since 1970, and Dr. John Juřica, Assistant Editor since 1973), who in addition to compiling the History contribute to the work of the History School at the College. For its part, the County Council makes an annual grant to the College of a little under half the total cost of the project and continues, as before, to provide the staff with accommodation and other office facilities at the Gloucestershire Record Office. The Institute, as before, directs the work and meets the printing and publication costs. An Advisory Board, composed of representatives of the three bodies, supervises the project and receives annual reports from the County Editor. The agreement of 1996, which was to run for five years, has now been renewed for a further five-year term from April 2001. The University of London wishes to record its warm thanks and deep gratitude for the generous support by the College and the County Council.

Volume Nine was compiled under the direction of the General Editor, Dr. C. R. J. Currie, who retired in 2000 but continued to advise on its final stages in his role as V.C.H. Consultant Editor. Professor Anthony Fletcher became Director and General Editor of the V.C.H. in January 2001.

The authors and editors of the volume have drawn widely on the help, information, and advice of many people, among them Mrs. S. Ballance of Northleach, Capt. J. J. D. Barrow of Farmington, Maj. C. R. W. Bradford, agent of the Stowell Park estate, Mrs. A. Brazington of Farmington, Mr. P. Clark, formerly of Cold Aston, Lt.-Col. R. A. Coxwell-Rogers of Coberley, Mr. R. M. Courtenay Lord of Compton Abdale, Professor C. C. Dyer of Birmingham University, who gave his advice on the deserted medieval settlements of the area, Messrs. G. J. Green of Northleach, B. C. Frith of Gloucester, E. Hulton of Turkdean, T. R. Handy of Lower Hampen, T. Jackson of Sevenhampton, Mrs. D. Mellor of Withington, members of the Mustoe family of Turkdean, Mr. J. W. Stevens of Foxcote, Mrs. A. Sale of Dowdeswell, Mr. J. L. and Mrs. J. Stringer of Whittington, Mr. D. Tongue of Hazleton, Lord and Lady Vestey of Stowell, Mr. G. and Mrs. E. Whent of Northleach, and the Hon. E. R. H. Wills of Farmington. All those, together with other individuals and institutions named in the footnotes to the articles, are most cordially thanked.

For allowing access to records in their possession thanks are offered to Mr. H. W. G. Elwes of Colesbourne, the earl of Scarbrough of Sandbeck Park (Yorks.), Mr. and Mrs. Stringer, the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College, the County Archivists of Lincolnshire, Surrey, Wiltshire, and Worcestershire, the City Archivist of Bristol, and (in respect of estate records of Oxford colleges) the Dean and Canons of Christ Church, the President and Scholars of Corpus Christi, and the Provost and Scholars of Queen's.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The staff of the Gloucestershire Record Office under the County and Diocesan Archivist Mr. D. J. H. Smith continued their indispensable aid; Mr. Smith, who for many years gave his support and encouragement to the Gloucestershire V.C.H., retired in 2000 to be succeeded by Mr. N. W. Kingsley. The staff of the Gloucester Library, home of the Gloucestershire Collection, continued their help, and the library of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, from 1998 housed at the Cheltenham and Gloucester College, remained an invaluable resource.

The structure, aims, and progress of the Victoria History as a whole are described in the *General Introduction* (1970) and its *Supplement* (1990).

LIST OF CLASSES OF DOCUMENTS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

USED IN THIS VOLUME WITH THEIR CLASS NUMBERS

Chancery

	Proceedings
C 1	Early
C 2	Series I
C 3	Series II
C 60	Fine Rolls
C 66	Patent Rolls
C 78	Decree Rolls Masters' Exhibits
C 115	Duchess of Norfolk Deeds (including Llanthony cartularies and registers) Inquisitions Post Mortem
C 138	Series I, Hen. V
C 139	Hen. VI
C 140	Edw. IV and V
C 142	Series II
C 143	Inquisitions ad quod damnum

Court of Common Pleas

	Feet of Fines
CP 25/1	Series I
CP 25/2	Series II
CP 40	De Banco Rolls
CP 43	Recovery Rolls

Exchequer, King's Remembrancer

	Decrees and Orders
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E 150	Series II
E 159	Memoranda Rolls Miscellaneous Books
E 164	Series I
E 178	Special Commissions of Inquiry
E 179	Subsidy Rolls, etc.
E 210	Ancient Deeds, Series D

Exchequer, Augmentation Office

E 301	Certificates of Colleges and Chantries
E 309	Enrolment of Leases
E 310	Particulars of Leases
E 315	Miscellaneous Books

Exchequer, First Fruits and Tenths Office

E 331	Bishops' Certificates of Institutions to Benefices
-------	---

Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's and Pipe Offices

E 368	Memoranda Rolls
-------	-----------------

Ministry of Education

ED 7	Public Elementary Schools, Preliminary Statements
------	--

Registry of Friendly Societies

	Indexes to Rules and Amendments
FS 2	Series I
FS 4	Series II

Home Office

HO 107	Census Returns 1841 and 1851
HO 129	Ecclesiastical Returns

Justices Itinerant

JUST 1	Eyre Rolls, Assize Rolls, etc.
JUST 3	Gaol Delivery Rolls

Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Food

MAF 68	Agricultural Returns: Parish Summaries
--------	---

Probate

PROB 11	Registered copies of wills proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury
---------	---

Court of Requests

REQ 2	Proceedings
-------	-------------

General Register Office

RG 9	Census Returns 1861
RG 10	1871
RG 11	1881
RG 12	1891

Special Collections

SC 2	Court Rolls
SC 6	Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts Rentals and Surveys
SC 12	Portfolios

Court of Star Chamber

	Proceedings
STAC 1	Hen. VII
STAC 3	Edw. VI
STAC 8	Jas. I

SELECT LIST OF ACCUMULATIONS IN
THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Deposited Collections		D 2957	deeds transferred from the Gloucestershire Collection at Gloucester Library
D 45	Whitmore family of Upper and Lower Slaughter	D 3168	Gloucestershire Community Council
D 181	Sewell, Rawlings, and Logie of Cirencester (solicitors)	D 3418	Cheltenham Methodist circuit
D 182	Mullings, Ellett, & Co. of Cirencester (solicitors)	D 3469	charities review papers compiled by L. S. Duirs
D 184	Craven family	D 4084	Francis, Wickins, & Hill of Stow-on-the-Wold (solicitors)
D 245	Thomas and Robert Hughes of Cheltenham (solicitors)	D 4431	deeds collected by Sir Thomas Phillpps
D 269a	Rogers and Coxwell-Rogers families of Dowdeswell	D 4858	Young & Gilling of Cheltenham (estate agents)
D 269c	Browne family of Salperton	D 6148	Waller family of Farmington
D 398	Northleach borough records		
D 444	Lawrence family of Sevenhampton and Whittington	Gloucester Diocesan Records (G.D.R.)	
D 621	Chamberlayne family of Mangersbury	B 4	court papers
D 627	Rogers and Coxwell-Rogers families of Dowdeswell	F 1	faculties
D 678	Sherborne estate	G 2	leases
D 855	Agg-Gardner family of Cheltenham	K 2	deeds
D 936	dean and chapter of Gloucester	T 1	tithe awards
D 1375	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (Royce collection)	V 1	bishop's transcripts
		V 5	glebe terriers
		vols.	volumes of the diocesan registry
		wills	probate copies of wills proved in consistory court
D 1381	Waller & Son of Gloucester (architects)	Quarter Sessions Records	
D 1388	Mullings, Ellett, & Co. of Cirencester (solicitors)	Administration	
D 1405	Davis, Champion, & Payne of Stroud (estate agents)	Q/AV	victuallers
D 1740	dean and chapter of Gloucester	Registration	
D 1878	Stowell Park estate	Q/REl	elections, land tax
D 2052	notes on nonconformity compiled by G. Dutton	Q/RI	inclosure awards
D 2299	Bruton, Knowles, & Co. (estate agents)	Q/RNc	papists' estates
D 2428	land valuation records compiled under the Finance Act of 1910	Q/RSf	friendly societies
D 2440	Hicks Beach family of Williamstrip and Witcombe Park	Q/RUm	public works
D 2593	Fulljames and Waller of Gloucester (architects)	The Court in Session	
D 2850	Rogers and Coxwell-Rogers families of Dowdeswell	Q/SIb	indictment books
D 2871	papers of Helen O'Neil of Northleach	Q/SO	order books
		Q/SR	order rolls
		Q/SRh	highway diversions
		Other Records	
		A	prints
		AP	Acts of Parliament
		CBR	Cheltenham borough records
		CE/M	county council education committee minutes

LIST OF ACCUMULATIONS IN THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE RECORD OFFICE

Other Records (cont.)

DA	district councils and superseded authorities	P	parish records
		S	schools
EL	catalogues of records in other archive repositories	Pamphlets	
G	boards of guardians	CH	charities
GPS	photographs	NC	nonconformity
HB	highway boards	PA	parish histories
K	county council records deposited after 1974	SL	sale particulars

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

Among the abbreviations and short titles used the following may require elucidation:

Acreage Returns, 1905	Board of Agriculture Acreage Returns of 1905, from a MS. copy in possession of the editor, V.C.H. Glos.
<i>Alum. Cantab.</i>	<i>Alumni Cantabrigienses 1752-1900</i> , ed. J.A. Venn (6 vols. 1940-54)
<i>Alum. Oxon.</i>	<i>Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714</i> , ed. J. Foster (4 vols. 1891-2); <i>1715-1886</i> , ed. J. Foster (4 vols. 1887-8)
Atkyns, <i>Glos.</i>	R. Atkyns, <i>Ancient and Present State of Glostershire</i> (1712)
<i>B. & G. Par. Rec.</i>	<i>Guide to the Parish Records of the City of Bristol and County of Gloucester</i> , ed. I. Gray and E. Ralph (B.G.A.S. 1963)
B.G.A.S.	Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
B.L.	British Library (used in references to documents transferred from the British Museum)
<i>Bibliotheca Glos.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis: Collections of Scarce and Curious Tracts Illustrative of and Published during the Civil War</i> (2 vols. Gloucester, priv. print. 1825)
Bigland, <i>Glos.</i>	<i>Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester, Printed from the Original Papers of Ralph Bigland</i> (3 vols. 1791-1889, issued in parts; vol. iii is unpaginated)
<i>Bk. of Fees</i>	<i>Book of Fees</i> (3 vols. H.M.S.O. 1920-31)
Bristol R.O.	Bristol Record Office
Bryant, <i>Map of Glos.</i> (1824)	A. Bryant, <i>Map of the County of Gloucester in the years 1823 & 1824</i> (1824)
<i>Cal. Chart. R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1903-27)
<i>Cal. Close</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1892-1963)
<i>Cal. Cttee. for Compounding</i>	<i>Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, etc.</i> (H.M.S.O. 1889-92)
<i>Cal. Doc. France</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland</i> , ed. J. H. Round (H.M.S.O. 1899)
<i>Cal. Fine R.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1911-62)
<i>Cal. Inq. Misc.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1916-68)
<i>Cal. Inq. p.m.</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1904-1995)
<i>Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII</i>	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem, Henry VII</i> (H.M.S.O. 1898-1955)
<i>Cal. Papal Reg.</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> (H.M.S.O. 1893-1961)
<i>Cal. Pat.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1891-1986)
<i>Cal. S.P. Dom.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series</i> (H.M.S.O. 1856-1972)
<i>Camd. Misc.</i> xxii	<i>Camden Miscellany</i> , xxii (Camden 4th series i), including 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201', ed. D. Walker
<i>Cart. Sax.</i> ed. Birch	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , ed. W. de Gray Birch (3 vols. 1885-93)
<i>Cat. Anct. D.</i>	<i>Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1890-1915)
<i>Ciren. Cart.</i>	<i>Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey</i> , ed. C. D. Ross and M. Devine (3 vols. 1964, 1977)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Cod. Dipl.</i> ed. Kemble	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i> , ed. J. M. Kemble (6 vols. 1839–48)
Colvin, <i>Biog. Dict. Brit. Architects</i>	H. Colvin, <i>Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840</i> (1978)
<i>Complete Peerage</i>	G. E. C[ockayne] and others, <i>Complete Peerage</i> ... (2nd edn., 13 vols. 1910–59)
<i>Compton Census</i> , ed. Whiteman	<i>Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition</i> , ed. A. Whiteman (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new series x, Oxford, 1986)
<i>1801 Crop Returns Eng.</i> i	<i>1801 Crop Returns for England</i> , i, ed. M. Turner (List and Index Society, clxxxix, 1978)
<i>Cur. Reg. R.</i>	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i> (H.M.S.O. 1923–72)
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Davis, <i>Glos. Brasses</i>	C. T. Davis, <i>Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire</i> (1899)
Devon R.O.	Devon Record Office, Exeter
Dugdale, <i>Mon.</i>	W. Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley and others (6 vols. 1817–30)
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Eccl. Misc.</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical Miscellany</i> (B.G.A.S. Records Section, xi, 1976), including ‘Survey of Diocese of Gloucester, 1603’, ed. A. C. Percival and W. J. Sheils
<i>Educ. Enq. Abstract</i>	<i>Education Enquiry Abstract</i> , H.C. 62 (1835), xli
<i>Educ. of Poor Digest</i>	<i>Digest of Returns to the Select Committee on Education of the Poor</i> , H.C. 224 (1819), ix (1)
<i>Feud. Aids</i>	<i>Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (H.M.S.O. 1899–1920)
Finberg, <i>Early Charters of W. Midlands</i>	H. P. R. Finberg, <i>Early Charters of the W. Midlands</i> (Leicester, 1961)
Fosbrooke, <i>Glos.</i>	T. D. Fosbrooke, <i>Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts Respecting the County of Gloucester, Formed into a History</i> (2 vols. Gloucester, 1807)
G.D.R.	Gloucester Diocesan Records (see above, <i>Glos. R.O.</i> accumulations)
<i>Glos. C. C. Mins.</i>	<i>Gloucestershire County Council... Minutes of Proceedings and Reports of Committees, etc.</i>
<i>Glos. Ch. Bells</i>	M. Bliss and F. Sharpe, <i>Church Bells of Gloucestershire</i> (Gloucester, 1986)
<i>Glos. Ch. Notes</i>	<i>Gloucestershire Church Notes</i> , by S. R. Glynne, ed. W. P. W. Phillimore and J. Melland Hall (1902)
<i>Glos. Ch. Plate</i>	<i>Church Plate of Gloucestershire</i> , ed. J. T. Evans (B.G.A.S. 1906)
<i>Glos. Colln.</i>	The Gloucestershire Collection, in Gloucester Library, comprising printed works, manuscripts, prints and drawings, etc.
<i>Glos. N. & Q.</i>	<i>Gloucestershire Notes and Queries</i> (10 vols. 1881–1914)
<i>Glos. R.O.</i>	Gloucestershire Record Office (see above, <i>Glos. R.O.</i> accumulations)
<i>Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327</i>	<i>Gloucestershire Subsidy Roll I Edw. III, 1327</i> (priv. print. by Sir Thos. Phillipps [? 1856])
Glouc. Cath. Libr.	Gloucester Cathedral Library
<i>Glouc. Corp. Rec.</i>	<i>Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester</i> , ed. W. H. Stevenson (Gloucester, 1893)
<i>Glouc. Jnl.</i>	<i>Gloucester Journal</i> (established 1722)
Greenwood, <i>Map of Glos.</i> (1824)	C. & J. Greenwood, <i>Map of the County of Gloucester in the year 1823</i> (1824)
Grundy, <i>Saxon Charters</i>	G. B. Grundy, <i>Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire</i> (B.G.A.S. 1935)
H.M.S.O.	Her (His) Majesty’s Stationery Office
<i>Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.</i> (Rolls Ser.)	<i>Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae</i> , ed. W. H. Hart (Rolls Series, no. 33, 3 vols. 1863–87)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

Hist. MSS. Com.	Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts
Hockaday Abs.	The 'Hockaday Abstracts', being abstracts of ecclesiastical records relating to Gloucestershire, compiled by F. S. Hockaday mainly from diocesan records, in <i>Glos. R.O.</i> (transferred from Gloucester Library)
<i>Inq. Non.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii</i> , ed. G. Vandersee (Record Commission, 1807)
<i>Inq. p.m. Glos.</i>	<i>Abstracts of Inquisitiones post mortem for Gloucestershire, 1236–1413, 1625–42</i> (6 vols. issued jointly by the British Record Society, Index Library vols. xxx, xl, xlviii, and ix, xxi, xlvii, and the B.G.A.S. 1893–1914)
<i>L. & P. Hen. VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> (H.M.S.O. 1864–1932)
Lincs. Archives	Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln
<i>Lond. Gaz.</i>	<i>London Gazette</i>
<i>Military Surv. of Glos.</i> 1522	<i>Military Survey of Gloucestershire, 1522</i> , ed. R. W. Hoyle (Gloucestershire Record Series vi, B.G.A.S. 1993)
N.M.R.	National Monuments Record, Swindon (English Heritage)
Nat. Soc. files	Schools files of the National Society, Church of England Record Centre, South Bermondsey, London
Nat. Soc. <i>Inquiry</i> , 1846–7	<i>Result of the Returns to the General Inquiry made by the National Society</i> (1849)
<i>P.N. Glos.</i> (E.P.N.S.)	<i>Place-Names of Gloucestershire</i> (English Place-Name Society, vols. xxxviii–xli, 1964–5)
P.R.O.	Public Record Office (see above, P.R.O. classes of documents)
<i>Pipe R.</i>	<i>Pipe Roll</i>
<i>Plac. de Quo Warr.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Placita de Quo Warranto...in Curia Receptae Scaccarii Westm. asservata</i> , ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (Record Commission, 1818)
<i>Pleas of the Crown for Glos.</i> ed. Maitland	<i>Pleas of the Crown for the County of Gloucester, 1221</i> , ed. F. W. Maitland (1884)
<i>Poll Taxes</i> , ed. Fenwick	<i>Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Part 1 Bedfordshire–Leicestershire</i> , ed. C. C. Fenwick (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new series xxvii, Oxford, 1998)
<i>Poor Law Abstract, 1804</i>	<i>Abstract of Returns Relative to the Expense and Maintenance of the Poor</i> (printed by order of the House of Commons, 1804)
<i>Poor Law Abstract, 1818</i>	<i>Abstract of Returns to Orders of the House of Commons Relative to Assessments for Relief of the Poor</i> , H.C. 294 (1820), xii
<i>Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.</i>	<i>Second Report of the Poor Law Commission</i> , H.C. 595 (1836), xxxix (1)
<i>Poor Law Returns</i> (1830–1)	<i>Account of the Money Expended for the Maintenance and Relief of the Poor for the five years ending 25th March 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1829</i> , H.C. 83 (1830–1), xi
<i>Poor Law Returns</i> (1835)	<i>Accounts of the Money Expended 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, and 1834</i> , H.C. 444 (1835), xlvii
<i>Proc. C.N.F.C.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists' Field Club</i>
<i>Public Elem. Schs.</i> 1906	<i>List of Public Elementary Schools in England and Wales on 1 Jan. 1906</i> [Cd. 3182], H.C. (1906), lxxxvi
R.C.H.M. <i>Glos.</i> i	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England), <i>County of Gloucester: vol. i, Iron Age and Romano-British Monuments in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds</i> (1976)
<i>Red Bk. Exch.</i> (Rolls Ser.)	<i>Red Book of the Exchequer</i> , ed. H. Hall (Rolls Series, no. 99, 3 vols. 1896)
<i>Red Bk. of Worc.</i>	<i>Red Book of Worcester</i> , ed. M. Hollings (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1934–50)
<i>Reg. Bothe</i>	<i>Registrum Caroli Bothe, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1516–35</i> , ed. A. T. Bannister (Cant. & York Society, 1921)
<i>Reg. Bransford</i>	<i>Calendar of the Register of Wolstan de Bransford, Bishop of Worcester 1333–49</i> , ed. R. M. Haines (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1966)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Reg. Cantilupe</i>	<i>Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1275–82</i> , ed. W. W. Capes (Cant. & York Society, 1907)
<i>Reg. Cobham</i>	<i>Register of Bishop Thomas de Cobham, 1317–27</i> , ed. E. H. Pearce (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1930)
<i>Reg. Giffard</i>	<i>Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, 1268–1302</i> , ed. J. W. W. Bund (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1902)
<i>Reg. Ginsborough</i>	<i>Register of Bishop William Ginsborough, 1303–7</i> , ed. J. W. W. Bund (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1907)
<i>Reg. Montacute</i>	<i>Calendar of the Register of Simon de Montacute, Bishop of Worcester, 1334–1337</i> , ed. R. M. Haines (Worcs. Hist. Society, new series xv, 1996)
<i>Reg. Mon. Winch.</i>	<i>Landboc, sive Registrum Monasterii de Winchelcumba</i> , ed. D. Royce (2 vols. Exeter, 1892–1903)
<i>Reg. Orleton</i>	<i>Calendar of the Register of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Worcester, 1327–33</i> , ed. R. M. Haines (Worcs. Hist. Society, new series x, 1979)
<i>Reg. Reynolds</i>	<i>Register of Bishop Walter Reynolds, 1308–13</i> , ed. R. A. Wilson (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1927)
<i>Reg. Sede Vacante</i>	<i>Register of the Diocese of Worcester during the Vacancy of the See</i> , ed. J. W. W. Bund (Worcs. Hist. Society, 1893–7)
<i>Reg. Swinfield</i>	<i>Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, Episcopi Herefordensis, 1283–1317</i> , ed. W. W. Capes (Cant. & York Society, 1909)
<i>Reg. Wakefeld</i>	<i>Calendar of the Register of Henry Wakefeld, Bishop of Worcester, 1375–95</i> , ed. W. P. Marett (Worcs. Hist. Society, new series vii, 1972)
<i>12th Rep. Com. Char.</i>	<i>12th Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire Concerning Charities</i> (Lord Brougham's Commission), H.C. 348 (1825), x
<i>21st Rep. Com. Char.</i>	<i>21st Report...Concerning Charities</i> , H.C. 349 (1829), viii
Richardson, <i>Wells and Springs of Glos.</i>	L. Richardson, <i>Wells and Springs of Gloucestershire</i> (H.M.S.O. 1930)
Roper, <i>Glos. Effigies</i>	I. M. Roper, <i>Momumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol</i> (Gloucester, 1931)
<i>Rot. Chart. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1199–1216</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1837)
<i>Rot. Cur. Reg. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Rotuli Curiae Regis</i> , ed. Sir F. Palgrave (2 vols., Record Commission, 1835)
<i>Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Hen. III & Edw. I in Turri Londinensi et in Curia Receptae Scaccarii Westm. asservati</i> , ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (2 vols. Record Commission, 1812–18)
<i>Rot. Litt. Claus. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1204–27</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy (2 vols. Record Commission, 1833–44)
<i>Rot. Litt. Pat. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1201–16</i> , ed. T. D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835)
Rudder, <i>Glos.</i>	S. Rudder, <i>New History of Gloucestershire</i> (Cirencester, 1779)
Rudge, <i>Agric. of Glos.</i>	T. Rudge, <i>General View of the Agriculture of the County of Gloucester</i> (Gloucester, 1807)
Rudge, <i>Hist. of Glos.</i>	T. Rudge, <i>History of the County of Gloucester</i> (2 vols. Gloucester, 1803)
Smith, <i>Men and Armour</i>	<i>Names and Surnames of All the Able and Sufficient Men in Body Fit for His Majesty's Service in the Wars, within the County of Gloucester, Compiled by John Smith, 1608</i> (1902)
Surr. Hist. Centre	Surrey History Centre, Woking
Taylor, <i>Map of Glos. (1777)</i>	I. Taylor, <i>Map of the County of Gloucester</i> (1777), republished in <i>Gloucestershire and Bristol Atlas</i> (B.G.A.S. 1961)
<i>Tax. Eccl. (Rec. Com.)</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291</i> , ed. S. Ayscough and J. Caley (Record Commission, 1802)
<i>Trans. B.G.A.S.</i>	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Univ. Brit. Dir.</i>	<i>Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce, and Manufacture</i> , ed. P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes (5 vols. 1791–8)

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

V.C.H.	<i>Victoria County History</i>
<i>Valor Eccl.</i> (Rec. Com.)	<i>Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Hen. VIII auctoritate regia institutus</i> , ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter (6 vols. Record Commission, 1810–34)
Verey and Brooks, <i>Glos.</i> i	D. Verey and A. Brooks, <i>Gloucestershire</i> : vol. i, <i>The Cotswolds</i> (The Buildings of England, 1999)
<i>Visit. Glos.</i> 1623	<i>Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1623</i> , ed. J. Maclean and W. C. Heane (Harleian Society xxi, 1885)
<i>Visit. Glos.</i> 1682–3	<i>Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1682, 1683</i> , ed. T. FitzRoy Fenwick and W. C. Metcalfe (Exeter, priv. print. 1884)
Williams, <i>Parl. Hist. of Glos.</i>	W. R. Williams, <i>Parliamentary History of the County of Gloucester</i> (Hereford, priv. print. 1898)
Wilts. R.O.	Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge
Worc. Episc. Reg.	Worcester Episcopal Registers (in Worcs. R.O.)
Worcs. R.O.	Worcestershire Record Office, Worcester

BRADLEY HUNDRED

THE AREA OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE covered by this volume comprised two hundreds in 1086, the east part forming Bradley hundred and the west part Wacrescumbe hundred.

Bradley hundred was assessed at a total of 94 hides in 1086. Its constituents were Northleach manor, with its members of Farmington (then and for several centuries afterwards called Thormarton), Stowell, and Upper Coberley, and Compton (later called Compton Abdale), Hampnett, Hazleton, Yanworth, Salperton, Turkdean (as two estates), Winson, and an unnamed manor in Crown hands which is assumed to have been the later Coln Rogers.¹ Most of those places later formed separate parishes, but Yanworth was a hamlet and chapelry to Hazleton, and Northleach parish after the early 13th century comprised two distinct parts, Northleach borough and Northleach Foreign (or Eastington). Upper Coberley, though remaining in the enlarged Bradley hundred and administered for some purposes with Eastington, became part of Coberley parish, and Winson, also remaining in Bradley hundred, became a hamlet and chapelry of Bibury parish. In this county history they are included with their respective parishes in Volume Seven.²

Wacrescumbe hundred in 1086 was assessed at a total of 72 hides. Its main constituent was Withington manor with its members of Little (later Cassey) Compton, Foxcote, Little Colesbourne with Hilcot, Dowdeswell with Pegglesworth, Aston (later called Aston Blank or Cold Aston), and Notgrove.³ Also in the hundred were Shipton (as five separate estates), Hampen (as two estates), and Whittington.⁴ Sevenhampton, then part of Prestbury manor but stated to lie in a different hundred from it,⁵ is assumed to have been part of Wacrescumbe. The place from which the hundred was named was possibly in the valley of the river Coln on the east boundary of Withington, where a pre-Conquest perambulation mentions a place called 'Waecles cumbe',⁶ though the site, fairly inaccessible and apparently unconnected with ancient main roads, seems an unlikely choice as a hundred meeting place. The only reference found to Wacrescumbe hundred after Domesday was *c.* 1105 when the bishop of Worcester, lord of Withington, secured confirmation from Henry I that Dowdeswell, Pegglesworth, and Cold Aston should geld with, and owe suit to, Wacrescumbe.⁷ Of the constituents of the hundred Withington (including Little Compton, Foxcote, Little Colesbourne, and Hilcot), Dowdeswell (including Pegglesworth), Cold Aston, Notgrove, Sevenhampton, and Whittington became separate parishes, while the Shipton estates formed two parishes called Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers. One part of Hampen was included in the Shiptons, while another was a detached part of Compton Abdale parish.

The amalgamation of Bradley and Wacrescumbe into one hundred, retaining the name Bradley, had occurred by 1220.⁸ The only later change in the composition of Bradley hundred was that from the early 16th century Aylworth, a hamlet of Naunton parish and previously included with it as part of Slaughter hundred, came to be regarded, for reasons that are obscure, as part of Bradley. Aylworth's history is given with Naunton in Volume Six.⁹

¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 163, 164v., 167v.–170.

² *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 21, 174.

³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.–165.

⁴ *Ibid.* 164v., 167 and v., 168v.–169v.

⁵ *Ibid.* 165.

⁶ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 262.

⁷ *Herefs. Domesday* (P.R.S. n.s. xxv), p. xxvi.

⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 309; *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, 44–6.

⁹ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 76; *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 121.



FIG. 1

Administration

Bradley hundred formed one of the group of Cotswold hundreds known as the Seven Hundreds of Cirencester, in which from 1189 Cirencester abbey exercised hundredal rights. The jurisdiction and ownership of the Seven Hundreds are described in another volume.¹⁰ In Bradley hundred about half of the parishes and tithings secured total or partial freedom from the hundredal jurisdiction.¹¹ Withington and its members, including Cold Aston and Notgrove, attended a view of frankpledge held at Withington by the bishops of Worcester, but the lords of

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 1-2, 152.

¹¹ Below, local govt. sections.

Dowdeswell, another former member of Withington, secured the right to hold a separate view by the end of the Middle Ages. The lord of Sevenhampton, the bishop of Hereford, claimed to hold his own view in 1287 and one was held later at either Sevenhampton or Prestbury. After the establishment of Northleach borough *c.* 1220, Cirencester abbey agreed that its officers should hold the view for it in the court of Gloucester abbey in the town; Gloucester would take the profits of the leet, but its bailiff was required to make an annual visit to the main hundred view. Later arrangements at Northleach were complicated by the development of a court held by the burgesses of the town in their own right, but in the 20th century an annual leet, purely formal in character, was held at Northleach by the lord of the Seven Hundreds, Earl Bathurst, as a reminder of the ancient hundredal jurisdiction exercised by his predecessors. For Hazleton and Yanworth manors the lord, Winchcombe abbey, made a similar agreement with Cirencester abbey in 1249 to that made for Northleach, and by 1303 Cirencester's officers also held a view for a part of Shipton known as Shipton Pelye. Llanthony priory secured a separate view for its tenants at Turkdean, and so also it seems did the lords of the manors of Farmington and Hampnett.

The other components of Bradley hundred attended the hundred view of frankpledge. In the early 15th century¹² and in the 16th, when records of the views survive for the years 1558–69 and 1573–4,¹³ tithingmen for Coln Rogers, Compton Abdale, Eastington with Upper Coberley, Salperton, Shipton Oliffe, Shipton Solers, Stowell, Whittington, and Winson attended to make presentments and in most cases pay cert money, though Coln Rogers and Eastington (both Gloucester abbey estates in the Middle Ages) were exempt from that due. Wardstaff, a watching duty, was owed by the same villis in the 15th century.¹⁴ In 1400, when the burgesses of Cirencester were challenging the arbitrary actions of the abbot of Cirencester, one complaint was that he made all suitors to the courts of the Seven Hundreds attend at Cirencester; the proper meeting place for Bradley hundred court was, they said, the 'cross by Stowell',¹⁵ and another record in the early 15th century gives the venue as 'the end of the vill of Stowell'.¹⁶ Probably the place referred to was the crossroads of two important ancient roads, the Foss way and the Cotswold salt way, on the east side of Stowell parish, though a place called Hangman's Stone further up the salt way at the boundary of Stowell, Compton Abdale, and Hampnett is another possibility. One of those sites was evidently the place called Bradley adjoining Stowell that was mentioned in 1394,¹⁷ but no later record of the place name has been found to fix it with certainty.

Topography

The 17 ancient parishes of Bradley hundred occupy a tract of the central Cotswolds extending from the high escarpment above the Cheltenham plain on the north-west to a point a few miles beyond the Foss way on the south-east. The area shares many of the physical and historical characteristics of the other Gloucestershire hundreds on the hills and has no particular features that give it a separate definition within that wider area. The land rises to its highest point at the escarpment, with part of Sevenhampton reaching 310 m. (1,017 ft.) and land at Pegglesworth, in Dowdeswell, a few metres less; much of the rest of the area is

¹² *Ciren. Cart.* ii, pp. 620–1.

¹⁴ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 634.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496–502; D 2525, ct. roll 7–8
Eliz.; *Glos. Colln.* JV 1.5.

¹⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ix. 333.

¹⁶ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 620.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 634.

formed of high and rather featureless wolds with occasional narrow valleys. A broad ridge running through the area (followed in modern times by the main A 40 road from Gloucester and Cheltenham to London) was known in its north-western part as Puesdown. The hundred includes the sources and upper reaches of two of the small rivers, the Coln and the Leach, that drain towards the Thames and it touches two others, the Windrush on the north-east and the Churn on the south-west. The escarpment at the north-west edge drains to the Vale, and streams breaking out around Dowdeswell to form the river Chelt were collected in a reservoir as one of the main suppliers of water to Cheltenham in the late 19th century and the earlier 20th.

Most of the land is formed of the Middle Jurassic series, comprising the Inferior Oolite, a thin band of the fuller's earth, which forces out the springs which governed the siting of many of the settlements, and the Great Oolite; the topsoil is mostly a thin stone brash. As with the rest of the Cotswolds, the oolite has been extensively dug in small quarries, or sometimes in stone-mines, for stone and stone slates. The slates were won in particular at Puckham Scrubs in Sevenhampton, where a geological fault has exposed the slate beds of the Great Oolite. Whittington was a centre of quarrying for building stone in the 19th century, and a quarry in Farmington was still in production in 1999 as one of the last Cotswold quarries to be worked commercially. A few timber-framed houses survive in the region from what were doubtless once quite large numbers, and thatch remained common until the early 20th century, but stone and stone slates form the material of the great majority of houses, as well as of the many large and well-built complexes of farm buildings. The drystone field walls built at the inclosures of the late 18th century and the early 19th remained a defining feature of the landscape of the wolds at the close of the 20th, though in many places in a neglected condition and supplemented by wire.

The hundred had little woodland, with only Sevenhampton, Withington, and Dowdeswell having substantial tracts. Much of the rest of the area was almost treeless before the 19th century, when landowners planted numerous small coppices to provide material for hurdles and fencing, to act as shelter belts, and, increasingly in the late years of the century, to preserve foxes and pheasants. Fuel was short in the more eastern parishes, including Northleach which was one of the many places supplied from the woods of the Dowdeswell manor estate in the 18th century. Farming leases of the 18th and 19th centuries often included a clause providing for the carriage of coal for the landowner from the Severn Vale or Cirencester.¹⁸

The land has at times been very intensively cultivated as ploughland, although the thin topsoil, the altitude and openness which retarded the crops, and the lack of timber, did not make for easy farming. The name Cold Aston was adopted for one of the parishes by the 13th century and another near by was sometimes called Cold Salperton in the 18th. Among the outlying farmsteads of the area several were named Folly Farm or Starveall.

The two most important ancient routes traversing the area were the Roman Foss way, running from Cirencester north-eastwards by Northleach towards Stow-on-the-Wold, and a salt way to Droitwich running north-westwards from the river Thames at Lechlade. A main route from Gloucester to Burford and Oxford ran

¹⁸ e.g. *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 17, lease 1782; D 1445, Farmington leases 1800–34, lease 1827; Hazleton and Turkdean leases 1700–1827, leases 1810, 1827; D 6148/2/3, lease 1871.

west to east over Puesdown, but in the days before the turnpikes it had a variable line: three crossings of the river Coln were in use near Andoversford, and further east a ridgeway route was used as an alternative to the road through Northleach town. Many minor roads of the packhorse era declined later to field paths, including an old Cirencester–Cheltenham road following the high ground through Withington and Dowdeswell parishes. The turnpikes established the road through Northleach as the main coaching route to London from both Gloucester and Cheltenham. The Cheltenham–London road once joined it on Puesdown, after following a circuitous route through Whittington and Shipton parishes, but it was rerouted up the Chelt valley and through Dowdeswell in 1786, and finally in 1825 a new line of road took it through Andoversford. The Stow road from Gloucester and Cheltenham through Andoversford and the Foss way became other parts of the Cotswold turnpike network in the mid 18th century. Only two railways were built through the parishes of the hundred, both of them late in the 19th century. The Banbury and Cheltenham line through Bourton-on-the-Water and down the Chelt valley was opened in 1881 and was joined at Andoversford by the Midland & South-Western Junction line, opened in 1891.

Settlement and Economy

The hundred was quite intensively settled by the late Anglo-Saxon period, the settlers presumably benefiting from the residual effects of clearance and cultivation under the Romano-British, who had favoured the valleys within easy reach of Cirencester for their villas; villa sites have been discovered in Whittington, Withington, Compton Abdale, Farmington, Shipton, and Turkdean, and at Wycomb, near Andoversford, the remains of a small town have been excavated. At Withington a monastery was founded in the late 7th century, and estates based on Dowdeswell and Andoversford and on Notgrove and Cold Aston are recorded in the following century. By the time of Domesday Book all 17 of the later parishes had villages at their primary settlements, which in the north part of the area were sited at intervals of no more than two miles from each other. The three largest parishes, Northleach, Withington, and Sevenhampton (whose name derives from seven ancient settlements), each had in addition several hamlets. The numbers of tenants recorded at Domesday, usually *villani* (probably holding yardlands), suggests that most of the land had already been brought into cultivation; only in some upland parts of Withington is 12th- and 13th-century assarting recorded. Open fields later covered wide areas of the wolds: in Farmington, for example, over 80 per cent of the parish (1,730 a. of 2,099 a.) lay in two great fields until inclosure. The area devoted to common pasture, usually the steepest land, was originally quite modest by comparison.

Only one market town was successfully established, Northleach, founded by Gloucester abbey *c.* 1220. Much of the area was evidently served by adjoining towns, including Winchcombe and Stow-on-the-Wold whose fairs remained important dates in the local calendar in the 18th and early 19th centuries.¹⁹

The slump in arable cultivation and the Black Death in the 14th century hit the area hard, leaving it with shrunken villages and with some of its hamlets deserted or reduced to a single farmstead, as at Hilcot and Little Colesbourne in Withington

¹⁹ Ibid. D 1443, deeds of White Horse inn, Northleach, 1806–32, letter 1832; P.R.O., E 134/13 Wm. III East./6 (deposition of John Driver).

and at Little Aston in Cold Aston. Some hamlets were later almost completely forgotten, including Thorndean in Withington, Calcombe and Nash in Sevenhampton, and Cockthrop in Northleach. In the late Middle Ages sheep raising maintained the viability of the area, but failed to stimulate a recovery in population. The change is symbolized in places by the building of sheephouses on the sites of groups of old tenant houses, as earthwork remains suggest happened at Hilcot and in a part of Compton Abdale, near Cassey Compton. The manorial owners often retained their flocks and pasture rights after they abandoned demesne arable farming, and flocks of the owners or of strangers were driven up from lowland manors to be summered on the hills. The open fields continued to provide the main grazing, usually at a ratio of 40 or 50 sheep to the yardland (a yardland in most manors comprising 40 or 48 'field acres'). Some lands, including in Sevenhampton and Withington, apparently became seriously overburdened by flocks in the 17th century; in the latter the farmers of Withington village ran *c.* 3,000 sheep on their fields in the early 17th century and disputed pasture rights in downland with the owner of Hilcot.

The success of sheep raising in the parishes surrounding Northleach was the stimulant for an era of prosperity for the town, which had a central role in the Cotswold wool trade between the late 14th century and the early 16th. Woolmen based there gathered the crop from surrounding villages and supplied it, for export to the Continent, to London merchants and the agents of foreign merchants. The fine Perpendicular parish church at Northleach, containing a collection of memorial brasses to woolmen, is its main monument to that prosperity, and, though the town remained small, there is also evidence of its late-medieval development in its plan and in the surviving architectural detail in some of its houses. The sophisticated and independent system of borough government that the Northleach townspeople had secured by the 1540s may, indirectly, be another legacy of its prosperity. Until the mid 17th century Northleach's viability as an urban economy was maintained by a clothmaking industry and by a fairly successful agricultural market, but subsequently it performed only a very limited and local role.

During the Middle Ages landowning in the region was dominated by important ecclesiastical institutions: the bishops of Worcester and Hereford held Withington and Sevenhampton respectively, Gloucester abbey Eastington and Coln Rogers, and Winchcombe abbey Hazleton and Yanworth. Several smaller monastic houses, among them Oseney and Bruern abbeys (both Oxon.), Westwood priory (Worcs.), and Studley priory (Warws.), also benefited by gifts from lay landowners. Farmington manor was acquired for the endowment of Edington monastery (Wilts.) in 1361, and estates in other parishes passed to Westbury-on-Trym college after its enlargement in the mid 15th century. After the Dissolution local yeomen, often already established in the manors as lessees, came to the fore as landowners, particularly various branches of the Lawrence and Rogers families in the west of the area; the former proved most durable at Sevenhampton and the latter at Dowdeswell, a small parish with an unusual number of resident gentry families in the early modern period. The Duttons of Sherborne were prominent in Northleach and Eastington. During the 17th century two branches of the Howe family held estates, which coalesced in the 1730s to produce the region's largest landowning unit, based on its smallest parish, Stowell. In the 18th century the Wallers of Beaconsfield (Bucks.) established a presence in several parishes, as did the Hopes of Deepdene (Surr.) in the 19th.

During the 17th century and the early 18th several of the larger houses, among

them Upper Dowdeswell, Sandywell Park, Brockhampton, and Cassey Compton, were rebuilt in more modern styles for resident landowners, usually with new parks attached. The Duttons' Lodge park, developed in the early 17th century, took in parts of Eastington and Farmington. Most of the farmhouses and other dwellings were rebuilt or enlarged in the 17th century in the familiar Cotswold vernacular, but some significant medieval survivals remain: in Withington village three houses retain late-medieval timber roofs and the rectory farmhouses of both Turkdean and Cold Aston have medieval, vaulted undercrofts.

A few of the smaller parishes were inclosed early by private agreement. At Dowdeswell, inclosed by its freeholders in 1562, and its hamlet of Pegglesworth, inclosed by a single landowner *c.* 1680, the incentive was partly the conversion of arable to big sheep pastures, and to some extent that was the case with the earliest parliamentary inclosure, at Farmington under an Act of 1714. In most of the parishes, however, the old system of two-course rotations and sheep on large open fields remained intact until the main era of parliamentary inclosure: 10 of the 17 parishes were inclosed in the period 1760 to 1820, usually at the decision of one major landowner. A few model farmsteads were built for the new ring-fenced farms that were created, but generally the old village farmhouses continued in use, with only barns built out in the fields. New labourers' cottages were added piece-meal, but Lord Sherborne built a fairly large group at Eastington after he inclosed it in 1783. The new five- and six-course rotations including turnips and grass seeds were adopted wholeheartedly and farmers grew prosperous raising fat sheep and cereals in the mid 19th century. Members of families such as the Hewers, Walkers, Handys, and Fletchers, though usually remaining tenants, became influential figures in local communities and their farms supported a large population of labourers; at Compton Abdale village in 1851 two large farms each employed 50 or so, and at Hampnett the bulk of the parish then formed a farm of *c.* 1,200 a., employing 65.

Northleach town enjoyed a modest revival of prosperity during the coaching era, when it was a staging-post on the main Cheltenham and Gloucester road to London, and as the site of a prison and the centre of a poor-law union (later a rural district) it played a role in local administration throughout the 19th century and the earlier 20th. It remained, however, a very minor market centre and attracted no industry apart from a brewery. A landowner in Salperton and Hampen, T. B. Browne, made attempts in the 1850s to provide employment by setting up sugar beet and flax factories, and quarrying continued in several of the parishes, but in the whole area the impact of industry was negligible. In the late 19th century the building of the two railways made Andoversford a market for livestock and a centre for the distribution of goods.

With the onset of agricultural depression in the 1870s rents fell sharply and much land was taken out of arable cultivation. With few non-agricultural resources to fall back on, village populations went into a decline, the total population of the 17 ancient parishes of the hundred falling from 5,570 in 1861 to 4,250 in 1901.²⁰ Timber production was developed in part of Withington by the owners of the Colesbourne estate, but it was field sports, a traditional feature of the area, that became a mainstay of local estates in the late 19th century. Many isolated cottages came to be occupied by gamekeepers, and local inns catered for hunting enthusiasts and their mounts. Such pursuits, and the vogue for Cotswold scenery,

²⁰ *Census*, 1861, 1901.

helped to maintain the gentry element of the region in the early years of the 20th century, when new arrivals such as W. A. Rixon at Turkdean, Ernest Fieldhouse at Shipton, and Reginald Gunther at Withington developed estates and upgraded farmhouses as residences.

At the close of the 20th century the area of the Gloucestershire Cotswolds that had formed the hundred of Bradley remained very sparsely populated and still hardly affected at all by industry. Its agriculture was then based mainly on large owner-occupied enterprises, raising cash crops (varying in type and scale according to European Union subsidies) and sheep. The oldest-established resident land-owners were of fairly recent origin, including branches of the Vestey family at Stowell Park and Foxcote in Withington and branches of the Wills family at Farmington and Eastington and at Soundborough, in Sevenhampton, but some of the old farming families, by then usually themselves owners, survived at Hazleton, Hampen, Sevenhampton, and elsewhere. Village populations were generally residential with a large proportion of the retired and elderly and only a modest commuter dormitory element. The modernization and enlargement of farmhouses and labourers' cottages and the conversion to dwellings of farm buildings, using traditional styles and materials as enforced by the planning authorities, was an established and a continuing feature. Northleach attracted some new housing after the opening of a bypass in 1984 ended a period of blight caused by heavy motor traffic, and Andoversford, where a small industrial estate was developed, and Shipton also expanded. It was not an area of the Cotswolds where tourism had much significance, with only Northleach enjoying a modest role in that respect.

COLD ASTON

COLD ASTON, alternatively Aston Blank, is a rural parish lying beside the Foss way 18 km. east of Cheltenham. The ancient parish contained 2,360 a. (955 ha.) and was roughly rectangular in shape.¹ The boundaries, some of which were described in a pre-Conquest perambulation of an estate in Cold Aston and Notgrove,² included the river Windrush on the north-east, the Foss way on the south-east, and the course of a stream on the south-west; in the southern corner of the parish that stream joined other headwaters of the Sherborne brook to form Broadwater bottom,³ part of the valley called Turkdean in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁴ On the north-west the division between Cold Aston and Notgrove followed field boundaries and made several sharp turns close to Cold Aston village.⁵ Cold Aston's boundaries were unchanged until 1987 when the parish was enlarged, to 961 ha.,⁶ by the addition of a few houses on the north-western boundary and a former mill with some land at Little Aston on the north-eastern boundary, transferred from Notgrove and Upper Slaughter respectively.⁷ The following account deals with the ancient parish.⁸

In the earliest records the parish was called simply Aston, perhaps to indicate its location east of Notgrove, with which it was held in the mid 8th century.⁹ By the mid 13th century it was usually known as Cold Aston,¹⁰ the epithet describing its bleak situation on the high Cotswolds. In the Middle Ages the village was sometimes called Great Aston to distinguish it from the hamlet of Little Aston,¹¹ which, situated within the parish by the Windrush, was accounted a separate manor and was a separate tithing in the late Middle Ages. The name Aston Pipard, recorded in the early 14th century, incorporated that of the principal landowning family of that time.¹² Aston Blank, possibly a reference to the land's bareness,¹³ was recorded as a name for the parish from 1535¹⁴ and gained official acceptance.¹⁵ The parish's official name was changed from Aston Blank to Cold Aston in 1972.¹⁶

The land of the parish rises from 145 m. in the river valleys on its north-eastern and south-western sides to over 210 m. in the west. Most of the land is formed by the Inferior Oolite. The underlying Midford Sand and Upper Lias Clay are revealed in the Windrush valley and the higher ground is formed by fuller's earth, capped by the Great Oolite.¹⁷ The open, rolling farmland drains mostly to the south in valleys formed by streams, which in places follow underground courses.¹⁸ One stream, rising in Notgrove, flows east of Cold Aston village to Broadwater bottom and another is crossed by the Foss way south-east of the village. Although a spring rising near the centre of the parish at a place called the Ring in 1704¹⁹ provided water for several landowners,²⁰ irrigation was difficult and much land at the south end of the parish was known as Dryground long before the 18th century.²¹ The downs bordering the Windrush were inclosed long before the rest of the parish, which retained large open fields until 1796. Apart from Aston grove in the south of the parish and several small coppices on the steep side of the Windrush valley in the north-east, there was little woodland in the mid 18th century.²² Although some planting took place soon after the inclosure of 1796,²³ Cold Aston had only 54 a. of woods and plantations in 1905.²⁴ Several new plantations were created later in and above the Windrush valley²⁵ but the area of woodland returned for the parish in 1986 was 45 a. (18 ha.).²⁶

Cold Aston manor, comprising the whole parish except Little Aston, had 18 tenants in 1300²⁷ and 18 parishioners were assessed for the subsidy in 1327.²⁸ The depopulation of Little Aston in the early 14th century reduced the number of parishioners,²⁹ of whom c. 32 were assessed in 1381 for the poll tax.³⁰ There had been an overall decline in population by 1524 when there were only ten taxpayers.³¹ The number of households in 1563 was said to be nine.³² In the later 16th century the population probably remained unchanged, the number of

¹ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884). This account was written in 1996.

² *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 239–40; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 35–6.

³ *O.S. Maps* 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. NE., SE., SW. (1883 edn.); XXXVI. NE. (1884 edn.).

⁴ For the Turkdean valley, below, Turkdean, intro.; cf. Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 50, 53, 180.

⁵ *O.S. Map* 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁶ *Census*, 1981–91.

⁷ The Cotswold (Parishes) Order 1986; *O.S. Map* 1/25,000, sheet 45 N., S. (1998 edn.).

⁸ The hist. of the mill at Little Aston is given in *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 131–2.

⁹ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 239–40; *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

¹⁰ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/74/23, no. 514; B.L. Sloane Chart. xxxiii. 14; *Reg. Giffard*, 331, 349.

¹¹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222; *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411.

¹² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 172.

¹³ *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 164.

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 439; *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 325; Atkyns, *Glos.* 227; Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 269.

¹⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 222; *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884).

¹⁶ Cold Aston par. council rec. (in keeping of Mr. P. Clark, chairman of council), min. bk. 1959–88.

¹⁷ *Geol. Surv. Map* 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

¹⁸ *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, SP 1319 (1979 edn.).

¹⁹ *G.D.R.*, V 5/25t 5.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231; Q/RI 12.

²¹ *Ibid.* D 75/T 11.

²² *Ibid.* D 2231; D 75/P 1.

²³ Fosbrooke, *Glos.* ii. 420.

²⁴ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

²⁵ Cf. *O.S. Maps* 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. NE., SE. (1924 edn.).

²⁶ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/6005/14/190.

²⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302–58, 113.

²⁸ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

²⁹ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411.

³⁰ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288–9, 313.

³¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 176.

³² *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C.* 790, f. 16v.

communicants being estimated at 48 in 1551³³ and 50 in 1603.³⁴ In 1650 there were said to be 14 families³⁵ but the hearth-tax return of 1672 named 25 householders.³⁶ In the 18th century the population rose gradually, from about 120 c. 1710³⁷ to 216 in 1801. By 1861 it had grown to 325 but for the rest of the 19th century it fell and in 1901 it was back to 214. Thereafter it fluctuated between extremes of 254 in 1911 and 205 in 1931, and in 1991 the number of residents was again 214.³⁸

The Foss way on Cold Aston's south-eastern boundary had probably been disused for some time by the 8th or 9th century³⁹ when the Anglo-Saxon perambulation of the Aston and Notgrove estate failed to mention it. At that time the most important road in the area was an Iron-Age trackway from the west, which descended in the north of Cold Aston to a crossing of the Windrush by the Foss way at the site of the later Bourton bridge.⁴⁰ In the late 16th century that route was the main road between Gloucester and Bourton-on-the-Water⁴¹ and c. 1980 it became the main road from Gloucester and Cheltenham to Stow-on-the-Wold, traffic being diverted along it from a road further north in Naunton and Lower Swell.⁴² The Foss way, which was described as the great road to Cirencester on an estate map of 1752,⁴³ was a turnpike from 1755 to 1877.⁴⁴

Cold Aston village occupies high ground in the west of the parish, near the north-western boundary, and its healthy situation has been credited with the longevity of its inhabitants, including several vicars.⁴⁵ Several routes run along the village's main street. The road running up from the south-east, from the place on the Foss way known as Gilbert's Grave in 1718,⁴⁶ was part of a route between Burford (Oxon.) and Winchcombe in the early 17th century. At that time a way to Notgrove, branching from it west of the village,⁴⁷ was also an important local road,⁴⁸ but by the mid 18th century, when the junction was at the parish boundary, it was used as a bridleway and the Winchcombe road was the principal way to Notgrove.⁴⁹ The way from Northleach recorded in 1612 entered the village from the south. It was designated a bridleway at inclosure in 1796 when the main route from Northleach followed the road running up to the

village from the south-east.⁵⁰ From 1862 Cold Aston was served by a railway terminus 2½ miles from the village in Bourton-on-the-Water. The railway, which was extended through the north end of the parish in 1881 as part of the Banbury and Cheltenham line,⁵¹ closed in 1962.⁵²

The exact location of a cross said in the mid 16th century to stand in the middle of the village⁵³ is not known. Nearly all the buildings in the village are of stone and the older houses have Cotswold stone roofs. Many houses are grouped randomly on or near a green where the old roads from Bourton-on-the-Water, Burford, and Northleach met. In the mid 18th century there was a well on the green and a pound near by, at the entrance to the Bourton road. A spring on the south-east side of the green⁵⁴ was retained as a public watering place for cattle when some of the adjoining land was inclosed in 1796.⁵⁵ The town well, although said in 1827 to have been filled in,⁵⁶ remained open until a pump was erected over it in 1905.⁵⁷ The parish church stands some way north-west of the green and is set back from the village street; in the late 16th century a small house adjoined the churchyard.⁵⁸ The site of the medieval manor was south-east of the church and the former vicarage house and rectory buildings stand next to each other to the south-west, on the opposite side of the street at the west end of the village. In the mid 18th century a few cottages around the green and in the street were on land belonging to the manorial waste.⁵⁹ Several 17th-century cottages have survived, including one on the west side of the green as part of the Plough inn and two to the south in Chapel Lane. Of the larger houses, Sycamore House, north of the green, was built in the late 18th century on the site of a house destroyed by fire in 1788; it has a pedimented front and buildings at its rear incorporate a former barn dated 1792.⁶⁰ Grove Farm House, to the west, also dates from the late 18th century and had canted bays added to some of its ground-floor windows in the early 19th century; one of its outbuildings is dated 1789.⁶¹ Both houses were once farmhouses on the manor estate,⁶² the property from 1794 of the Revd. M. H. Noble (later Waller).⁶³ Soon after the inclosure of 1796 Noble completed a programme of rebuilding in the village⁶⁴ and in the early 1820s

³³ *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

³⁴ *Eccl. Misc.* 74.

³⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

³⁷ Atkyns, *Glos.* 228; Rudder, *Glos.* 239.

³⁸ *Census*, 1801–1991.

³⁹ Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 35; *R.C.H.M. Glos.* i, p. xlv.

⁴⁰ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 239–40; for the river crossing, *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxx. 173–4; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 37.

⁴¹ G.D.R., V 5/251 1–2; *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 1072; D 2231.

⁴² Personal observation.

⁴³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁴⁴ *Glos. and Warws. Road Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁴⁵ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 78.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 75/T 11.

⁴⁷ G.D.R., V 5/251 2.

⁴⁸ Below, Notgrove, intro.; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 269b/P 2.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁵⁰ G.D.R., V 5/251 2; *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 12; D 75/P 1.

⁵¹ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.*, revised C. R. Clinker (1964), i. 461; ii. 315; O.S. Maps 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. NE., SE. (1883 edn.); XXIX. SW. (1885 edn.).

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 2871/2/26.

⁵³ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 3.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Q/RI 12.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* D 245/1/45.

⁵⁷ *Par. council rec.*, min. bk. 1894–1931.

⁵⁸ G.D.R., V 5/251 1.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁶⁰ Dept. of the Environment, 'List of Bldgs. of Special Archit. or Hist. Interest' (1986), pp. 6–7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp. 12–13.

⁶² *Glos. R.O.*, SL 290.

⁶³ Below, manors.

⁶⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/10.

he built a farmhouse (later Manor Farm House) on the site of the manor.⁶⁵ Elm Bank, south-east of the green, is the early 19th-century farmhouse of a substantial freehold estate.⁶⁶

New buildings in the mid 19th century included a school and schoolhouse built near the church by H. T. Hope, the lord of the manor,⁶⁷ and several cottages. One pair, in Chapel Lane, is in the same gabled style as cottages built probably in the 1860s on the Hope family's estate in Hampnett.⁶⁸ In the late 19th and early 20th centuries at least one new cottage (in 1996 Ridley House) was built at the east end of the village⁶⁹ and an older house there called the Firs (later the Redmans), the home in 1912 of the auctioneer W. B. Fletcher,⁷⁰ was remodelled. Among later changes to the village was the building of a few new houses, including a pair of farm cottages, at the east end in the 1950s and 1960s.⁷¹ Several farmhouses became private houses and in the 1960s a new farmstead, including a house and a pair of cottages, was established to the south by the former Northleach road.⁷² Within the village some houses and cottages were enlarged, some adjoining cottages were amalgamated to form single dwellings, gables with windows were added to others, and a few barns were converted as residential accommodation. In the late 20th century two houses were built south of the village street and several more at the east end of the village.

The hamlet of Little Aston, in the north of the parish by the Windrush, comprised c. 10 houses in 1300.⁷³ It may also have had a church or chapel.⁷⁴ Many of the houses were abandoned in the early 14th century, seven residents having left the hamlet by 1340,⁷⁵ and in the late 18th century the settlement comprised a single farmhouse, known later as Aston Farm.⁷⁶ The farmhouse,⁷⁷ an L-shaped, two-storeyed building with attics, has early 19th-century fronts of dressed stone that conceal much earlier fabric. The oldest, apparently late-medieval, fabric is in the three-bayed north wing, aligned NE.-SW. on the line of the ancient route through the hamlet and parallel with nearby earthworks;⁷⁸ its thick walls have several courses of large rubble exposed at their base on the north-east and north-west. The room at the south-west end, which has a ceiling of large flat joists carried on a large, unmoulded beam, may

be the remains of the two-storeyed end of a hall house, perhaps the residence of Arthur Rhodes in the mid 16th century.⁷⁹ A large stack has been inserted at the north-east end of the wing and a staircase at the south-west end. The east wing is mainly of the late 17th century with an open newel staircase of turned balusters that ascends in three flights to the attic; the lowest flight has been altered and the attic subdivided into rooms. The two ground-floor rooms have chamfered beams and joists. The north wing was raised presumably in the early 19th century when the south-east front was refaced and it has a later 20th-century extension to the south-west. In the later 19th century a pair of cottages was built to the east near the river. Shepherd's Cottage, to the south-east, was a tiny solitary cottage occupied by a shepherd in 1851⁸⁰ and it was much enlarged in the later 20th century.

On the eve of inclosure in 1796 Dryground barn in the south of Cold Aston was the only outlying building outside the Windrush valley.⁸¹ Following the inclosure the farms continued to be worked from houses in the village, but during the 19th century several cottages were built in the fields next to post-inclosure barns⁸² and one next to Dryground barn.⁸³ Some of those cottages were demolished or abandoned in the 20th century but one in the north of the parish, near the Gloucester road, was enlarged in the late 1940s to become a farmhouse (later Windrush Farm) and a pair of cottages was built near by on the road in the mid 1950s.⁸⁴ In the south-east Bangup barn, built by the old Turkdean road on the rectory estate⁸⁵ and recorded as Bang barn in 1824,⁸⁶ was pulled down in the 1980s and some of the stone used later to build a farmhouse there.⁸⁷ A pair of cottages standing next to the barn in 1851⁸⁸ was a single dwelling in 1996. Several families lived on the Foss way at Gilbert's Grave in 1861⁸⁹ and there was one house there in 1996. In the north-east of the parish a few bungalows were built along the Foss way on Whiteshoots hill, adjoining Bourton-on-the-Water, in the later 1920s and the 1930s.⁹⁰ A hotel opened further up the hill and a garage at the bottom, at the junction of the old Gloucester road, before the Second World War.⁹¹ By the early 1930s building had also begun on the south side of the Gloucester road and after 1945 a few more houses and bungalows were built on both

⁶⁵ Ibid. I/9, 30.

⁶⁶ Ibid. D 2231; D 75/P 1; Q/RI 12; G/NO 160/2/1-2.

⁶⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 199.

⁶⁸ Below, Hampnett, intro.

⁶⁹ Surr. Hist. Centre, Woking, 2971/1/1, p. 241.

⁷⁰ Glos. R.O., G/NO 160/2/2-3; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 26.

⁷¹ Glos. R.O., DA 31/115/3, pp. 161, 183-4, 340.

⁷² O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 1219 (1979 edn.); Glos. R.O., DA 31/115/3, p. 412.

⁷³ C. Dyer, 'Rise and Fall of a Medieval Village', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 172.

⁷⁴ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 31, deed 23 Jan. 1655/6; D 75/P 1.

⁷⁵ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411.

⁷⁶ Glos. R.O., D 75/P 1; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁷⁷ Cf. below, Plate 18.

⁷⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 167, 172, 175.

⁷⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxl, Upper Slaughter, 1554.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; Aston Farm est. sale partic. 1945, in possession of Mr. W. A. Bullock, of Aston Farm.

⁸¹ Glos. R.O., D 75/P 1.

⁸² Greenwood, *Map of Glos.* (1824); P.R.O., RG 9/1787; RG 12/2036.

⁸³ Glos. R.O., SL 290.

⁸⁴ Ibid. DA 31/115/3, pp. 16, 36.

⁸⁵ Ibid. D 75/P 1; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁸⁶ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁸⁷ Inf. from Miss Diana Ray, of Rectory Farm Ho., Cold Aston.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁸⁹ Ibid. RG 9/1787.

⁹⁰ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/4, pp. 244, 283, 408-9; 5, pp. 54, 196, 285, 303, 329.

⁹¹ Ibid. DA 31/516/2/2, p. 3; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 132.

roads.⁹² In the mid 1970s there was also a caravan park on the Gloucester road.⁹³

An inn had opened at the south-east end of the village on the road to the Foss way by 1842.⁹⁴ Called the Keeper's Arms in 1856,⁹⁵ it closed in 1959.⁹⁶ In 1852 there was also a beerhouse⁹⁷ by the village green. It had the sign of the Plough in 1881⁹⁸ and it was the only public house in the village in 1996. A wooden village hall built on the east side of the green in 1925 and 1926⁹⁹ continued in use in 1996. In 1930 a water tower near the church supplied one or two farms in the parish but most of the village relied on wells.¹

A fair or wake on Easter Monday in the later 18th century² was presumably the survival of an ancient custom. Its later history is not known.

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. About 740 a.d. Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, granted 20 *cassati* in Aston and Notgrove to Osred, a member of the Hwiccan royal family. The estate, which apparently had 10 *cassati* in Aston, was given later, possibly in 743, to the church of Worcester,³ and in 1086 Drew son of Pons held ten hides in Aston from the bishop of Worcester's manor of Withington.⁴ Drew remained the tenant in 1095 when, following the death of the bishop, a relief for two knights' fees was expected from him.⁵ Drew's estate evidently descended to his nephew Walter son of Richard son of Pons, for Walter's successors, the Cliffords,⁶ were mesne lords at Aston. Their lordship was not recorded after the later 13th century.⁷ In 1166 the Aston estate was said to be held from the bishop for a knight's fee⁸ and later the bishop's claim to the service of a second knight was denied;⁹ that claim persisted in the 16th century.¹⁰

In the late 12th century Hugh de Longchamp held the Aston estate from Walter de Clifford in the right of his wife¹¹ Emme de St. Leger. Hugh

was dead by 1194 and Walter de Baskerville, Emme's next husband, surrendered the estate in 1196 to her son Geoffrey de Longchamp¹² (fl. 1223).¹³ In 1284 Ralph Pipard held the estate¹⁴ and at his death c. 1309 the manor of *COLD ASTON* passed to his son John.¹⁵ John reserved a life interest when in 1310 he conveyed the manor to Edmund le Botiller (or Butler)¹⁶ and he remained in possession until after 1329.¹⁷ Edmund Butler, who in 1316 was granted free warren on the demesne land in Cold Aston,¹⁸ died in 1321. In 1328 his son and heir James was created earl of Ormonde¹⁹ and jointly with his wife Eleanor owned the manor.²⁰ James died in 1338 and Eleanor, who in 1344 married Thomas Dagworth (d. 1350), in 1363.²¹ On her death the manor passed to her son James Butler,²² earl of Ormonde (d. 1382).²³ In 1384 James's widow Elizabeth, who had married Robert of Hereford, was granted livery of the manor²⁴ and after her death in 1390 it passed to James's son James,²⁵ earl of Ormonde. From the younger James (d. 1405) it descended in the direct line with the earldom to James Butler²⁶ (d. 1453) and James Butler, earl of Wiltshire.²⁷ In 1461 the latter was beheaded by the Yorkists and on his attainder the manor was granted to Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers.²⁸ The manor was later restored to the Butlers,²⁹ whose tenant John Slaughter (d. 1486) was also a freeholder in Cold Aston.³⁰

Thomas Butler (d. 1515), earl of Ormonde, was survived by his daughters Anne, wife of James St. Leger, and Margaret, wife of Sir William Boleyn.³¹ Anne held the manor in 1520³² and was succeeded at her death in 1533 by her son George St. Leger, whose son and daughter-in-law John and Catherine³³ conveyed the manor in 1546 to John Stratford³⁴ of Farmcote. Stratford (d. 1553) was succeeded by his grandson Henry Stratford.³⁵ On his death in 1558 Henry left the manor to his son John, a

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/1/2, pp. 3-4; DA 31/115/1, min, 12 Nov. 1945; 3, p. 261.

⁹³ *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, SP 1520 (1977 edn.).

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 24/IN 1/2; *O.S. Map* 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SE.* (1883 edn.).

⁹⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 222.

⁹⁶ *Cotswold Life*, Oct. 1987, 40.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 24/IN. 1/2; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856-89 edns.).

⁹⁸ *P.R.O.*, RG 11/2560.

⁹⁹ *Par. council rec.*, min. bk. 1894-1931; copy of lease 24 Dec. 1925.

¹ Richardson, *Wells and Springs of Glos.* 50.

² Bigland, *Glos.* i. 78.

³ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 239-40; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 35-6.

⁴ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁵ J. H. Round, *Feudal Eng.* (1895), 308-12.

⁶ A. Clifford, *Collectanea Cliffordiana* (Paris, 1817); cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 56; x. 143.

⁷ *Red Bk. of Wor.* 436, 448; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 38; *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

⁸ *Red Bk. of Wor.* 417.

⁹ *Ibid.* 354, 436, 451; cf. *Bk. of Fees*, i. 38; *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 97.

¹⁰ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92504; 19, no. 43766.

¹¹ *Red Bk. of Wor.* 436, 448.

¹² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxxvi. 132-3; *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/282/2, no. 26.

¹³ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 161-2.

¹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

¹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 97.

¹⁶ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/285/28, no. 32.

¹⁷ *Feet of Fines for Essex*, iii (Essex Arch. Soc.), p. 27.

¹⁸ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1300-26, 307.

¹⁹ *Complete Peerage*, x. 116 and n., 117.

²⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 95.

²¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* viii, p. 124; *Complete Peerage*, x. 118-19; iv. 27-9.

²² *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, p. 365.

²³ *Ibid.* xv, p. 282.

²⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1381-5, 372.

²⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xvi, pp. 308-9.

²⁶ *Ibid.* xix, p. 8.

²⁷ *P.R.O.*, C 139/148, no. 11; for the descent of the earldom, *Complete Peerage*, x. 121-33.

²⁸ *P.R.O.*, C 140/3, no. 29; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, 153, 486.

²⁹ *Complete Peerage*, x. 130.

³⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, i, p. 49; the Slaughter fam. retained a freehold estate in the par. until 1630: *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92504; 19, no. 43766; *P.R.O.*, C 142/308, no. 126; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 68; D 189/11/2/T 2.

³¹ *Complete Peerage*, x. 133.

³² *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92504, where her forename is given as Ellen; cf. *ibid.* 178, no. 92510.

³³ *P.R.O.*, C 142/55, no. 4 (2).

³⁴ *Ibid.* CP 25/2/14/83, no. 68.

³⁵ *Ibid.* C 142/98, no. 26.

minor,³⁶ who in 1590 conveyed it to John Carter of Pirton, in Churchdown.³⁷ Carter (d. 1627) was succeeded by his son Giles,³⁸ who recovered his estates in the mid 1640s following their sequestration on the ground of his royalist sympathies.³⁹ From Giles (d. 1665)⁴⁰ the manor passed to his grand-nephew Edward Carter of Alvescot (Oxon.)⁴¹ and from Edward (d. 1674) to his brother Goddard.⁴² Goddard (d. 1725) left the manor to his daughter Rebecca⁴³ and in 1726 it was settled on her marriage to Sir John Doyley, Bt., of Chiselhampton (Oxon.).⁴⁴ Rebecca (fl. 1739)⁴⁵ died before her husband and at his death in 1746 the manor passed, as did the baronetcy, to his son Thomas.⁴⁶ Sir Thomas (d. 1759) left the manor to his wife Mary and at her death in 1780 it passed to William Newcome, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, whose first wife had been the Doyleys' daughter Susanna⁴⁷ (d. 1769).⁴⁸ In 1794, in return for an annuity, William gave the manor to Maria, his only child by Susanna, and her husband the Revd. Mungo Henry Noble of Allenstown (co. Meath).⁴⁹ Noble changed his surname to Waller in 1809 and, shortly after his death in 1831,⁵⁰ Maria, as part of a settlement of the family estates, relinquished the manor to four of their five children. They sold it in 1833 to Henry Thomas Hope of Deepdene, in Dorking (Surr.),⁵¹ and after his death in 1862 the manor descended with his Hampnett estate until 1911,⁵² when the Cavendish Land Co. sold the Cold Aston estate comprising 1,061 a. to Cyril Grant Cunard of Notgrove.⁵³ Following Cunard's death in 1914 his widow Beatrice, who married W. H. Curran in 1918,⁵⁴ broke up the estate over several years by sales to C. Williams, the owner of Elm Bank farm, J. W. Tayler, an auctioneer who had farmed in Cold Aston for some time, and S. E. Nicholas.⁵⁵ In the later 20th century the farms changed hands several times and in 1996 the land remained divided between several owners.⁵⁶

The manor house was recorded from 1309.⁵⁷

In 1672 the occupant, Richard Moulder, was assessed for tax on five hearths.⁵⁸ The house stood south-east of the church on the north side of the village street and in 1821 it was rebuilt as a farmhouse called the Manor House (later Manor Farm House),⁵⁹ where the manor court met in 1827.⁶⁰

LITTLE ASTON farm, sometimes called a manor, was the subject of a suit between the prioress of Westwood (Worcs.) and Geoffrey de Longchamp in 1220⁶¹ and belonged to the priory in the early 14th century⁶² and until the Dissolution.⁶³ In 1538 the Crown sold the manor to (Sir) Robert Acton⁶⁴ (d. 1558), whose younger son Charles, of Elmley Lovett (Worcs.),⁶⁵ sold it to William Rogers in 1590. From William (d. 1593) the farm passed with Dowdeswell manor to his son William, a minor,⁶⁶ and at the younger William's death in 1640 it passed to his widow Philip for her life.⁶⁷ She died in 1644⁶⁸ and, the younger William's eldest son Don Rogers having died without issue in the same year, the second son William⁶⁹ inherited the farm. He sold it in 1666 to George Townsend,⁷⁰ who redeemed the farm's corn tithes from the lay rector in 1668.⁷¹ By will proved 1683 George gave the farm and corn tithes to Pembroke college, Oxford, as an endowment for scholarships for boys from schools in Gloucester, Cheltenham, Chipping Campden, and Northleach.⁷² In 1925 the college sold the farm, then known as Aston farm, to Frank Treasure, a Gloucester solicitor, and in 1945 his son Garnet sold it to A. T. Gaze. C. H. Kleinwort of Sezincote bought it in 1957 and, with the purchase of Camp farm a few years later, owned 491 a. in the parish.⁷³ Kleinwort, who was knighted in 1971, died in 1980,⁷⁴ and in 1996 Aston farm, then comprising 750 a. (304 ha.) in Cold Aston, Naunton, and Notgrove, remained part of the Sezincote estate of his daughter Susanna, wife of David Peake.⁷⁵

St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, had land in Cold Aston in 1256⁷⁶ and held a hide there from

³⁶ Ibid. C 142/116, no. 82; Hockaday Abs. ccxxviii, Lower Guiting.

³⁷ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/32, abs. of title 1802.

³⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 92-5.

³⁹ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, ii. 1308; Atkyns, *Glos.* 228.

⁴⁰ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 79.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/32, abs. of title 1802; cf. *ibid.* D 75/T 3-4.

⁴² P.R.O., PROB 11/345 (P.C.C. 85 Bunce), f. 248 and v.

⁴³ Ibid. PROB 11/606 (P.C.C. 248 Romney), ff. 197v.-199.

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/32, abs. of title 1802.

⁴⁵ Ibid. I/30.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/751 (P.C.C. 348 Edmunds), ff. 158v.-161.

⁴⁷ G.E.C. *Baronetage*, iv. 34 and n.; Glos. R.O., D 245/I/32, abs. of title 1802; for Wm. (d. 1800), from 1795 archbp. of Armagh, *D.N.B.*

⁴⁸ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/46.

⁴⁹ Ibid. I/5; 32, abs. of title 1802.

⁵⁰ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii, Ireland 468.

⁵¹ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/32; *V.C.H. Surr.* iii. 143.

⁵² Below, Hampnett, manor; Glos. R.O., Q/RUM 390; D 1388/SL 6, no. 88a; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 663.

⁵³ Glos. R.O., SL 290; D 2428/2/13.

⁵⁴ Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 640.

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/13; G/NO 160/2/1-3; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 26; (1914), 135.

⁵⁶ Inf. from Mr. E. Nicholas, of Aston Knoll, Cold Aston.

⁵⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302-58, 113, 278.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10; Glos. R.O., D 75/T 4.

⁵⁹ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/9, 30; SL 290.

⁶⁰ Ibid. D 245/I/45.

⁶¹ *Pipe R.* 1220 (P.R.S. N.S. xlvii), 79; *Cur. Reg. R.* ix. 230, 256.

⁶² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 172.

⁶³ *Cat. Anct. D.* v, A 12696; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii. 276.

⁶⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), p. 487.

⁶⁵ *V.C.H. Worcs.* iii. 108; P.R.O., C 3/96/2.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., C 142/239, no. 111.

⁶⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, ii. 164-6.

⁶⁸ Glos. R.O., P 117/IN 1/1.

⁶⁹ *Visit. Glos.* 1623, 140; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii, pedigree facing p. 120.

⁷⁰ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 31.

⁷¹ P.R.O., CP 25/2/657/20 Chas. II Mich. no. 26.

⁷² Glos. R.O., P 368/1/CH 8; *V.C.H. Glos.* ii. 354-5.

⁷³ Inf. from Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Bullock, of Aston Farm, farmers there since 1965; for the Treasures, *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 213.

⁷⁴ *Who Was Who*, 1971-80, 441.

⁷⁵ Inf. from Mr. Bullock.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/1/74/23, no. 514.

Ralph Pipard, lord of the manor, in 1299.⁷⁷ In 1520 the prior was thought to hold land in Cold Aston directly of the bishop of Worcester.⁷⁸ By 1291 the priory's land was attached to its estate in Aylworth⁷⁹ and in 1543 part of it was granted with that estate to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple and was sold by them to John Stratford.⁸⁰ That land later passed with Cold Aston manor,⁸¹ which Stratford acquired in 1546.⁸² The other part of the priory's estate in Cold Aston was granted by the Crown to Thomas Reeve and Christopher Bullit in 1558⁸³ and was sold by Anthony Hodgkins to Henry Hurst in 1599. In 1626 it was bought by Giles Tray, whose descendants retained it until the mid 18th century.⁸⁴

In 1355 Godstow abbey (Oxon.) had land and rents in Cold Aston.⁸⁵ The later descent of that estate is not known.

Cold Aston rectory was owned by Little Malvern priory (Worcs.) in 1275⁸⁶ and was worth £9 6s. 8d. in 1291.⁸⁷ The priory, which let the estate at farm for £7 in 1527, retained it until the Dissolution,⁸⁸ after which it was leased from the Crown.⁸⁹ Henry Winchcombe of Northleach was the lessee together with John Harthill in 1576 and with Thomas Freeman later.⁹⁰ Richard Taylor held a lease of the rectory at his death in 1627.⁹¹ Bernard Winchcombe owned the rectory in 1668, when he sold the Little Aston corn tithes to the landowner there,⁹² and at his death in 1684,⁹³ and Richard Winchcombe was the owner c. 1703 and until his death in 1717.⁹⁴ The rectory, which in the early 18th century claimed the corn tithes of the whole parish except the vicar's glebe and was valued at £100,⁹⁵ was acquired before 1730 by Edmund Waller⁹⁶ of Beaconsfield (Bucks.). After Edmund's death in 1771⁹⁷ it passed, evidently with his Farmington estate, to his son Edmund (d. 1788).⁹⁸ The latter's son and heir Edmund acquired some land in Cold Aston, and at inclosure in 1796, when Pembroke college disputed his claim to the Little Aston corn tithes, he was awarded 208 a. for the other rectorial tithes.⁹⁹ Edmund's estate of 244 a. was for sale in 1807,¹ and it was owned by Edmund Humphris in 1809

and by John Humphris in 1810.² John, a cattle dealer, was declared bankrupt in 1815,³ and (Sir) John Bisset bought the estate in 1816.⁴ Bisset, who had been commissary general of the duke of Wellington's army in Spain, died in 1854⁵ leaving the estate to Elizabeth Booth,⁶ and following her death in 1914 Thomas and Lawrence Acock, together with their sister Amy, bought it.⁷ The Acocks, whose family had farmed both rectory and vicar's glebe for several generations,⁸ purchased over 100 a. of the glebe in 1919. After the deaths of Thomas and Lawrence, in 1923 and 1927 respectively,⁹ the two farms were acquired jointly by George Wood (d. 1931) and his brother James Hall Wood (d. 1939), both of Hazleton. In the 1950s George's son George¹⁰ conveyed 234 a. together with the principal house (later called Rectory Farm House) to his daughter Mary Dun Ray (d. 1986). She sold most of the land in 1974, some of it to neighbouring landowners. After the death of Mrs. Ray's husband Leslie in 1987 Rectory Farm House passed to their daughter Diana Ray.¹¹

The rectory buildings included a new grange in 1275¹² and presumably the house occupied by the vicar in 1339.¹³ Rectory Farm House, south of the later vicarage house, has at its centre a small mid 17th-century house, which was the lay rector's residence.¹⁴ Beneath that house, a small barrel-vaulted cellar with three chamfered ribs may date from the 15th century. Although only one or two mullioned windows survive externally a single bay of a mid 17th-century house is well preserved within. It has a partly blocked fireplace on the ground floor with an axial staircase, chamfered beams and a four-centred arched fireplace in the room above, and a roof of tiebeam and collar construction. The house, perhaps that for which a member of the Winchcombe family was assessed on three hearths in 1672,¹⁵ seems to have been extended to three bays but the end bays were rebuilt and extended and the whole front refenestrated in the 19th century, by which time the house was a farmhouse.¹⁶ Among the outbuildings is a late 18th-century barn built perhaps at or soon after inclosure.

⁷⁷ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 354.

⁷⁸ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92504.

⁷⁹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 233; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 80–1.

⁸⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (2), pp. 53, 59.

⁸¹ P.R.O., C 142/98, no. 26; *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/I/32.

⁸² Above, this section.

⁸³ *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 41.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 189/II/2/T 3.

⁸⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccxxi, St. Oswald's priory.

⁸⁶ B.L. Sloane Chart. xxxiii. 14.

⁸⁷ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

⁸⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/4039, rot. 19d.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* E 310/14/55, f. 3; *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 619.

⁹⁰ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 92v.; P.R.O., C 66/1351, mm. 11–12; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, p. 328.

⁹¹ G.D.R. wills 1627/155.

⁹² P.R.O., CP 25/2/657/20 Chas. II Mich. no. 26.

⁹³ G.D.R. wills 1684/466; Bigland, *Glos.* i. 79.

⁹⁴ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 243; G.D.R., V 1/16; wills 1717/260.

⁹⁵ G.D.R., V 5/25t 5; Atkyns, *Glos.* 228.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 75/E 1; G.D.R. vol. 397, f. 69.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/1; for the Wallers, *V.C.H.*

Bucks. iii. 159; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii. 1532.

⁹⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 239; below, Farmington, manor.

⁹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 12; cf. *ibid.* D 245/I/10–11.

¹ *Ibid.* D 245/I/9.

² *Ibid.* Q/REI 1, Bradley hund., 1809–10.

³ *Ibid.* D 1395, Cold Aston and Compton Abdale deeds 1795–1816.

⁴ *Ibid.* D 3072.

⁵ *D.N.B.*

⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/2190, ff. 288v.–289.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/13.

⁸ *Ibid.* D 3072; G/NO 160/2/1; *ibid.* reg. wills 1896, f. 31.

⁹ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/13; cf. *ibid.* reg. wills 1923, f. 249 and v.; 1927, f. 252 and v.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* D 2299/5491; Hazleton burial reg. 1813–1979 (copy in *ibid.* PMF 172).

¹¹ Inf. from Miss Ray, of Rectory Farm Ho.

¹² B.L. Sloane Chart. xxxiii. 14.

¹³ *Reg. Bransford*, pp. 11–12.

¹⁴ G.D.R. wills 1717/260; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231; D 75/P 1.

¹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/I/9; D 3072.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1309 the demesne of Cold Aston manor comprised 160 a. arable and some meadow land and pasture;¹⁷ in 1338 the arable was extended at 200 a.¹⁸ St. Oswald's priory had 2 ploughlands in demesne in Aylworth and Cold Aston in 1291¹⁹ and it farmed out land there in the early 16th century.²⁰ The manorial demesne was also farmed in the early 1530s.²¹

In 1309 the tenants on the manor included six freeholders owing cash rents valued at £1 6s. and some customary payments. Of the customary tenants, from whom £2 was received in tallage, nine owed labour services valued at £3 and no other rent and three were cottars paying rents worth 5s. 6d.²² In 1338 the rents and services of the customary tenants amounted to £8 2s. 6d.²³ In 1291 St. Oswald's priory received £3 17s. 1d. rent from its tenants in Aylworth and Cold Aston and 6 marks from a fee which may have been entirely in Cold Aston.²⁴

There is no evidence that Westwood priory kept any land in demesne in Cold Aston. In the years 1303–5 its estate there yielded a farm of £3 6s. 8d., presumably derived from the rents of the Little Aston tenants. Of the nine tenants recorded in those years only one was among the 18 taxpayers listed in the parish in 1327.²⁵ By 1340 seven inhabitants of Little Aston had abandoned their holdings and left the parish²⁶ and by the 1350s payment of the farm to the priory had ceased altogether. A farm of £2 was paid in 1383.²⁷ Under a lease of 1533 Little Aston was farmed for £5²⁸ and in 1538 it was valued at £15 19s. 4d.²⁹

In the early 13th century Cold Aston had two arable fields and holdings were apparently divided equally between them.³⁰ Those fields, in which Little Aston presumably shared, remained extensive³¹ and in the late 16th century the upper field extended to the boundary with Notgrove on the north-west and the lower field to the boundary with Bourton-on-the-Water on the south-east. North-east of the village the fields were divided by the road to Little Aston. If the vicar's glebe was typical, in the early 17th century arable land was held in strips of an acre or less scattered in the fields' furlongs.³² There was c. 40 acres of open-field land to a yardland.³³

Closes surrounding the village in the late 16th

century included one called the Coneygree;³⁴ the remains of a warren, a long bank in a field by the stream east of the village, were levelled in 1957.³⁵ There was meadow land by the river Windrush, and the 30 a. of meadow belonging to the manorial demesne in 1309³⁶ probably included the meadow upstream of Little Aston known as Bowman's Hay by 1663.³⁷ A lot meadow recorded in the mid 16th century³⁸ may have been by the stream on the parish boundary upstream of Broadwater bottom: in 1752 the Cold Aston bank of the stream was in 10 small closes, each of less than an acre.³⁹ There were also scattered areas of meadow land within the open fields.⁴⁰ Common pasture was recorded from 1309⁴¹ and land near Broadwater bottom and Aston grove was among areas used as common in the late 16th century.⁴² The principal commons, some of which were recorded in 1612, were on Vint hill (110 a.) in the south of the parish by the Foss way, Coarsers hill (58 a.) in the east by the Foss way, Grove hill (59 a.) in the south-west on the side of the tributary valley of Broadwater bottom, Longbrook hill (37 a.) north of the village, and the steep side of the Windrush valley (77 a., described in 1752 as a cow common) in the far north of the parish.⁴³

In the later Middle Ages, when there was evidently some inclosure at Little Aston,⁴⁴ there may have been an increase in sheep flocks in the parish. Sheep rearing was of considerable importance in the early 16th century, when well over half of the vicar's income came from wool tithes,⁴⁵ and one parishioner was described as a shepherd in 1608.⁴⁶ In the later 17th century the usual stint of common was 60 sheep and 3 cow pastures to a yardland.⁴⁷

In 1650 Little Aston farm comprised meadows by the river Windrush and pieces of land in the lower (or east) field⁴⁸ but as a result of exchanges of land completed in 1675 it had its own separate fields occupying the north-east corner of the parish.⁴⁹ Some consolidation of open-field strips also took place before 1684 in an area called the Loaches,⁵⁰ lying north-east of the village on either side of the way to Little Aston. The enlarged holdings were inclosed with hedges but those closes were accounted part of the open fields.⁵¹ There were also early closes in the south of the parish in the valley

¹⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302–58, 113.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 273.

¹⁹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 233.

²⁰ P.R.O., C 1/513, no. 41; SC 6/Hen. VIII/1212, rot. 10d.

²¹ *Ibid.* C 142/55, no. 4 (2).

²² *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302–58, 113.

²³ *Ibid.* 273.

²⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 233.

²⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 172, 174–5; *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

²⁶ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411.

²⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 175.

²⁸ *Cat. Anct. D.* v, A 12696; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/4039, rot. 5 and d.

²⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 175.

³⁰ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 233–4.

³¹ Cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 169, 173.

³² G.D.R., V 5/25t 1–2, 5; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

³³ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 3.

³⁴ G.D.R., V 5/25t 1; *Glos. R.O.*, D 75/T 4.

³⁵ *Proc. C.N.F.C.* xxxv (3), 156–8; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

³⁶ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302–58, 113.

³⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 180/II/2/T 3; D 75/T 4, P 1.

³⁸ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 3.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁴⁰ G.D.R., V 5/25t 2, 5.

⁴¹ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302–58, 113.

⁴² *Glos. R.O.*, D 184/II/2/T 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.* D 2231; G.D.R., V 5/25t 2.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 175.

⁴⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 439.

⁴⁶ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 269.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2957/25.4; G.D.R., V 5/25t 5.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 31.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* D 75/T 2–3; D 2957/25.4; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 173.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 75/T 4.

⁵¹ G.D.R., V 5/25t 5; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

leading into Broadwater bottom.⁵² In the early 18th century the two open fields were reorganized as four fields.⁵³ The change may have taken place in 1715 when the stint of common for sheep and cows was reduced by a third.⁵⁴ In 1752 the open fields covered 1,161 a., nearly two thirds of the farmland in the parish, and the common pastures 388 a.⁵⁵ The parish remained chiefly arable in the later 18th century⁵⁶ and sheep farming retained its importance. In 1793, when the open fields and commons contained 1,461 a. and 140 a. respectively, there were pasture rights for 1,474 sheep.⁵⁷

It seems that copyhold tenure had virtually ceased to exist on Cold Aston manor by the late 17th century when many tenants held leases for a term of 99 years or three lives. The principal tenements comprised several yardlands;⁵⁸ one of 4½ yardlands was divided into three separate holdings in 1696.⁵⁹ In 1752 there were eleven tenants on the manor, all but one of them with 29 a. or more and four with 103 a., 121 a., 181 a. (at rack rent), and 202 a. At the same time, excluding the vicarial glebe and Little Aston farm, there were in the parish five freehold estates with 14 a. or more, the largest having 151 a. and 188 a., and three much smaller freeholds.⁶⁰ In the later 18th century the number of landholders decreased and, excluding the glebe and Little Aston farm, in 1793 there were six tenants of the manor, four freeholders, and one freeholder and tenant with land in Cold Aston. The principal tenants, of whom two had two farmhouses each, had 370 a., 243 a., and 235 a., the freeholder and tenant had 303 a., and one freeholder had 200 a.⁶¹

By the mid 1790s 690 a. in the parish, including 446 a. at Little Aston, had been inclosed.⁶² The remaining open-field and common pasture land was inclosed in 1796 under an Act obtained at the instigation of the Revd. M. H. Noble, the lord of the manor. Noble paid most of the cost and sold outlying parts of his estate, at Bourton-on-the-Water and Hampen, to raise money. The award, which dealt with 1,549 a. including a few old closes, allotted Noble 738 a., including 173 a. in which Ann Paxford had a life interest until 1805. Edmund Waller received 239 a. for land and the rectorial tithes and the vicar 113 a. for glebe and tithes. Of the other freeholders one was allotted 205 a., two joint holders of an estate were given 201 a., and another received 17 a. Under the award some lands were exchanged and a division was made of the joint estate.⁶³

Following the inclosure Noble carried out a number of improvements,⁶⁴ divided his estate into three main farms,⁶⁵ and raised his rental from £276 to £852 by 1798.⁶⁶ In the 1820s Manor farm comprised 353 a.⁶⁷ and another farm 617 a. The rectory estate (240 a.) was leased from 1796 as a single farm,⁶⁸ the tenant in 1827 being Thomas Acock,⁶⁹ and the vicar rented his glebe (112 a.) to a local farmer.⁷⁰ In 1831 seven farmers living in the parish employed labour,⁷¹ and in 1851 some 55 men were employed on six farms ranging in area from 200 a. to 606 a.⁷² In the later 19th century Manor and Grove farms on the Hope family's estate were combined to create a holding of c. 970 a. and Street farm, the other farm on the estate, retained c. 205 a. after it was leased to Arthur Acock in 1871. The rectory estate and the vicarial glebe were combined in a single farm worked by the Acock family⁷³ and in 1896 most land in the parish belonged to one of six farms.⁷⁴ In 1926 seven farms and a smallholding were returned for Cold Aston. Of the farms five had over 300 a. each and three of those were occupied by their owners. Together the farms provided employment for a total of 33 farm labourers.⁷⁵ Of twelve holdings returned for the parish in 1956 three had over 300 a., another three over 150 a., and the rest under 50 a. Together they gave regular employment to 24 labourers.⁷⁶ In 1986 two farms had over 741 a. (300 ha.) and another two over 247 a. (100 ha.) and there were four smaller holdings. Two farms were run by managers and five were worked part-time, and three labourers were hired regularly on the land.⁷⁷ In 1996 the farms were worked primarily by labour contracted from outside the parish.⁷⁸

The land remained mostly in tillage after the inclosure of 1796⁷⁹ and the principal crops on 1,025 a. recorded as arable in 1801 were wheat, barley, oats, and turnips.⁸⁰ Corn and sheep husbandry remained the basis of the farming economy and, as part of the crop rotation, large crops of grass and clover were grown. In 1866 1,802 a. was returned as arable compared with 137 a. as permanent grassland.⁸¹ Four shepherds lived in the parish in 1851⁸² and 1,364 sheep were returned in 1866, along with 208 cattle, including 37 milk cows, and 85 pigs.⁸³ In the later 19th century fewer cereal crops were grown and the area of grazing land increased, 491 a. being returned as permanent grassland and 75 a., presumably rough grazing, as mountain or heath land in 1896.⁸⁴ In the late 19th century a small

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁵³ *G.D.R.*, V 5/25t 5; *Glos. R.O.*, D 75/T 11.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 75/E 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* D 2231.

⁵⁶ Rudder, *Glos.* 238.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/I/5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* D 75/T 2-7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* T 10-12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* D 2231.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* D 245/I/5.

⁶² *Ibid.* D 75/P 1.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Q/RI 12; D 245/I/7, 10-11.

⁶⁴ Cf. Fosbrooke, *Glos.* ii. 420; above, intro.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/I/5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* I/7, 10.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* I/30.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* I/9.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* I/45.

⁷⁰ *G.D.R.*, V 5/25t 6; *Glos. R.O.*, D 446/T 2.

⁷¹ *Census*, 1831.

⁷² *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, G/NO 160/2/1; *Surr. Hist. Centre*, Woking, 2971/1/1, pp. 245, 249; 2971/1/5.

⁷⁴ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/1609/2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* MAF 68/3295/17.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/190.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* MAF 68/6005/14/190.

⁷⁸ Local inf.

⁷⁹ Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 269.

⁸⁰ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 168.

⁸¹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/26/12.

⁸² *Ibid.* HO 107/1969.

⁸³ *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

area in the village was turned over to allotment gardens.⁸⁵ Cereal cultivation continued to decline in the early 20th century and the area returned as under corn or fallow in 1926 was 429 a. compared with 925 a. of permanent grassland and 136 a. of rough grazing. During the same period fewer sheep were kept, there was an increase in stock rearing, and pig farming continued, with 456 ewes, 327 cattle, and 117 pigs returned in 1926. Poultry farming was represented in that year by 495 fowls, 392 ducks, and 50 geese.⁸⁶ In 1956, when 542 a. was described as permanent grassland, at least 958 a. was used for grazing and 564 a. for growing corn and 22 a. was fallow. The animals returned that year included 394 ewes, 544 beef and dairy cattle, 91 pigs, and 1,219 fowls.⁸⁷ In 1986, when two farms were given over primarily to cereal production and another to pig rearing, 533 ewes, 259 cattle, and 402 pigs were returned for Cold Aston.⁸⁸ In the early 1920s watercress was cultivated in beds by the Windrush upstream of Bowman's Hay⁸⁹ and in 1996, although the beds were no longer commercially managed, cress was still gathered there. In 1996, when arable farming was predominant, Aston farm also had a small herd of beef cattle and elsewhere there were cattle and sheep.⁹⁰

In 1303 a miller was among Westwood priory's tenants at Little Aston, where a mill on the north-eastern side of the river Windrush belonged to Lower Slaughter manor.⁹¹ A water mill recorded on Cold Aston manor in 1309 and 1338⁹² was possibly on the stream east of the village where the sites of a building south of the road to Bourton-on-the-Water and of ponds on the line of the stream are indicated by earthworks.⁹³

Stone was quarried in the parish in the later Middle Ages, at least one quarry being let with the manorial demesne in the early 1530s.⁹⁴ According to field-name evidence in 1795 there was once a limekiln at Little Aston. In 1796 eight places in different parts of the parish were designated quarries to provide material for road repairs.⁹⁵ Although none of the parishioners listed in 1608 was apparently a tradesman or craftsman⁹⁶ several villagers in the early 18th century had non-agricultural occupations, including a baker⁹⁷ and, in 1708, a blacksmith.⁹⁸ A carpenter was recorded in 1757⁹⁹ and a malt-

house in 1767.¹ Building trades were represented by two stonemasons in the mid 1790s.² In 1811 and 1831 about a quarter of the families in the parish were supported by trade or some other non-agricultural work,³ and in 1851 residents included a blacksmith, several wheelwrights and carpenters, a baker, a shoemaker, a tailor, several masons and slaters, and a woodcutter.⁴ A game-keeper appointed in the early 19th century was responsible for protecting the lord of the manor's fishing rights in the river Windrush.⁵ In the later 19th century three Cold Aston villagers were employed solely in maintaining dew-ponds in an area extending far beyond the parish.⁶ Many trades died out in the early 20th century but the village blacksmith continued in business just after the Second World War.⁷ A building business established at Cold Aston by Herbert Mustoe in the mid 20th century was one of two building firms in the village in 1974. In 1996 it was run, together with a building firm in Northleach, by John Mustoe⁸ and a carpenter and joiner had a new business in the village. In 1852 the keeper of the beerhouse (later the Plough) on the village green ran a shop⁹ and in 1856 there was also a village post office.¹⁰ In 1974 the village shop was kept at the former Keeper's Arms and the post office at the Plough.¹¹ The shop remained open in 1996.

Thomas Acock had established an auctioneer's business in Cold Aston by 1795.¹² Run after his death in 1845 by his son Arthur,¹³ it organized most of the land and livestock sales in the surrounding countryside in the later 19th and the 20th centuries. The firm, in which W. B. Fletcher partnered J. W. Tayler in the early 20th century,¹⁴ retained an office at Sycamore House in Cold Aston after the Second World War¹⁵ but in 1996 it was based in Stow-on-the-Wold.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. As recorded in 1299, the bishop of Worcester's court at Withington exercised frankpledge jurisdiction in Cold Aston.¹⁶ For the purposes of the court Little Aston was a separate tithing in the late Middle Ages, its tithingman making his last known appearance in the court in 1544.¹⁷ The Withington court, in which a murder in Cold Aston was presented in 1547, elected a constable for the parish in 1575¹⁸ and went on swearing in

⁸⁵ Glos. R.O., G/NO 160/2/1.

⁸⁶ Acreage Returns, 1905; P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/190.

⁸⁸ Ibid. MAF 68/6005/14/190.

⁸⁹ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. NE. (1924 edn.).

⁹⁰ Inf. from Mr. W. A. Bullock, of Aston Farm, and other parishioners.

⁹¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 171-2. The hist. of the mill is given in *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 131-2.

⁹² *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302-58, 113, 273.

⁹³ Inf. from Professor C. Dyer of Birmingham University; the building was at O.S. Nat. Grid 133197.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., C 142/55, no. 4 (2).

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 75/P 1; Q/R1 12.

⁹⁶ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 269.

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 189/II/2/T 5.

⁹⁸ Ibid. D 75/T 7.

⁹⁹ Ibid. T 14.

¹ Ibid. E 4.

² Ibid. D 245/I/30.

³ *Census*, 1811; 1831.

⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/5; cf. *ibid.* SL 290.

⁶ Richardson, *Wells and Springs of Glos.* 50.

⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902 and later edns.); Glos. R.O., DA 31/516/5/1, p. 11.

⁸ Inf. from Mr. M. Mustoe, of Castle Barn Farm, Turkdean; *Glos. Life*, April 1974, 58.

⁹ Glos. R.O., P 24/IN 1/2; P.R.O., RG 9/1787; RG 11/2560.

¹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 222.

¹¹ *Glos. Life*, April 1974, 58-9.

¹² Glos. R.O., D 674/1/1.

¹³ G.D.R. wills 1846/185; P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

¹⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885 and later edns.).

¹⁵ Inf. from Mr. Bullock.

¹⁶ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 354.

¹⁷ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92495; 177, no. 92504; 178, no. 92510.

¹⁸ Ibid. 19, nos. 43766-7.

his successors until the early 19th century.¹⁹ Cold Aston manor court, recorded in 1309,²⁰ was held until at least 1827, when presentments to one session dealt with encroachments on waste and other land, the inhabitants' right to have a village pump, the retention of gates across the principal roads out of the village, and the appointment of a constable and hayward.²¹ In 1796 a mare was forfeit as a deadend to the lord of the manor.²² Westwood priory held a court for Little Aston and court rolls for the years 1303–5 have survived.²³

There were two churchwardens for Cold Aston in 1543 and later²⁴ and their surviving accounts begin in 1768.²⁵ The amount spent by the parish on poor relief rose from £34 in 1776 to £138 in 1803, when 15 people received regular and 19 occasional assistance,²⁶ and to £329 in 1813, when similar numbers were helped.²⁷ By 1825 it had fallen to what it had been in 1803 and, in following years, it usually remained under £166.²⁸ Several of the parcels of land set aside at inclosure in 1796 to supply stone for repairing the parish highways²⁹ were let as gardens or allotments and the rents used for highway repairs and for church purposes by the 1860s.³⁰ In the mid 1830s Cold Aston was one of several parishes policed by an officer employed by an association set up at Bourton-on-the-Water.³¹

Cold Aston became part of Northleach poor-law union in 1836³² and was included in Northleach rural district in 1895³³ and in Cotswold district in 1974. A parish meeting established in 1894 was replaced in 1948 by a parish council, which continued to meet regularly in 1996.³⁴

CHURCH. Cold Aston church dates from the 12th century and is first found recorded *c.* 1220.³⁵ It was appropriated by Little Malvern priory (Worcs.) before 1275³⁶ and a vicarage was ordained before 1289.³⁷ The living, which

remained a vicarage,³⁸ was united with Notgrove in 1908.³⁹ Turkdean was added to the united benefice in 1967.⁴⁰ From 1986 Cold Aston was among several parishes served by a priest-in-charge based in Northleach.⁴¹

In the late 13th century the vicarage was in the gift of Little Malvern priory.⁴² Although the advowson was included in a settlement of the manor in the mid 15th century,⁴³ the priory retained the patronage⁴⁴ until the Dissolution, when it passed with the rectory to the Crown.⁴⁵ At a vacancy in 1616 Richard Winchcombe claimed the advowson under an alleged grant of Elizabeth I to his father but the Crown's presentee was instituted.⁴⁶ From the early 18th century the patronage was usually exercised for the Crown by the Lord Chancellor.⁴⁷ He was sole patron of the united benefice from 1908⁴⁸ until 1967 when the bishop, as patron of Turkdean, acquired the right to present at every third turn.⁴⁹

In 1291 the rectory was valued at £9 6s. 8d. and the vicarage at £4 6s. 8d.⁵⁰ The vicar's portion included tithes of hay, wool, and lambs and other small tithes⁵¹ and those tithes were claimed from the whole parish in 1612 and 1704.⁵² At inclosure in 1796 the vicarial tithes were commuted for 88 a. and, for those of Little Aston, a corn rent charge of £18 17s. 11d.⁵³ In 1340 the vicar evidently held two yardlands in addition to his glebe,⁵⁴ which in the later 16th century comprised *c.* 37 a. in the open fields, presumably with the associated common rights, and a few acres in closes.⁵⁵ It was described as a yardland in 1612.⁵⁶ A gift of £200 from Dorothy Vernon in 1757 to augment the living was used, together with an equal sum from Queen Anne's Bounty, to buy 11 a. in Bourton-on-the-Water in 1763.⁵⁷ After the inclosure of 1796, when the vicar was awarded a rent charge of 15. 2d., the glebe included 112 a. in Cold Aston.⁵⁸ That land was sold in 1919⁵⁹ and the Bourton land in 1920.⁶⁰ The living was valued at £6 14s. 5d. in 1535,⁶¹ £25 in 1650,⁶² £30 in 1750,⁶³ and £153 in 1856.⁶⁴

¹⁹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/21, no. 43772; 151, nos. 47948–52.

²⁰ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1302–58, 113.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/45.

²² *Ibid.* 1/7.

²³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cv. 172, 180, citing the originals, in Birmingham Reference Libr. in 1996.

²⁴ Hockaday Abs. xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 19; xliii, 1566 visit. f. 21; G.D.R., V 5/25t 2–6.

²⁵ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 52.

²⁶ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 1818, 146–7.

²⁸ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66; (1835), 65.

²⁹ Above, econ. hist.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 24/VE 2/1.

³¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* c. 238.

³² *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/300/2.

³⁴ Par. council rec. (in keeping of Mr. P. Clark, chairman of council), min. bks. 1894–1988; inf. from Mr. Clark.

³⁵ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 233–4.

³⁶ B.L. Sloane Chart. xxxiii. 14.

³⁷ *Reg. Giffard*, 331.

³⁸ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Brian, i, f. 36v.; Rudder, *Glos.* 239.

³⁹ G.D.R., D 17/7/3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* V 7/1/56.

⁴¹ Notice in church; *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994–5), 103.

⁴² *Reg. Giffard*, 331, 349.

⁴³ P.R.O., C 139/148, no. 11; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1461–7, 153.

⁴⁴ *Reg. Bransford*, p. 358; Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Morgan, i, f. 28; *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 46.

⁴⁵ Hockaday Abs. xxxi, 1548 visit. f. 68; *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 325; above, manors.

⁴⁶ Hockaday Abs. cvi.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Atkyns, *Glos.* 228; Rudder, *Glos.* 239; G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 10.

⁴⁸ G.D.R., D 17/7/3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* V 7/1/56; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1967–8), 54; *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994–5), 103.

⁵⁰ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

⁵¹ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 439.

⁵² G.D.R., V 5/25t 2, 5.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 12.

⁵⁴ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411.

⁵⁵ G.D.R., V 5/25t 1; cf. *ibid.* 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 7; Hodgson, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1826), 172, 321.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 12; G/NO 160/2/1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/13.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 2/30.

⁶¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 439.

⁶² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁶³ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 69.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* vol. 384, f. 10.

The vicar's house, recorded in 1339,⁶⁵ was on the south side of the village street next to the rectory buildings.⁶⁶ In the late 16th century its gardens included one known as the bee garden.⁶⁷ The present house, which was retained as the residence of the united benefice in 1908 and 1967⁶⁸ but was sold following the death of the incumbent in 1986,⁶⁹ incorporates the house for which the vicar was assessed on four hearths in 1672.⁷⁰ It was a two-storeyed house with attics on a T plan with two or three rooms on each floor and, in a west projection, a staircase rising from an arch-vaulted cellar under the north part of the house. The house's south end, which has a large chimneystack, a beam with a broach stop, and a two-centred headed doorway, may be older. By the mid 19th century the west projection had been extended westwards and a brew-house and laundry were accommodated in a wing running south from the south gable wall. In 1858 John Clifford of Stow-on-the-Wold enlarged the house for the vicar Thomas Townsend. He added an east pile of rooms higher than those of the earlier house and containing, on the ground floor, dining and drawing rooms flanking a staircase hall; the new three-bayed east front was plain with stone mullioned windows. Service additions were made north and south of the west wing and a new brewhouse was built at the west end of the south service wing;⁷¹ the old brewhouse was later taken down leaving the wing detached. North of the house an outbuilding, perhaps a small 17th-century barn, was adapted as a coach house and stables.

The vicarage was given to a former monk from Great Malvern (Worcs.) in 1541.⁷² From the mid 16th century the vicars were often pluralists and served Cold Aston with nearby churches. The vicar instituted in 1550⁷³ was unable to repeat the Ten Commandments;⁷⁴ he served in person in 1563 when he was non-resident.⁷⁵ Ambrose Hurst, vicar from 1570, was non-resident and employed a curate in 1576;⁷⁶ Hurst, who was among those clergy deemed in 1584 neither graduates nor preachers, retained the vicarage until after 1612.⁷⁷ Between 1629 and 1667 the vicarage was held successively by Joshua and Samuel Elliott, father and his son.⁷⁸ Between 1667 and 1888 there were only six vicars,⁷⁹ including Edward Iles (1667–1725), who was for many years also curate of Salperton,⁸⁰ John James (1748–1800), Wadham Huntley (1802–44), who during part of his

incumbency was also rector of Eastington near Stonehouse,⁸¹ and Thomas Townsend (1845–88).⁸² A weekly Sunday service was conducted in the church in 1906.

In the early 13th century Geoffrey de Longchamp granted the monks of Winchcombe abbey the rent of a house and land in Cold Aston to provide 12d. a year for a lamp in the parish church.⁸³ That endowment may have been represented by the rent of 12d. used for a lamp until the mid 16th century.⁸⁴

The church, which may have borne a dedication to St. Mary in 1545,⁸⁵ was dedicated to ST. ANDREW by the late 18th century.⁸⁶ It comprises chancel, nave with south porch, and west tower. The chancel and nave date from the 12th century, the nave south doorway being of three ornamented orders. The nave north doorway has a badly worn tympanum and was blocked before 1857.⁸⁷ There is also a blocked 12th-century window in the north wall of the chancel. The other medieval windows are 13th-century trefoiled lancets; contemporary with them are the remains of a pillar piscina and credence shelf in the chancel. The chancel east wall is windowless and has the remains of a 14th-century reredos with canopied niches. In the north wall is an aumbry in a similar style. The chancel was apparently the responsibility of the vicar in 1339,⁸⁸ it was later maintained by the owners of the inappropriate rectory or their lessees.⁸⁹ The tower and the nave parapet and roof corbels were built in the 15th century, the tower having a tierceron vault.

About 1820 the church was repaired⁹⁰ and some new seating was provided.⁹¹ The chancel arch, which was apparently rebuilt before 1857,⁹² was widened in 1876 during restoration work to plans by J. E. K. Cutts. In that work the church was reroofed, the porch rebuilt, and some of the fenestration renewed, including two new large 15th-century style windows in the nave. Architectural fragments found at that time, including parts of a Saxon cross and a 14th-century piscina, were reset in the porch west wall. Among new fittings and furnishings introduced in 1876 were a stone bowl for the font and a wooden altar, pulpit, lectern, and pews.⁹³

There are wall monuments in the nave to Giles Carter (d. 1665) and the vicar Samuel Elliott (d. 1667)⁹⁴ and the chancel windows have been filled with glass memorials to Arthur and Martha Acock (d. 1903 and 1904).⁹⁵ The church

⁶⁵ *Reg. Bransford*, pp. 11–12.

⁶⁶ G.D.R., V 5/25t 2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231; D 75/P 1.

⁶⁷ G.D.R., V 5/25t 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* F 4/6/21; V 7/1/56.

⁶⁹ *Inf.* from the owners, Sir Robert and Lady Wade-Gery.

⁷⁰ *P.R.O.*, E 179/247/14, rot. 3.

⁷¹ G.D.R., F 4/1.

⁷² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 68 n.

⁷³ Hockaday Abs. cvi; xliii, 1566 visit. f. 21.

⁷⁴ *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

⁷⁵ Hockaday Abs. xlii, 1563 visit. f. 33.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* cvi; lxvii, 1576 visit. ff. 55–6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* cvi; xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 20.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* cvi; lxiv, 1642 visit. f. 12; *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 475.

⁷⁹ Hockaday Abs. cvi; *Glos. R.O.*, P 24/IN 1/1.

⁸⁰ E. E. Reynolds, *Notes on Hist. of Salperton* (1956), 31; G.D.R., V 1/104.

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Glos.* x. 136; Cold Aston burial reg. 1813–1966 (copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PMF 24), burial 5 Dec. 1844.

⁸² Burial reg. 1813–1966, burial 19 Mar. 1888.

⁸³ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 233–4.

⁸⁴ *P.R.O.*, E 301/23, no. 95.

⁸⁵ Hockaday Abs. cvi.

⁸⁶ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 78; Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 270.

⁸⁷ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 97.

⁸⁸ *Reg. Bransford*, pp. 11–12.

⁸⁹ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 92v.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* vol. 383, no. ccxlix.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/9.

⁹² *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 97.

⁹³ *Church Builder*, 1876, 172–4; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879), 559.

⁹⁴ Cf. Bigland, *Glos.* i. 79.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 24/VE 2/1.

had three bells in 1681⁹⁶ and it later acquired a ring of five cast by Abraham Rudhall in 1717; one bell was recast in 1796 and another in 1880.⁹⁷ The plate includes a chalice of 1717 acquired the following year.⁹⁸ The parish registers survive from 1727.⁹⁹

NONCONFORMITY. William Truby, a parishioner not attending church in 1682,¹ subscribed to the building of the Baptist meeting house licensed in Bourton-on-the-Water in 1701.² In the early 18th century other parishioners were also members of one or other of the Baptist meetings in Bourton.³ In 1780 Baptists registered a house in the parish for worship⁴ and in 1795 at least 12 parishioners were members of the Bourton church.⁵ In the early 19th century some attended the Naunton chapel.⁶ In 1845 a group including the Bourton minister registered a room⁷ which had been built in Cold Aston apparently not long before as a chapel. It had an evening congregation of c. 70 in 1851.⁸ No record of the meeting in the later 19th century has been found, but in 1902 the Bourton church built a new chapel in the south of the village for its mission.⁹ That chapel remained open in 1962¹⁰ but it was occupied by a firm of builders and decorators in 1974¹¹ and was a house in 1996.

EDUCATION. In 1683 the vicar Edward Iles was licensed to teach in a school in the parish.¹² By will proved 1725 Goddard Carter left a rent charge of £5 as a stipend for teaching poor children of the parish reading, writing, and arithmetic, the teacher and the children to be chosen by succeeding lords of the manor.¹³ Under that bequest in the mid 1750s a woman taught ten children, selected by the vicar and the churchwardens on behalf of the absentee lord of the manor.¹⁴ In the 1820s the stipend of the charity school's teacher was paid by the principal farmer on the manor estate.¹⁵ A Sunday school started by the vicar in the early 19th century taught 48 children in 1818.¹⁶

Although the charity school continued until at least 1856¹⁷ a new day school was much

wanted in 1847¹⁸ but was not opened until 1861. Accommodated in a new building provided by H. T. Hope and incorporating a schoolhouse, it was run on the National plan and in 1878 it was supported by voluntary contributions, pence, and the payment from Carter's charity.¹⁹ The average attendance was 44 in 1889²⁰ and 53 in 1910;²¹ children from Notgrove were among the pupils from 1903. An infants' classroom was built in 1913²² but the average attendance fell to 24 in 1938.²³ The school, which was granted controlled status in 1949,²⁴ later also taught children from Turkdean and in 1996, as Cold Aston C. of E. Primary school, it had 75 children from a wider area, including Bourton-on-the-Water, on its roll. The Carter charity had long ceased to benefit the school;²⁵ in the mid 20th century it had been used to buy prayer books but in 1970 no payment had been made for several years.²⁶

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. In 1683 the vicar and another man held £20 given for the relief of the poor and paid interest on it; earlier the gift had been lent out on mortgage.²⁷ The charity, which may have been started by Mary (d. 1700), mother of Edward and Goddard Carter,²⁸ was later said to have been founded by Goddard Carter.²⁹ In the late 18th century it had an annual income of £1³⁰ and in the early 19th, when the principal was held by the lord of the manor's agent, it was distributed at Christmas.³¹ The distribution took place until at least 1827 when the agent died insolvent and his executor paid the interest.³²

In 1796 the inclosure commissioners allotted 30½ a. by the Foss way in trust to purchase fuel for the poor.³³ The rent from the land, £33 in 1821³⁴ and £40 in 1854, was used for an annual winter gift of coal to over 30 households in the mid 19th century. The charity, known as the Poor's Lot charity, had fewer recipients after the First World War. After 1952, when it was renamed the Fuel charity and the land was sold, the charity gave fuel, usually coal, and occasionally groceries to a handful of people and from 1994 it was dispensed in cash, with nine residents each receiving £30 in 1996.³⁵

⁹⁶ G.D.R., V 5/25t 3.

⁹⁷ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 121–2.

⁹⁸ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 9.

⁹⁹ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 51.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

² T. Wray and D. Stratford, *Bourton on the Water* (Stroud, 1994), 29; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 47.

³ T. Brooks, *Pictures of the Past: the Hist. of Bourton Baptist Church* (Lond. 1861), 17–18; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 47.

⁴ Hockaday Abs. cvi.

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2981/16.

⁶ F. E. Blackaby, *Past and Present Hist. of Stow Baptist Church* (Stow-on-the-Wold, 1892), 20.

⁷ Hockaday Abs. cvi; Brooks, *Pictures of the Past*, 108–9.

⁸ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/18/32.

⁹ Date and inscr. on bldg.; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, S 24/1, p. 63.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 547.

¹¹ *Glos. Life*, Apr. 1974, 58.

¹² Hockaday Abs. cvi.

¹³ *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/606 (P.C.C. 248 Romney), f. 198 and v.

¹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 24/IN 1/1, ff. 82–4.

¹⁵ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 113.

¹⁶ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 290.

¹⁷ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 301; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 222.

¹⁸ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846–7, *Glos.* 2–3.

¹⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 199; *P.R.O.*, ED 7/34/16.

²⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 663.

²¹ *Bd. of Educ.*, List 21, 1911 (H.M.S.O.), 158.

²² *Glos. R.O.*, S 24/1.

²³ *Bd. of Educ.*, List 21, 1922 (H.M.S.O.), 102; 1932, 112; 1938, 125.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, CE/M 2/31, p. 94.

²⁵ *Schools and Establishments Dir.* 1996–7 (co. educ. dept.), 15; inf. from Mrs. K. E. Spice, school sec.

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/7.

²⁷ G.D.R., V 5/25t 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 5; for Mary Carter, *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/I/32, abs. of title 1802; TS. of Blockley par. reg., burial 17 Apr. 1700.

²⁹ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 113.

³⁰ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 78.

³¹ Char. board, dated 1818, in Cold Aston church.

³² *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 113.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.* D 1395, Cold Aston deed 24 July 1821.

³⁵ Char. acct. bk. (in keeping of Mr. P. Clark); *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/7.

COLN ROGERS

COLN ROGERS was a small rural parish lying beside the Foss way 10 km. north-east of Cirencester. It had an area of 1,574 a.³⁶ (637 ha.) in a narrow band of land extending along the south-east side of the Foss way for 5 km. from the river Coln, which separated it from Coln St. Dennis on the north-east. At its south-west end Coln Rogers's boundaries were tributary streams of the Ampney brook and part of its long south-eastern boundary was a road. In the early 12th century the parish was known simply as Coln³⁷ and in the mid 12th century it was called Coln St. Andrew³⁸ from the dedication of the parish church.³⁹ The name Coln Rogers, in use by 1200,⁴⁰ recalls Roger of Gloucester, who gave the manor to Gloucester abbey in 1105.⁴¹ Coln Rogers ceased to exist as a civil parish in 1935 when it was merged with Coln St. Dennis.⁴²

The land of Coln Rogers rises steeply from the river Coln at c. 113 m. to over 160 m. In the south the land reaches its highest point at Colnpen copse and, to the west, it falls into the uppermost part of a tributary valley of the Ampney brook below the Foss way; the sources of that brook included the Winterwell spring on the south-western boundary.⁴³ The ground is formed mostly of Forest Marble with the underlying Great Oolite emerging in the valleys and, in the north at Pindrup, a patch of fuller's earth forming the floor of the Coln valley.⁴⁴ Large open fields covered much of the parish until their inclosure, probably in the 1730s, and meadow land was confined to the narrow strip following the bank of the river Coln on the north-east. In the early 15th century Gloucester abbey as lord of the manor enforced its ownership of fishing rights in the river⁴⁵ and by the early 17th century the river flowed for part of its course in two channels, one of which may once have been a mill leat.⁴⁶ In 1840 Coln Rogers had only 24 a. of woodland, most of it in Colnpen copse in the south and in smaller copses around a field known as Pindrup moor in the north.⁴⁷ Several of the latter copses had been cleared by the 1880s⁴⁸ and the area of woodland in the parish in 1905 was given as 13½ a.⁴⁹

In 1086 eighteen tenants were recorded in Coln Rogers⁵⁰ and in 1327 sixteen people were assessed for tax there.⁵¹ Later records of population include c. 36 communicants in 1551,⁵² 10 households in 1563,⁵³ 34 communicants in 1603,⁵⁴ and 14 families in 1650.⁵⁵ The total population was estimated at 70 c. 1710⁵⁶ and was given as 125 c. 1775⁵⁷ and 110 in 1801. It increased in the early 19th century and stood at 156 in 1851; it then fell to 90 in 1871 and fluctuated around 100 in the late 19th century and the early 20th. In 1931 it was 95.⁵⁸

In 1394 the Coln Rogers tithingman kept watch at the bridge carrying the Foss way over the river Coln at Fossebridge.⁵⁹ That crossing was evidently maintained by Coln St. Dennis in the early 18th century⁶⁰ and the road was a turnpike from 1755⁶¹ until 1877.⁶² The Foss way has remained the principal road in the area and in the mid 20th century it was straightened in a dip on the side of Coln Rogers beyond which its direct course has remained on a slightly different alignment.⁶³ A route known in 1618 as the ridge-way or wood way⁶⁴ followed the line of an old road to Fairford and Lechlade crossing the Foss way at Foss Cross and bisecting Coln Rogers from north-west to south-east.⁶⁵

The village of Coln Rogers is situated beside the river Coln some way downstream from Fossebridge and Coln St. Dennis village and has remained small and built almost entirely of limestone rubble. The parish church stands at the north end close to the river bank and dates from the mid 11th century. The site of the medieval manor, on which Gloucester abbey reserved several buildings in the early 16th century, and the house occupied by the lords farmer of the manor in the 17th century⁶⁶ were presumably immediately north of the churchyard where an old farmhouse belonging to the manorial demesne stood uninhabitable in 1789.⁶⁷ In 1831, when a house (Upper Farm) south-west of the churchyard was the farmhouse, the principal outbuildings, all new and of stone, were a barn (dated 1828) and stables, west of the old farmhouse, and a thatched cowshed. The old house, which like the older outbuildings was dilapidated,⁶⁸ had been

³⁶ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1883). This account was written in 1999.

³⁷ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, no. 1485; *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 235–6.

³⁸ *Wm. of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 521; *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* i. 223, 226, 350.

³⁹ Below, church.

⁴⁰ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 2.

⁴¹ Below, manor.

⁴² *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii).

⁴³ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁴⁴ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 5, rot. 2d.

⁴⁶ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 1–2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* T 1/60.

⁴⁸ *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XLIV. NW.* (1884 edn.).

⁴⁹ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

⁵⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 163.

⁵¹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁵² *E.H.R.* xix. 113.

⁵³ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790*, f. 23v.

⁵⁴ *Eccl. Misc.* 96.

⁵⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁵⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* 366.

⁵⁷ Rudder, *Glos.* 387.

⁵⁸ *Census*, 1801–1931.

⁵⁹ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 634.

⁶⁰ *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 29.

⁶¹ *Glos. and Warws. Roads Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47.

⁶² *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁶³ Cf. *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XLIII. SE.* (1924 edn.); *SP 00 NE.* (1960 edn.).

⁶⁴ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 1.

⁶⁵ Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 24, 165.

⁶⁶ Below, manor.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 256; E 3/1, pp. 91, 94–5; E 10, f. 11v.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* D 936/E 238, est. parties. 1831; cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/60; for the cowshed, below, manor.

demolished by 1867.⁶⁹ Upper Farm was built in the early 18th century on a lobby-entry plan with two storeys and three rooms on each floor. The home of John Millington (d. by 1784), a carpenter, and of his son John (d. 1817),⁷⁰ who became a farmer and a landowner in and around Coln Rogers,⁷¹ the house had been enlarged by the early 19th century by the addition of a short north-east wing over a cellar and of a north-west lean-to, making a **U** plan.⁷² In the mid 19th century the main range was slightly raised in height, reroofed, and refronted and was fenced in front with cast-iron railings. Later the farmhouse was made rectangular by infilling of the **U** plan and small additions were made on the north side. On the sale of the farm in the late 20th century the farm buildings to the north passed into separate ownership and the early 19th-century stables next to the barn dated 1828 were converted as a house. The farmhouse was remodelled as a private house following its sale in 1994.⁷³

The rest of the village is mainly south-west of the church with the Pigeon House, to the east on the far side of the river, forming an outlying part in Coln St. Dennis parish.⁷⁴ The buildings nearest the church include the former rectory (the Glebe House) and a few 17th-century gabled cottages, two of which have been made into one. At the south end of the main part of the village is a larger gabled cottage built on an **L** plan in the later 17th century and enlarged in the 20th century. Lower down to the south, and set apart from the rest of the village, is a former farmstead known as Lower Farm.⁷⁵ The 17th-century gabled farmhouse, on an **L** plan with two storeys and attics, has been enlarged several times, the additions including a block in the angle on the lane front and single-storeyed 19th-century buildings on the south-east corner. Of the detached outbuildings, a large 18th-century barn higher up to the west was being converted for residential use in 1999. On the opposite, north side of the lane, stables incorporating a range dated 1845 with the initials of William Beach⁷⁶ were altered to accommodate a stud farm following the sale of the farmstead in 1985.⁷⁷ In the 19th century several estate cottages were built in the village. One pair is dated 1869 and two pairs, one of them at Lower Farm, date from the end of the century. In 1865 a barn near the north end of the village was acquired for conversion as a schoolroom and school-

house.⁷⁸ The school closed in 1876⁷⁹ and the house was not completed until 1883 or later.⁸⁰ The building, which became solely a house in the later 20th century, was restored in the 1990s with a garden to the south in a former paddock⁸¹ and it retained its bellcot. No new houses were built in the 20th century but, as mentioned above, a few farm buildings were converted as dwellings at the end of the century.

In the north of the parish dwellings stood beside the river at Pindrup (formerly Pynthrop) by the mid 13th century, when the settlement there included a water mill.⁸² In 1999 Pindrup, which formed an outlying part of Coln St. Dennis village, comprised a 17th-century house, once the centre of a large copyhold farm, and its outbuildings⁸³ and, higher up to the south-west, a late 20th-century house on the site of another outbuilding. A pair of farm cottages some way to the south-west and nearer the Foss way was built soon after 1867.⁸⁴ Several barns were built outside Coln Rogers village after the mid 18th-century inclosure,⁸⁵ and a range, recorded from the later 18th century, near springs by the road to Pindrup⁸⁶ was two dwellings called Splash Cottages in the mid 19th century.⁸⁷ In the south of the parish a post-inclosure barn standing north of Colnpen copse was converted as a house after 1985.⁸⁸ To the west a farmstead was established on the Foss way in the late 19th century⁸⁹ and a small farmhouse had been built there by the mid 20th century.

No evidence of a public house in Coln Rogers has been found. In the early 20th century the former village schoolroom was used as a reading room and a church hall;⁹⁰ it ceased to be a meeting place after 1950.⁹¹ Soon after the Second World War a wooden hut, to serve as a community centre for surrounding villages and hamlets, was built by the Winson road south of Coln Rogers village on the Coln St. Dennis side of the river.⁹² It remained in use in 1999.

Giles Oldisworth (1618–78), a royalist and a noted scholar and writer, was born at Coln Rogers, a son of the lord farmer of the manor.⁹³ In late 1830 the widespread agrarian riots included a machine-breaking incident at Coln Rogers.⁹⁴

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. The manor of *COLN ROGERS* originated in an

⁶⁹ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 261, f. 6.

⁷⁰ Ibid. D 182/III/99; D 2440, S. Cerney and Coln Rogers deeds 1784–1825.

⁷¹ Ibid. D 936/E 3/1, pp. 94–5; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 30–1.

⁷² Glos. R.O., D 936/E 3/1, p. 91.

⁷³ Inf. from Mr. M. Lait, of the Old Stables, and from Mrs. R. Harvey, of Upper Farm.

⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 28.

⁷⁵ Glos. Colln. RR 88.1.

⁷⁶ For Beach, below, manor.

⁷⁷ Glos. Colln. RR 88.1; Dept. of the Environment, 'List of Bldgs. of Special Archit. or Hist. Interest' (1988), p. 105.

⁷⁸ Glos. R.O., P 95/SC 1/1, SC 4/1.

⁷⁹ Below, educ.

⁸⁰ Glos. R.O., P 95/SC 4/1.

⁸¹ Inf. from Mr. Lait.

⁸² *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 204; Glouc. Cath. Libr., deeds and seals, vi, f. 19.

⁸³ Below, manor.

⁸⁴ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 936/E 261, f. 6; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XLIV. NW. (1884 edn.).

⁸⁵ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 3/1, pp. 91–2, 94–6; P 95/IN 1/3.

⁸⁶ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁸⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XLIV. NW. (1884 edn.).

⁸⁸ Cf. Glos. Colln. RR 88.1.

⁸⁹ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XLIII. SE. (1884, 1903 edns.).

⁹⁰ Ibid. Glos. XLIV. NW. (1924 edn); Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/50; P 95a/1, min. 31 Mar. 1924.

⁹¹ Inf. from Mr. Lait.

⁹² Glos. R.O., DA 31/115/1, mins. 2 Sept., 2 Oct. 1946; DA 31/516/5/1, p. 67; inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁹³ *D.N.B.*

⁹⁴ *Glouc. Jnl.* 4 Dec. 1830; 8 Jan. 1831.

estate of ten hides held before the Conquest by Baldwin son of Herlwin and granted after it to Odo, bishop of Bayeux. The bishop's estates were forfeited to the Crown in 1082 and the manor remained in William I's hands in 1086.⁹⁵ In 1105 the knight Roger of Gloucester, having been wounded at Falaise (Calvados), granted the manor to Gloucester abbey and in 1127 a claim to it by Gilbert de Mynors was rejected.⁹⁶ Coln Rogers remained in the abbey's ownership⁹⁷ and was included with other of its estates in the endowment of the dean and chapter of Gloucester cathedral in 1541.⁹⁸

Sir Anthony Kingston held a lease of the manor in 1550 when the dean and chapter granted a lease of it and Fairford rectory in reversion to William Thomas for 90 years. Within a short time William had taken possession and until the late 18th century he and his successors as lessees of the dean and chapter held the manor as lords farmer. In 1557 William, who was also known as William Morris, sold the lease to Roger Lygon and his wife Catherine,⁹⁹ of Fairford. Roger (d. 1583 or 1584) left the lease to his nephew George Lygon.¹ George (d. 1593) left it to his brother Henry Lygon of Worcester and Henry (d. 1596) left it to two other brothers, Robert and Richard.² Robert took up residence in Coln Rogers and at his death in 1609 left an interest in the manor to a cousin Anthony Dodd.³ Richard Lygon paid the farm to the dean and chapter in 1610⁴ and Anthony Dodd, who paid it later, was succeeded as lord farmer in or soon after 1613 by Robert Oldisworth,⁵ George Lygon's grandson.⁶

In 1639 Robert Oldisworth obtained a lease of the manor for 21 years⁷ and in 1650, following the dean and chapter's forfeiture of their estates, his son William Oldisworth of Fairford bought the manor, including land in Ablington attached to it.⁸ After the dean and chapter recovered their estates at the Restoration William retained the manor as their lessee,⁹ being granted a lease for 21 years in 1661. That lease was renewed every few years¹⁰ and the dean and chapter's principal income from the estate came from the fine, calculated in the mid 18th century at 1¼ year's valuation, levied at each renewal.¹¹ William

Oldisworth (d. 1680) was succeeded as lord farmer by his son James (d. 1722), the rector of Kencot (Oxon.), who in his turn was succeeded by his daughter Muriel Loggan.¹² In 1727 Alexander Ready of Fairford, later of Filkins (Oxon.), acquired the manor.¹³ Alexander, who in the mid 1750s took the surname Colston,¹⁴ died in 1775¹⁵ leaving the manor to his son John Chaunler Ready.¹⁶ He died in 1793¹⁷ and his representatives sold the estate to Michael Hicks Beach of Williamstrip in 1796.¹⁸

At the sale the dean and chapter took the manor back in hand¹⁹ and granted Hicks Beach the demesne and the copyhold land in the lord farmer's possession on leases, renewed periodically, for 21 years and three lives respectively. Hicks Beach died intestate in 1830 and his estate in Coln Rogers was acquired by his son William Hicks Beach,²⁰ who dropped the name Hicks in 1838.²¹ In 1846 he sold his interest in the two farms making up his estate to members of the Barton family, the tenants, and they held the farms on leases for years and for lives until the mid 1860s when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners granted them farming leases for 21 years.²² The Commissioners, who had taken over the dean and chapter's estates in 1855, included Coln Rogers in the estates given back to the dean and chapter on their re-endowment in 1866. In 1894 the dean and chapter again surrendered Coln Rogers to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners²³ and in the later 20th century the estate was broken up, as their successors, the Church Commissioners,²⁴ sold off the farms one by one. The landowners in 1999 included Mr. Maurice Lait, who had taken the tenancy of Upper farm in 1950, and Mr. Christopher Wright, of the Glebe House, who had purchased Lower farm (c. 415 a.) in 1985.²⁵

A hall and other buildings reserved for the use of the abbot of Gloucester or his officers in 1524²⁶ were presumably on the same site as Robert Lygon's residence known in the early 17th century as 'the manor house'.²⁷ The house, which Robert Oldisworth occupied as a farmhouse a few years later²⁸ and for which William Oldisworth was assessed on six hearths in 1672,²⁹ stood next to the churchyard, the bound-

⁹⁵ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 163; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon Eng.* (1947), 608.

⁹⁶ *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, nos. 678 n., 706, 1485; Wm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 521-2.

⁹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 410.

⁹⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII.* xvi, pp. 572-3.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., C 3/246/40.

¹ *Ibid.* PROB 11/67 (P.C.C. 21 Watson), f. 162 and v.; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 75-6.

² P.R.O., PROB 11/82 (P.C.C. 88 Neville), ff. 326v.-327; PROB 11/87 (P.C.C. 31 Drake), f. 240 and v.

³ *Ibid.* PROB 11/114 (P.C.C. 105 Dorset), ff. 385-6.

⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/A 1/1, p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* A 22, f. 4; Hockaday Abs. clxvi, 1613.

⁶ P.R.O., C 3/246/40.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 12/2, ff. 382-3.

⁸ *Ibid.* T 2; for genealogical notes on the Oldisworth fam., *ibid.* D 4871/2.

⁹ *Ibid.* D 936/A 1/2, p. 199.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* E 65.

¹¹ *Ibid.* E 163.

¹² Bigland, *Glos.* i. 572; G.D.R., V 5/88t 3; *Glos. R.O.*,

D 936/E 65.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 65, E 163.

¹⁴ 28 Geo. II, c. 33 (Priv. Act).

¹⁵ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 573.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1070/III/21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* P 304/IN 1/2; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 246, gives 1792 as the year of death.

¹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2440, S. Cerney and Coln Rogers deeds 1784-1825, deed 13 June 1825.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* D 936/E 65-6.

²⁰ *Ibid.* D 1740/E 29, T 30-1.

²¹ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1846), i. 73.

²² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1740/T 30-1.

²³ Kirby, *Cat. of Glouc. Dioc. Rec.* ii, pp. xiii-xiv; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 261.

²⁴ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/5/1, pp. 67-8.

²⁵ Inf. from Mr. Lait, of Coln Rogers; *Glos. Colln.* RR 88.1.

²⁶ *Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern*, i, f. 235v.

²⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/114 (P.C.C. 105 Dorset), f. 385.

²⁸ Lincs. Archives, Linc., Nelthorpe 10/8/2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1740/E 1, ff. 107, 109.

²⁹ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

ary of which the lord farmer and the rector maintained by custom in the later 17th century.³⁰ Its site was presumably that north of the church of an old farmhouse demolished in the mid 19th century.³¹ On the north side of the site a stone range that served as a cowshed was retained. The range comprises two separate rooms and, although it was described in 1831 as newly built,³² has a 14th-century arched doorway on the south side of the east room.³³ In the mid 20th century part of the churchyard wall was removed to give access to the building,³⁴ but by the mid 1970s the east room had lost its thatched roof and was derelict.³⁵ The west room, which has a loft and a stone tiled roof, was also derelict in 1999.

PINDRUP was the home of generations of the Morse family, which was settled in the parish by the early 16th century,³⁶ and came to be the centre of a large copyhold estate or farm. John Morse of Pindrup died in 1576 and his eldest son Robert, then a minor,³⁷ died in 1592 leaving infant sons Edmund and Justinian.³⁸ The same or another Justinian Morse held over 240 a. at Pindrup from the lord farmer of the manor in 1650.³⁹ Another Justinian Morse, perhaps the copyhold's owner in the late 17th century,⁴⁰ owned Pindrup farm at his death in 1716 or 1717 and his son Thomas⁴¹ was succeeded in it in 1739 by Justinian Morse, perhaps his brother. In 1750 Thomas Cotton, a London banker, acquired the copyhold, comprising 222 a., and from him it passed in turn to his son Edward⁴² (d. 1779)⁴³ and daughter Elizabeth. In 1808, following Elizabeth's death, the dean and chapter of Gloucester admitted Alexander Colston as tenant and in 1855 the copyhold passed to his nephew John Morris Colston. He died later that year and the estate was held in freebench by his widow Isabel in 1858. It reverted, presumably on her death, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners⁴⁴ by 1860, when they granted it on a farming lease for 14 years.⁴⁵ When the Church Commissioners sold the farm (348 a.) in the 1980s most of the land was bought by Mr. A. H. Bradley of Winson and Pindrup farmhouse passed with 40 a. into separate ownership.⁴⁶

The two-storeyed farmhouse was built on an L plan in the mid 17th century and was presumably the residence of the Morse family member

assessed for tax on four hearths in 1672.⁴⁷ At the end of the north-east wing, a four-bayed, two-storeyed range, which has heavily beamed floors and originally had a blank rear wall, may have been an outbuilding, which had been converted to domestic or industrial use by 1746.⁴⁸ In work probably undertaken for Thomas Cotton after 1750 the main part of the house was given a hipped roof, its south and east fronts were dressed with ashlar, and fashionable chimney-pieces and plasterwork were installed in its two south rooms. The north-east range, which has its own front door, was apparently a separate dwelling in the later 1830s. By 1867 the farmhouse was a single dwelling, the principal outbuilding, to the north-west, had been linked to the north-east range, and additional farm buildings had been provided to the north-east.⁴⁹ The attached outbuilding was made part of the house in the 1990s.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Two ploughteams of the eight recorded on the Coln Rogers estate in 1086 belonged to the demesne and five *servi* were among the inhabitants at that time.⁵⁰ In the late Middle Ages the demesne was farmed, and the rent under a new lease granted in 1524⁵¹ represented just under half of Gloucester abbey's annual income from the manor in 1535.⁵² The demesne, identified later as over 400 a. from which the rector received only half of the corn and hay tithes,⁵³ was farmed by one man in the early 18th century.⁵⁴ Following inclosure in the 1730s it covered 456 a.⁵⁵ and with other land was divided between two farms.⁵⁶

In 1086 the Coln Rogers estate supported seven *villani* and five bordars with six ploughteams⁵⁷ and in the later 1140s Gloucester abbey claimed that it had acquired the holdings of two radknights as part of Roger of Gloucester's gift of Coln Rogers.⁵⁸ In the 1260s fifteen of the abbey's tenants each held a yardland, which comprised 48 a., and owed labour services, heriots, and customary payments including pannage. Four days' work a week was required during much of the year and extra services during winter and spring ploughing, hay-making, and sheep shearing. Each yardlander was expected to perform a carrying service every other week and between Candlemas and

³⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/364 (P.C.C. 132 Bath), f. 68.

³¹ Above, intro.

³² Cf. Glos. R.O., D 936/E 238, est. partics. 1831.

³³ Dept. of the Environment, 'List of Bldgs. of Special Archit. or Hist. Interest' (1988), p. 107, which mentions the local tradition that the bldg. had been a priest's ho.

³⁴ Inf. from Mr. Lait.

³⁵ *Cotswold Life*, Sept. 1976, 24.

³⁶ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 122; Hockaday Abs. clxvi.

³⁷ G.D.R. wills 1576/47.

³⁸ Ibid. 1592/169.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1740/E 1, f. 107v.

⁴⁰ Ibid. P 97/IN 1/1, mem. at end of vol.; D 269b/B 1.

⁴¹ G.D.R. wills 1717/135.

⁴² Glos. R.O., D 936/E 163; D 1740/T 31.

⁴³ P.R.O., PROB 11/1058 (P.C.C. 447 Warburton), f. 136 and v.

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., D 1740/T 31.

⁴⁵ Ibid. D 936/E 14, ff. 27-36.

⁴⁶ Inf. from Mrs. Pattinson, of Pindrup Farmhouse.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

⁴⁸ The date '1746' is inscribed, together with the initials 'I. U.' and an eight-branched candlestick, on a window jamb in an upper room of the range.

⁴⁹ G.D.R., T 1/60; Glos. R.O., D 936/E 261, f. 6.

⁵⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 163.

⁵¹ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 235v.-236v.

⁵² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 410.

⁵³ G.D.R., V 5/88t 2.

⁵⁴ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 163, partics. of manor 1727.

⁵⁵ G.D.R., T 1/60.

⁵⁶ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 11, pp. 9-14; E 163, calculations for renewal fines 1761, 1768.

⁵⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 163.

⁵⁸ *Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Glouc.* (Glos. Rec. Ser. xi), pp. 35-7; according to *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 350, the abbey's gift from Roger included the holdings of five radknights.

Lammas he had a duty to bring hay from Ampney St. Peter on 3 days. Two men shared a yardland for the same services and one tenant held a ½ yardland for half the services. Of two other yardlanders, one was a tenant at will for a cash rent and 4 days' reaping work. Of the other half-yardland holdings three, two of which were each attached to a mill, were held for life for cash rents and bedrips, two were held at will for cash rents, ploughing services, bedrips, and a monthly carrying service to Gloucester, and two were in hand. Nine mondaymen owed one day's work a week throughout the year and bedrips in the autumn; the holdings of another four mondaymen were in hand. There were also four tenants each holding 14 a. for cash rents. At haymaking the customary tenants were given a loaf each and a sheep and a cheese to share between them.⁵⁹

By the later 13th century, and probably by the 1260s, the abbey was remitting the labour services from land it was leasing to customary tenants for their lives.⁶⁰ Consolidation of tenancies had begun⁶¹ and some land was sublet.⁶² In 1412, when two separate yardlands once held by the same tenant were in hand, it was recorded that several customary tenants, including a father and five of his sons, had left Coln Rogers.⁶³ In 1535 the customary tenants' rents, £6 15s. 1d., provided over half of Gloucester abbey's income from the manor.⁶⁴ After the Dissolution the lords farmer of the manor granted copyholds and received heriots and customary payments, and in 1650, when there were six copyhold tenants in Coln Rogers, the largest copyhold estate, at Pindrup, comprised perhaps as many as six earlier holdings and contained 5 yardlands. Of the other copyhold estates one included 4 yardlands, one 3 yardlands, two 2½ yardlands, and one 1½ yardland.⁶⁵ In 1727 there were nine copyhold tenants in Coln Rogers.⁶⁶

In the early 17th century Coln Roger had two large open fields which were cropped on a two-course rotation including a fallow. The north field, west of the village, was bounded by the Foss way and took in Old Gore hill south-west of the ridgeway near Foss Cross and perhaps the hillside north of the village facing Calcot on the opposite side of the Coln. The south field, south-west of the village, stretched from the Winson boundary and beyond the ridgeway to the Foss way in the south-west of the parish. If the glebe was typical, each yardland of 48 a. was divided equally between the fields usually in pieces of 1 a. or ½ a. but the 5 yardlands of the

Pindrup estate formed two adjacent blocks of land in the north end of the parish, where Pindrup evidently once had its own open fields.⁶⁷ In the later 17th century the Coln Rogers fields were described as east and west fields.⁶⁸

At least part of the parish's meadow land, in the north-east beside the river Coln and including Simmond's and Friday's meads, was held in severalty in the early 15th century,⁶⁹ and the rector was entitled to the first grass crop from a narrow strip in the late 17th century. For each yardland tenants of the manor had common rights for 40 sheep and 2 cattle in the open fields and in a pasture called Coln Pen; by custom in the mid 17th century the lord farmer of the manor had no common rights in that pasture and some adjoining land.⁷⁰ The pasture, in the south of the parish near the south-eastern boundary,⁷¹ was evidently a remnant of a common pasture which once extended southwards into Barnsley.⁷² In the later 14th century, long after the pasture had been divided between the two parishes, the lady of Barnsley claimed the Coln Rogers part, then known as Coln Down and perhaps as Coln Wold, and Gloucester abbey produced written evidence that it had received payments from Barnsley men pasturing cattle there and that its court had dealt with Barnsley men cutting thorns there.⁷³ A field name recorded in the 17th century suggests that there may have once been at least one vineyard in the Coln valley.⁷⁴

Gloucester abbey kept sheep in Coln Rogers in the mid 13th century⁷⁵ and it maintained a sheephouse or fold in the valley in the southern end of the parish.⁷⁶ Under the lease of 1524, which reserved a wool store in Coln Rogers to the abbey, the demesne's farmer in the early 16th century had for his sheep a pasture once reserved to the abbey's flock, a sheephouse, and 4 wagon loads of hay a year from a meadow called Kingsham near Ampney St. Peter.⁷⁷ Of two sheephouses in the open fields in the 17th century one evidently belonged to the lord farmer and the other to the rector.⁷⁸

Within a few years of becoming lord farmer in 1727⁷⁹ Alexander Ready began buying out the copyhold tenants in Coln Rogers.⁸⁰ By 1746, having acquired most copyholds apart from the Pindrup estate, he had inclosed the parish and had divided his estate into two large farms let at rack rent, thereby reducing the number of farmers and increasing that of day labourers.⁸¹ Following inclosure, in which Ready assigned the rector 36 a. for the open-field glebe,⁸²

⁵⁹ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 203–8.

⁶⁰ Glouc. Cath. Libr., deeds and seals, vi, f. 18; vii, f. 23; x, f. 12; *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 2, rot. 6.

⁶¹ Glouc. Cath. Libr., deeds and seals, v, f. 22; vi, f. 11.

⁶² *Ibid.* iv, f. 14.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 5, rot. 2.

⁶⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 410.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1740/E 1, ff. 107v.–108v.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* D 936/E 163, partics. of manor.

⁶⁷ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 1; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1740/E 1, f. 107v.

⁶⁸ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 2, where the fields' names have been reversed.

⁶⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 5, rot. 2d.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* D 1740/E 1, f. 108v.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* D 936/E 3/1, pp. 91–2, 94–6.

⁷² Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 17.

⁷³ Glouc. Cath. Libr., deeds and seals, ii, f. 17; vi, f. 8; cf. *P.R.O.*, C 115/78, f. 2.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/T 2; cf. *ibid.* D 936/E 3/1, pp. 91–2, 94; E 11, p. 10; *G.D.R.*, T 1/60.

⁷⁵ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 205–6.

⁷⁶ Glouc. Cath. Libr., deeds and seals, vi, f. 8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 235v.–236v; for Kingsham, see *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/settlements/28c.

⁷⁸ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 1–2.

⁷⁹ Above, manor.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 163, partics. of manor 1761.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* E 11, pp. 9–12.

⁸² *Ibid.* E 65, deed 23 June 1747; E 163, letter 12 Nov. 1782.

Pindrup farm comprised 210 a. at the north end of the parish and Upper and Lower farms made up the rest of the parish, having 512 a. and 696 a. respectively in 1789.⁸³ The Barton family occupied Lower farm in 1746⁸⁴ and until the late 19th century, and a branch of the family worked Upper farm by 1840 and until the 1930s.⁸⁵ The size of the three farms was virtually unchanged in the mid 19th century,⁸⁶ and they provided employment for 54 labourers, including women and boys, in 1851.⁸⁷ In the later 19th century the rector farmed the small glebe himself before one of the main farmers took over its cultivation in 1892.⁸⁸ There were 22 full-time farmworkers in Coln Rogers in 1926.⁸⁹ The parish remained divided between three farmers in the late 1930s⁹⁰ and a fourth farm was worked separately by the 1950s. In the late 20th century, following the sale of the farms, most of the land was worked by contractors employing labour from outside Coln Rogers.⁹¹

Coln Rogers remained in tillage throughout the 18th century⁹² and wheat, barley, oats, and, to a lesser degree, turnips were the principal crops on the 596 a. recorded as under arable crops in 1801.⁹³ A flock of pure-bred Cotswold sheep, said to have been established in the early 17th century, was kept in the parish until Charles Barton removed it in 1828.⁹⁴ In 1839 the area of meadow and pasture was given as 154 a.⁹⁵ In 1866 only 62 a. was returned as permanent grassland but over a third of the 1,365 a. under crop rotation was devoted to grass and clover and over 200 a. to roots for animal feed; 60 a. was returned as fallow.⁹⁶ In the mid 19th century several parishioners were employed as shepherds⁹⁷ and the flocks numbered hundreds of sheep. Dairy and beef cattle and pigs were also kept but in much smaller numbers.⁹⁸ The area of grazing land increased at the expense of arable land in the late 19th century and the early 20th⁹⁹ and 260 a. was permanent pasture in 1896, when 750 sheep, 113 cows, and 105 pigs were returned for the parish.¹ In 1926, when 362 ewes, 246 cows, and 68 pigs were returned, 500 a. was classed as permanent pasture and 307 a. as rough grazing and only 308 a. as growing corn. There was also small-scale poultry farming in the parish in 1926.²

In the later 20th century the land was used mainly for cereal production,³ and in 1999, when some land was set aside from cultivation, many sheep were pastured in Coln Rogers and Mr. M. Lait, a semi-retired farmer, kept a herd of Charolais cattle there. Following his purchase of Lower farm in 1985 Mr. C. Wright established a stud farm at the south end of the village and divided his flat meadows in the Coln valley into paddocks. By 1999 land elsewhere in the valley, including steep land near Pindrup and Fossebridge, had also been set out as horse paddocks.⁴

There were two mills in Coln Rogers in 1086.⁵ In the later 1140s Gloucester abbey claimed a mill by the gift of Roger of Gloucester⁶ and in 1221 a water mill was operating at Coln Rogers, perhaps in or near the village.⁷ In the 1260s the manor had two water mills, both held with $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland for life and for cash rents and labour services.⁸ One, at Pindrup, was held under a grant of 1288 for a cash rent and all customary services.⁹ The other, presumably downstream in or near Coln Rogers village, was held for a cash rent and 12d. aid in the late 13th century¹⁰ and the miller was assessed for tax in 1327.¹¹ The bank of a mill pond was out of repair in 1412.¹² No later record of a mill in the parish has been found but one of the river Coln's two channels above the village presumably preserved the line of a leat.¹³

Although Walter the weaver was among Coln Rogers's inhabitants in the 1260s¹⁴ no other evidence of a cloth industry in the parish has been found. In the early Middle Ages Gloucester abbey quarried stone in several places in Coln Rogers, including the common pasture in the south¹⁵ where Cotswold slates have been dug over a wide area. By the early 17th century other quarries and pits had given names to places in the open fields, among them 'mortar pits fur-long' by the Foss way near Foss Cross.¹⁶

Three smiths and a glazier were recorded in Coln Rogers in 1608.¹⁷ A wheelwright or carpenter lived there in 1717¹⁸ and John Millington practised the last trade in Coln Rogers in 1745.¹⁹ There was a malthouse in the parish in 1761²⁰ and a maltster died in 1770.²¹ Lower farm included a malthouse in the late 18th and the

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 10, ff. 10–13.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* E 11, p. 12.

⁸⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.); *G.D.R.*, T 1/60.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 261, ff. 19–21.

⁸⁷ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/15; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 748; (1894), 128.

⁸⁹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/3295/17.

⁹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 137.

⁹¹ Inf. from Mr. Lait, of Coln Rogers, and from Mr. and Mrs. Cunliffe, of Pindrup.

⁹² Atkyns, *Glos.* 366; Rudder, *Glos.* 286; Bigland, *Glos.* 1. 417.

⁹³ *1801 Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 170.

⁹⁴ A. Jones, *The Cotswolds* (1994), 102.

⁹⁵ *G.D.R.*, T 1/60.

⁹⁶ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/26/12.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/IN 1/3.

⁹⁸ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/25/23.

⁹⁹ Cf. Acreage Returns, 1905.

¹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/1609/2.

² *Ibid.* MAF 68/3295/17.

³ Cf. *Glos. Colln.* RR 88.1.

⁴ Inf. from Mr. Lait.

⁵ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 163.

⁶ *Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Glouc.* pp. 35–7.

⁷ *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, p. 23.

⁸ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 203.

⁹ *Glouc. Cath. Libr.*, deeds and seals, vi, f. 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vii, f. 23.

¹¹ *Ibid.* v, f. 22; *Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327*, 11.

¹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 5, rot. 2.

¹³ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 1–2; O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XLIV. NW. (1884 edn.).

¹⁴ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 205, 207.

¹⁵ *Glouc. Cath. Libr.*, deeds and seals, vi, f. 8.

¹⁶ *G.D.R.*, V 5/88t 1; *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 3/1, pp. 94–6.

¹⁷ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 269.

¹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 181, Coln St. Dennis deed 1781.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* D 182/III/99.

²⁰ *Ibid.* D 936/E 11, p. 46.

²¹ *G.D.R.* wills 1770/111.

early 19th century²² and the farmer at Pindrup ran a malting business in the 1860s.²³ At the end of the 19th century the farmer at Pindrup hired out threshing machines.²⁴ Very few basic village trades were practised in Coln Rogers in the mid 19th century²⁵ and the village smithy²⁶ closed c. 1890.²⁷ Coln Rogers had a grocer in 1851²⁸ and a shopkeeper in the mid 1890s and until at least the mid 1920s.²⁹ A surgeon resident in 1825 was a member of the Howse family.³⁰ In 1999, when some houses in the village were occupied by retired people and others were used as weekend homes, few inhabitants worked inside Coln Rogers.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The duty of Coln Rogers to send a tithingman to the biannual view of the hundred court was recorded in the early 15th century.³¹ Gloucester abbey exercised the assizes of bread and ale in Coln Rogers. Its manor court there was recorded in the 1260s,³² and in the early 15th century the court supervised the maintenance of watercourses and banks and enforced the abbey's fishing rights, besides dealing with tenurial and agrarian matters. Manor court rolls survive for 1351 and 1412–13.³³ In 1524 the abbey apparently held the court twice a year.³⁴ In the mid 17th century the lords farmer of the manor held the court at will.³⁵

Coln Rogers had two churchwardens in 1498³⁶ and, usually, until the late 17th century or the early 18th;³⁷ thereafter only one warden was appointed.³⁸ Their accounts survive from 1793.³⁹ The cost to the parish of poor relief in 1776 was £36 and in 1803, when 16 people received regular help and 23 people occasional help, it was £131.⁴⁰ Ten years later fewer people were helped but the cost was higher, £156 in 1815.⁴¹ In the late 1820s it fell to £81 and in the early 1830s it was usually even lower.⁴² The parish claimed two adjacent cottages in 1789⁴³ and it received rents from several dwellings in the early 19th century.⁴⁴ In 1836 Coln Rogers was included in

Northleach poor-law union.⁴⁵ It became part of Northleach rural district in 1895⁴⁶ and of Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCH. Coln Rogers church was built before the Conquest⁴⁷ and a priest was a tenant of the manor in 1086.⁴⁸ Gloucester abbey, which in the later 1140s claimed a hide of land by the gift of Roger of Gloucester together with the church,⁴⁹ was the patron in 1281 when the first known induction to the church took place.⁵⁰ The living remained a rectory⁵¹ and in 1915 it was united with Coln St. Dennis rectory.⁵² In 1975 the united benefice was added to that of Chedworth with Yanworth and Stowell.⁵³

The patronage of Coln Rogers church, which Gloucester abbey retained until the Dissolution,⁵⁴ passed with the manor in 1541 to the dean and chapter of Gloucester cathedral.⁵⁵ The dean and chapter exercised the advowson themselves in 1546⁵⁶ and a patron for the turn filled the next vacancy.⁵⁷ After 1551 the lessees of the manor exercised the patronage; in 1583 Roger Lygon's presentee was refused admission to the rectory because the dean and chapter had appointed a priest earlier that year.⁵⁸ In 1639 the dean and chapter reserved the patronage to themselves⁵⁹ but they did not have the opportunity to use it until 1694.⁶⁰ The previous appointment had been made in 1652 under the parliamentary great seal.⁶¹ After the union of Coln Rogers with Coln St. Dennis in 1915 the dean and chapter and Pembroke college, Oxford, had alternate rights of presentation until 1931 when the dean and chapter became sole patrons.⁶² At the union of benefices in 1975 the dean and chapter secured the right to present at one turn in every three,⁶³ a right later transferred to the Lord Chancellor.⁶⁴

In the Middle Ages Gloucester abbey reserved half the corn and hay tithes of the manorial demesne,⁶⁵ a portion that was valued at £2 in 1291.⁶⁶ Later, as recorded in 1678, over 400 a.

²² Glos. R.O., D 936/E 10, f. 11; D 1740/T 31; G.D.R., T 1/60.

²³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 253; (1870), 528.

²⁴ *Ibid.* (1889), 748; (1894), 129.

²⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; Glos. R.O., P 95/IN 1/3.

²⁶ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XLIV. NW. (1884 edn.).

²⁷ P.R.O., RG 11/2561; RG 12/2036.

²⁸ *Ibid.* HO 107/1969.

²⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1894–1931 edns.).

³⁰ Glos. R.O., P 95/IN 1/3.

³¹ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 620.

³² *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 203–8.

³³ Glos. R.O., D 936a/M 2, rot. 6; M 5, rot. 2 and d.

³⁴ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 235v–236v.

³⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1740/E 1, f. 109.

³⁶ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 32.

³⁷ *Ibid.* xxviii, 1540 visit. f. 57; xlv, 1572 visit. f. 46; lxviii, 1661 visit. f. 36.

³⁸ G.D.R., V 1/69; V 5/88t 4, 6.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., P 95/CW 2/1–2.

⁴⁰ *Poor Law Abstract, 1804*, 172–3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1818, 146–7.

⁴² Glos. R.O., D 936/E 10, f. 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.* E 238, letter 14 Dec. 1852; G.D.R., T 1/60.

⁴⁴ *Poor Law Returns (1830–1)*, 66; (1835), 65.

⁴⁵ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁴⁶ Glos. R.O., DA 31/300/2.

⁴⁷ Below, this section.

⁴⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 163.

⁴⁹ *Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Glouc.* pp. 35–7.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Giffard*, 128.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 397; Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Bouchier, f. 75v.; G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 80.

⁵² *Lond. Gaz.* 2 July 1915, pp. 6428–9.

⁵³ G.D.R., V 7/1/71.

⁵⁴ *Reg. Wakefeld*, pp. 93, 104; Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Ghinucci, f. 76v.

⁵⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, pp. 572–3.

⁵⁶ Hockaday Abs. clxvi.

⁵⁷ G.D.R. vol. 1b, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Hockaday Abs. clxvi; G.D.R. vol. 1b, pp. 37, 68; above, manor.

⁵⁹ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 12/2, ff. 382–3.

⁶⁰ Hockaday Abs. clxvi.

⁶¹ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 172.

⁶² *Lond. Gaz.* 2 July 1915, pp. 6428–9; 17 Feb. 1931, pp. 1096–8.

⁶³ G.D.R., V 7/1/71.

⁶⁴ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994–5), 102.

⁶⁵ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, f. 235v.

⁶⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

continued to pay the rector only half corn and hay tithes,⁶⁷ a partial franchise that, according to the rector in 1782, was open to abuse.⁶⁸ The rector's tithes, which provided the bulk of his income in 1535,⁶⁹ were commuted in 1840 for a rent charge of £248 12s.⁷⁰ In 1535 the glebe comprised 48 a. of open-field land and a small close.⁷¹ In 1618 it also included two long strips of meadow between the two channels of the Coln north-west of the village, where in 1678 the rector was entitled to the first grass crop before Lammas.⁷² At inclosure in the 1730s the lord farmer of the manor assigned the rector c. 35 a. of arable some way from the village⁷³ and in 1867 the glebe, c. 40 a., still included the riverine meadow land.⁷⁴ The rectory was valued at £7 os. 4d. clear in 1535,⁷⁵ £38 in 1650,⁷⁶ £70 in 1750,⁷⁷ and £232 in 1856.⁷⁸

The former rectory house incorporates on its north side a four-bayed, two-storeyed range built shortly before 1618, when it contained four separate lofts or upper rooms.⁷⁹ The house had three hearths in 1672⁸⁰ and it was enlarged in 1776 and 1777 by the rector Hugh Price,⁸¹ who probably created an L plan by adding a south-west wing. In the early 1840s, when the house was occupied by a tenant,⁸² the wing contained a parlour and a schoolroom and domestic services were accommodated in the old range, at the east end of which was a single-storeyed scullery. In 1842, before taking up residence as rector, H. B. Forster remodelled the house to designs in Tudor Gothic style by S. W. Daukes and J. R. Hamilton. He added a west porch opening into an entrance hall in place of the schoolroom, made the house rectangular by building a south-east block containing a staircase hall, library, and dining room, and created a south garden front with a central gablet flanked by larger gables.⁸³ After 1906 the house was let to G. O. Ranger, who bought it on the union of benefices in 1915.⁸⁴ A south-east conservatory was added to the house in the late 20th century.

Between 1397 and 1404 at least six rectors

were appointed, most if not all on exchanges of livings.⁸⁵ James Low and Thomas Low in turn held the rectory between 1527 and 1534.⁸⁶ Under the latter, a Carthusian monk,⁸⁷ and his successor the church was served by curates paid, at least in 1540, by the farmer of the rectory.⁸⁸ In 1546 the rectory was conferred on Philip Oxford, also known as Philip Williams,⁸⁹ a former monk of Gloucester abbey.⁹⁰ Lawrence Gase, his successor in 1551,⁹¹ was also rector of Coln St. Dennis and was deprived under Mary for being married;⁹² later, having obtained a divorce, he obtained a living elsewhere in the county.⁹³ In 1551 his curate at Coln Rogers was unable to recite the Ten Commandments.⁹⁴ William Broad, rector 1573–83,⁹⁵ was deemed a good Latinist and divine⁹⁶ but was presented in 1576 for not providing sermons in the church.⁹⁷ John Smith, rector 1583–1613,⁹⁸ was neither a graduate nor a preacher in 1584⁹⁹ but was considered a sufficient scholar in 1593.¹ Between 1613 and 1627 two members of the Hughes family held the rectory in turn. In 1634 Robert Chaunler, their successor,² was presented for not reading the Book of Sports and in 1636 the churchwardens were presented for not aligning the communion table north–south at the top of the chancel and were ordered to rail it in.³ Chaunler, also rector of Coln St. Dennis from 1635, retained the living in 1650⁴ and apparently lived in Coln Rogers in 1654⁵ after resigning it. George Darby was rector from 1652⁶ until his death in 1694.⁷

During the next 150 years the rectors were almost invariably non-resident and the church was usually served by curates. Between 1775 and 1806 the living had the same succession of incumbents as Eastleach Turville, also in the gift of the dean and chapter of Gloucester.⁸ Robert Ratcliffe, rector 1694–1708, was vicar of Stonehouse⁹ and Drs. Matthew Panting, 1718–39, and John Ratcliffe, 1739–75, son of Robert, were successive masters of Pembroke college, Oxford.¹⁰ Most curates before 1775 were

⁶⁷ G.D.R., V 5/88t 2; cf. *ibid.* T 1/60.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 163.

⁶⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 450.

⁷⁰ G.D.R., T 1/60.

⁷¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 450.

⁷² G.D.R., V 5/88t 1–2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 3/1, pp. 91–2.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/E 163, letter 12 Nov. 1782.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* E 261, f. 6.

⁷⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 450.

⁷⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁷⁷ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 80.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* vol. 384, f. 69.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* V 5/88t 1.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936/A 1/8, pp. 358, 376.

⁸² *Ibid.* D 1381/44; G.D.R., T 1/60.

⁸³ G.D.R., F 4/1; *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.

⁸⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1910), 135; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, sale papers, Old Rectory 1947.

⁸⁵ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Clifford, ff. 21, 66 and v.; *Reg. Winchcombe*, f. 19v.; *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 380–1.

⁸⁶ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Ghinucci, ff. 29, 34, 67v.

⁸⁷ *Glouc. Cath. Libr.*, Reg. Abb. Malvern, ii, f. 83v.

⁸⁸ *Hockaday Abs.* xxv, 1532 subsidy, f. 13; xxviii, 1540 stipendiaries, f. 15; xxviii, 1540 visit. f. 57.

⁸⁹ *Hockaday Abs.* clxvi.

⁹⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlxi. 82.

⁹¹ G.D.R. vol. 1b, p. 8.

⁹² *Hockaday Abs.* clxvi, 1554; clxvii.

⁹³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xcii. 110–11.

⁹⁴ *E.H.R.* xix. 113.

⁹⁵ *Hockaday Abs.* clxvi.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 144.

⁹⁷ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 163v.

⁹⁸ *Hockaday Abs.* clxvi.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 26.

¹ *Ibid.* lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 9.

² *Ibid.* clxvi; cf. G.D.R., V 1/69.

³ G.D.R. vols. 175; 191.

⁴ *Hockaday Abs.* clxvii; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxiii. 92.

⁵ *20th Rep. Com. Char.* 56.

⁶ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 172.

⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* clxvi; G.D.R., V 1/69.

⁸ *Hockaday Abs.* clxvi, cxc; cf. *ibid.* cxcv, Farmington, 1712.

⁹ *Ibid.* ccclv.

¹⁰ *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, ii. 1112; 1715–1886, iii. 1177.

members of the Hughes family, which then had the living of Coln St. Dennis,¹¹ and in the mid 18th century Coln Rogers church had full services.¹² Hugh Price, rector 1775–87, resigned a living in Gloucester in 1777 to serve in person.¹³ In 1806 the rectory was given with Eastleach Turville to the dean of Gloucester, John Luxmoore, and the following year, after he became bishop of Bristol, it was given to Arthur Benoni Evans¹⁴ (d. 1841), master of Gloucester cathedral school.¹⁵ Between 1812 and 1843 Coln Rogers was served by William Price, rector of Coln St. Dennis,¹⁶ and in the mid 1820s both churches had one Sunday service, each alternately in the morning and afternoon.¹⁷ Henry Brooks Forster, Evans's successor as rector of Coln Rogers, took up residence in 1843 and employed a succession of curates towards the end of his incumbency in 1879.¹⁸ The last resident rector died in 1905. From 1906 the rectory was held in plurality with Coln St. Dennis, with which it was united in 1915, and the rector lived in Coln St. Dennis.¹⁹ After the union of benefices in 1975 the priest in charge of Coln Rogers lived in Chedworth²⁰ and in 1999 there was a Sunday service in the church every other week.

Coln Rogers church, which evidently bore its dedication to *ST. ANDREW* by the mid 12th century,²¹ is built of limestone rubble with ashlar dressings and comprises a chancel and a nave with south porch and west tower. Both chancel and nave are pre-Conquest, probably of the mid 11th century;²² there is a simple external plinth, long and short quoins on most of the corners, and pilasters at intervals along the walls. The chancel arch is of a single plain order. One 11th-century window, on the north side of the chancel, also survives. Other windows were inserted or remodelled in the 13th century or later. The south doorway of the nave dates from the 12th century and the exterior of its 11th-century north doorway was reconstructed in the 13th century with a cinquefoil-headed arch. The chancel south doorway may date from the 13th century. In the later Middle Ages the east end of the chancel was rebuilt and the tower was constructed within the end of the nave.²³

There was some expenditure on alterations to the fabric or fittings in 1794 and 1795²⁴ and a screen had been inserted in the chancel arch by 1844. During alterations in 1844 and 1845 to plans by S. W. Daukes and J. R. Hamilton the

nave was restored and the tower arch was remodelled, the choir was moved from the chancel to the north side of the nave's first bay, and the porch was added.²⁵ Alterations in the following years included the replacement of the chancel roof in 1852 and 1853.²⁶ In 1890, during a restoration to designs by Waller and Son, three new windows were inserted, one on the south side of the chancel and two on the north side of the nave, the north doorway was blocked, the space below the tower was screened to form a vestry, and the east wall of the porch was rebuilt. At the same time both sides of the nave's first bay were adapted to accommodate the choir, the pulpit was moved from the north side of the chancel arch to the south side, and a stove recess with chimney was inserted on the north side of nave. The cost of the restoration was met by grants and subscriptions, including collections from Norwegian pupils;²⁷ John Turner, the rector, had been chaplain in Gloucester docks, which conducted much trade with Norway.²⁸ In 1911 the upper part of the tower was rebuilt and the screen at its base was modified; the following year an organ gallery was placed in front of the screen.²⁹

The font, which dates from the early 12th century, has a large plain tub-shaped bowl on a scalloped base and has been scraped and refaced.³⁰ The stone pulpit dates from the 15th century, and there is a medieval wooden chest formed of a hollow oak trunk. Many new fittings, including pews, were given or acquired during the restoration of the mid 1840s and in the years immediately following. The altar was donated in 1919 by G. O. Ranger to celebrate the safe return of all those Coln Rogers men who had fought in the First World War. Ranger's other gifts to the church included a clock in 1922.³¹ Some fragments of late-medieval glass, including a figure of St. Margaret, survive³² and several windows have glass fitted in the 1860s.³³ The nave walls are bare but those in the chancel display memorials to members of the Millington family of the late 18th century and the early 19th; the monument above the chancel arch, to Mary Cook (d. 1786), originally stood, perhaps for a short time only, in the churchyard against the church.³⁴ The churchyard monuments include a group of chest-tombs and other memorials to members of the Barton family of the 18th and 19th centuries. The church had three

¹¹ Hockaday Abs. clxvi, clxvii; G.D.R., V 1/69; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 32.

¹² G.D.R. vols. 381a, f. 80; 397, f. 80.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. ccxiv, Glouc., St. Catherine; G.D.R. vols. 319–20; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/IN 1/2.

¹⁴ Hockaday Abs. clxvi, exc; for Luxmoore, *D.N.B.*

¹⁵ Hockaday Abs. cxii, Barnwood, 1814; *V.C.H. Glos.* iv. 418.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/IN 1/3, 8; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 32.

¹⁷ G.D.R. vol. 383, nos. xlix–l.

¹⁸ Hockaday Abs. clxvi; *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.

¹⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.); *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/IN 1/8.

²⁰ G.D.R., V 7/1/71; *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994–5), 16, 102; (1998–9), 16, 105–6.

²¹ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 223, 350.

²² H. M. & J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Archit.* (1965), i. 168–70; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlvii. 50.

²³ Cf. C. A. Raleigh Radford, 'Coln Rogers, Par. Ch. of St. Andrew', *Arch. Jnl.* cxxii. 196.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/CW 2/1.

²⁵ *Ibid.* VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.; D 2593/2/522.

²⁶ *Ibid.* P 95/VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.

²⁷ *Ibid.* CW 2/4; D 2593/2/522.

²⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 748; (1894), 127; W. H. Whalley, *Mariners' Chapel, Gloucester* (1909), 40–3.

²⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/522, 719; G.D.R., F 1/1/1911/18.

³⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxxvi. 169, 176–7.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.

³² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xli. 197–8; below, Plate 36.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.

³⁴ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 418.

bells in the early 18th century,³⁵ and land was given before 1683 for supplying bellropes.³⁶ In 1999 the ring comprised: (i) recast by Messrs. Mears at Gloucester 1846; (ii) dated 1676; (iii) by Abraham Rudhall 1716.³⁷ The plate includes a chalice acquired in 1689,³⁸ a paten donated in 1919 by G. O. Ranger (d. 1938), and a chalice of 1939 given in Ranger's memory.³⁹ The surviving parish registers record marriages from 1755 and baptisms and burials from 1761.⁴⁰

NONCONFORMITY. In the 1630s at least one parishioner failed regularly to take Holy Communion⁴¹ and, although no nonconformists were enumerated in Coln Rogers in 1676,⁴² in the late 17th century and the early 18th several parishioners attended meetings of the Society of Friends in Cirencester; one of them had been arrested at a Quaker meeting in 1662.⁴³ In 1735 one Baptist was recorded in Coln Rogers⁴⁴ and in 1810 a group of Baptists, including Charles Barton, registered a house there. The same group later worshipped in one of Barton's barns, registered in 1818.⁴⁵ The barn continued to be used for services at Barton's death in 1846⁴⁶ and it may have been the 'chapel' in which in 1851 the Baptist minister of Arlington, in Bibury, and the Independent minister of Chedworth preached alternately on Sunday evenings to a congregation said to average 100.⁴⁷

EDUCATION. By will proved 1775 the rector John Ratcliffe left the dean and chapter of Gloucester £100 for a charity for the poor children of Coln Rogers.⁴⁸ The principal was later invested in £150 stock and the income from it supported a day and Sunday school in Coln St. Dennis serving both parishes in 1818.⁴⁹ In 1833 Ratcliffe's charity continued to support the day school in Coln St. Dennis and, together with contributions from the rector of Coln St. Dennis, it paid for a Sunday school in Coln Rogers teaching 8 boys.⁵⁰ The Coln Rogers rectory house accommodated a school for farmers' daughters in 1841⁵¹ and the rector evidently had

a number of private pupils in 1851.⁵² It was later said that from 1841 the Ratcliffe charity paid the salary of a schoolmistress teaching the poor of Coln Rogers⁵³ but under an arrangement of 1845 Coln Rogers children attended a day school at Winson and the charity helped the rector to contribute towards that school's expenses.⁵⁴ In 1847, when Coln Rogers had no schoolroom and the rector was paying half the expenses of the Winson school, a school in Coln was said to receive an income from an endowment, subscriptions, and pence and its master to teach 18 children on weekdays and 29 on Sundays.⁵⁵ Coln Rogers had a day school taught by a mistress in 1856 and that school, supported by the charity,⁵⁶ was conducted as a National school in a converted barn in the village from 1866.⁵⁷ In 1875, following the union of Coln Rogers and Coln St. Dennis in a single school district, a new National school was built for the two parishes in Coln St. Dennis.⁵⁸ The history of that school, which opened in 1876 and closed in 1952, is given elsewhere.⁵⁹ From 1908 children at the lower end of Coln Rogers attended the Winson school.⁶⁰ The Coln Rogers schoolroom, at the upper end of the village, served for a time as a reading room and church hall⁶¹ and in the later 20th century it was incorporated in the former schoolhouse adjoining it.⁶²

The Ratcliffe charity, the income of which was reduced from £5 5s. to £4 10s. in 1858, helped pay the salary of the Coln Rogers schoolmistress until 1875 and Coln Rogers's share of the cost of the united school in Coln St. Dennis between 1876 and 1878. After that it paid the school fees of deserving Coln Rogers children⁶³ and following Schemes of 1899 and 1901 it gave cash prizes for regular school attendance. Such prizes were awarded in the 1960s when Coln Rogers children of primary-school age attended a school in Bibury.⁶⁴

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. As described above, John Ratcliffe's charity for Coln Rogers's children was used to support a school.⁶⁵ No other endowed eleemosynary charity is known.⁶⁶

³⁵ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 51v.

³⁶ G.D.R., V 5/88t 3.

³⁷ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 239-40; *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/CW 2/1.

³⁸ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 61.

³⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxiii. 218; *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/VE 2/1, mem. at end of vol.

⁴⁰ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 108.

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁴² *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 541.

⁴³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052; B. Hawkins, *Quakers in Cirencester* (1998), 76, 81.

⁴⁴ G.D.R. vol. 285b(1), f. 32.

⁴⁵ Hockaday Abs. clxvi; G.D.R. vol. 383, no. 1.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2440, Coln Rogers est. papers 1690-1853, letters 1844-5; D 1388, Barton fam. papers 1846-93.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/2/4.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., PROB 11/1010 (P.C.C. 323 Alexander), ff. 323v.-328v.

⁴⁹ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 113; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 296; for Coln St. Dennis schools, *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 33.

⁵⁰ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 311.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1381/44.

⁵² P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/CH 1/1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* VE 2/1.

⁵⁵ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, *Glos.* 6-7.

⁵⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 272; (1863), 253.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/SC 1/1; SC 4/1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* SC 2/1; VE 2/1.

⁵⁹ *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 33-4.

⁶⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/SC 2/2, p. 12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/50; O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XLIV. NW. (1924 edn.).

⁶² Above, intro.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 95/CH 1/1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* D 3469/5/40.

⁶⁵ Above, educ.

⁶⁶ Under William Oldisworth's will proved 1680 some Coln Rogers residents received annuities until 1698: P.R.O., PROB 11/364 (P.C.C. 132 Bath), f. 69v.; G.D.R., V 5/88t 3.

COMPTON ABDALE

COMPTON ABDALE, a small rural parish 12.5 km. ESE. of Cheltenham, was often known as Great Compton (or Compton Magna)⁶⁷ to distinguish it from other Comptons in Gloucestershire, particularly the adjoining Little (later Cassey) Compton, which is mainly in Withington parish. The derivation of the adjunct 'Abdale', which was recorded from the early 16th century⁶⁸ and eventually became the established form, is unknown. In the 17th and 18th centuries the place was sometimes called Compton-in-the-Hole, referring to the confined valley site of the village,⁶⁹ but that was evidently only a colloquial and very local usage. The ancient parish included a detached part comprising 110 a. at Upper Hampen,⁷⁰ c. 2.5 km. north of the main body of the parish, a connexion that seems to have originated in the disposition of ancient estates of St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester. In 1883 Upper Hampen was transferred to Shipton parish (with which it is included in this volume), leaving Compton Abdale parish with an area of 2,188 a. (886 ha.).⁷¹

The parish comprises a largely featureless tract of the wolds lying between the river Coln on the south and the main road from Gloucester and Cheltenham to Oxford on the high ridge called Puesdown on the north. The north boundary follows that road except at its east end, near the Puesdown inn, where it is on a short length of an ancient ridgeway, known in the late 18th century as the old London road.⁷² The south-east boundary follows field boundaries down to the Coln, which the south-west boundary then ascends to Cassey Compton house. From the house the west boundary ascends Compton brook and then returns by field and wood boundaries to the Cheltenham road.

On the Puesdown ridge at the northern edge of the parish the land reaches 256 m. close to where a prominent landmark, the Puesdown Ash, stood in the mid 18th century.⁷³ Below the ridge the hillside is broken into by the Springhill valley, formed by a small tributary brook of the Compton brook, but the ground generally falls to Compton Abdale village, which is situated in a narrow coomb at c. 170 m. South of the village the land rises again to 247 m. before descending to the Coln valley. The lower parts of the parish are on the Inferior Oolite and the high wolds are on the Great Oolite, with an intervening band of fuller's earth outcropping on the valley

sides⁷⁴ and forcing out the springs which combine to form Compton brook.⁷⁵ The brook was anciently known in its lower course, where it forms the parish boundary above Cassey Compton, as Dene brook.⁷⁶

There was enough woodland on Compton manor for its lord to employ a man as forester and wood vendor in 1401,⁷⁷ and a woodward managed the lord's wood in 1535.⁷⁸ Of the two main areas of woodland in the parish, one, Compton grove on the west side of Compton brook, had been reduced in size by the start of the 19th century. In 1805 the name Compton grove was applied to a total of 111 a. but half of that land, lying west of the lane to Withington village, had been cleared of trees, leaving the wood as 58 a. on the slope to the brook on the east side of the lane. The grove was apparently a common wood until the inclosure of the parish in 1805, though all rights were probably by then restricted to the occupiers of the three or four farms in the parish.⁷⁹ The bulk of the wood passed after inclosure to the Lower Farm estate,⁸⁰ and it formed part of an estate based on that house in 1999 and was used by the owner to rear pheasants.⁸¹ Up to the First World War it was managed as coppice and the wood auctioned off for making hurdles.⁸² A plantation of conifers at Ash Bed north of Compton grove was made before 1911⁸³ and later enlarged.

The other wood was Compton wood in the Coln valley, adjoining the Yanworth woods, in the neighbouring part of Hazleton parish. Its north part was called Star wood after being laid out with radiating drives as an adjunct to a large park which adjoined it. The wood covered 106 a. in 1805. The origins of the park, which occupied almost the whole of the rest of the hillside in the south part of Compton parish,⁸⁴ are obscure. Presumably it was laid out by the owners of Cassey Compton house, in the immediately adjoining part of Withington, perhaps in the mid or later 17th century when Cassey Compton and Compton Abdale manor came into the same ownership, that of the Howe family.⁸⁵ About 1710 the park, grazed by a herd of deer, was in two divisions, the well-wooded Little park, which was bounded by walls with ornamental gateways and, along the Coln on its south side, by palings, and Great park occupying the higher, more open land to the north of Little park and Star wood. The whole area of parkland was 356 a.⁸⁶ It may

⁶⁷ e.g. *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812. This account was written in 1999.

⁶⁸ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 120; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 487.

⁶⁹ B.L. Harl. MS. 4716, f. 7; Bigland, *Glos.* i. 419.

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39; *G.D.R.*, T 1/61.

⁷¹ *Census*, 1891. A minor alteration to the boundary with Yanworth was made in 1987: The Cotswold (Parishes) Order 1986.

⁷² Below, Northleach, intro.; *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39.

⁷³ Tewkesbury and Chelt. Roads Act, 29 Geo. II, c. 51; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/61 (nos. 55–6).

⁷⁴ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn., revised to 1879).

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 14, ct. 1536.

⁷⁶ Below, Withington, intro.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* M 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* D 363/P 2.

⁸¹ Inf. from Maj.-Gen. D. J. Tabor, of Lower Fm.

⁸² K. Kosmala, *Compton Abdale in the Cotswolds* (Winchcombe, 1993), 86.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, SL 294.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* Q/RI 39; Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 366–7, reproduced below, Fig. 21.

⁸⁵ Below, manor; Withington, manors.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39; Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 366–7.

not have been maintained as a deer park after the mid 18th century, when the owners lived at Stowell Park house and Cassey Compton house was leased to a farmer. In the mid 19th century the park was shared among the tenants of four nearby farms on the Stowell Park estate, with the largest part included in that based on Cassey Compton.⁸⁷ By the end of the 20th century it was indistinguishable from the farmland of the rest of the parish.

Until the inclosure of the parish in 1805 most of the land outside the woods and park was cultivated in large open fields. There was also an area of common downland, called Compton Bushes or Compton Downs, on Puesdown at the northern edge of the parish.⁸⁸

The site of a Roman villa, in a secluded position beside Compton brook below Compton grove, was known to local people by the mid 19th century, when some surviving materials were removed. It was excavated in 1931 by a schoolmaster and pupils from Cheltenham grammar school. The principal trench left by their operations was later filled from the brook by the landowner to form a swimming pool.⁸⁹

In 1086 32 tenants were recorded on Compton Abdale manor,⁹⁰ and in 1327 15 inhabitants were assessed for the subsidy.⁹¹ In 1551 there were said to be c. 90 communicants⁹² but a figure of only 24 communicants was recorded in 1603,⁹³ and in 1650 there were said to be only 12 families in Compton.⁹⁴ About 1710 the population was said to be c. 130 people living in 30 houses⁹⁵ and the same number of people was recorded c. 1775.⁹⁶ In 1801 157 people, occupying 37 houses, were enumerated and the population rose to 260 by 1841. After 1861 it declined slowly to 159 by 1901 and 119 by 1931. There was little change in the later 20th century, with 126 enumerated in 1991.⁹⁷

The parish has a simple pattern of lanes centred on the White way, a former Roman road from Cirencester which runs northwards through the parish from a crossing of the Coln near Cassey Compton to the site of the Puesdown Ash by the Cheltenham–Oxford road. The White way is joined in the village centre by lanes from Withington in the west and from Northleach in the east, and on the ridge south of the village by an old road from Yanworth and Stowell, only maintained as a bridle path in 1999. The Cheltenham–Oxford road at the north boundary was a turnpike from 1751 to 1870.⁹⁸

The small village of Compton Abdale stands in a narrow valley, grouped around the meeting point of the lanes. Its focal point is the outlet of

Compton brook, for which a local mason carved a spout in the form of a crocodile's jaws in the mid 19th century.⁹⁹ Apparently at the same period, the brook, which had flowed along the floor of the valley among the houses north of the lane leading westwards towards Withington, was diverted to follow the south side of that lane.¹ The parish church is set high on a bank to the south of the lane, while a group of former farmsteads stands below on the north side.

The names of the principal houses of the village, altering over the years, are unusually confusing.² Hard on the road near the junction of the lanes is an old manor farmhouse, whose farm was called Upper farm in the early and mid 19th century, the house being known in 1999 as Manor Farm House. To the north, more prominently sited, is the former farmhouse of the rectory farm, called Parsonage Farm in the 19th century, renamed the Manor c. 1911, and in 1999 called the Manor House. To the west of that house a small farmhouse belonged to a freehold owned by the Dyer and later Cossins families in the 18th century and the early 19th century,³ but after being briefly used as the vicarage c. 1880⁴ it became known (imprecisely) as Old Parsonage Farm.⁵ The L-plan building dates from the late 17th century or the early 18th and has some 20th-century extensions. West of Old Parsonage Farm is a substantial house built as the vicarage in 1884 and, after its sale in 1962,⁶ called the Old Vicarage. Set apart from the village some way down the Withington road is a farmhouse which was the centre of an important freehold called in the 18th century the Farm or Compton farm and from the mid 19th century Lower farm. The few cottages interspersed with the larger houses included a pair with an adjoining malthouse belonging to the rectory estate in 1792.⁷ The pair of cottages was rebuilt shortly before 1911,⁸ converted to a single dwelling called Compton House in the 1930s for the landowner and former occupant of the Manor, E. G. H. Maddy, and enlarged as the residence of a later landowner, Col. F. J. Beckford, in the 1950s.⁹

Most of the former labourers' cottages, all dating from the late 18th century or the early 19th, stand just above the main part of the village on the road to Puesdown. They include a terrace of four on a prominent site. The village mill is the main building on the eastern lane leading towards Northleach, and a school built in 1852¹⁰ stands above the village on the lane leading southwards over to Cassey Compton. To the west of the village a pair of cottages called

⁸⁷ G.D.R., T 1/61; Glos. R.O., D 1878, succession duty accts. of earl of Eldon.

⁸⁸ Below, econ. hist.

⁸⁹ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 18–21.

⁹⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁹¹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁹² *E.H.R.* xix. 113.

⁹³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁹⁴ Atkyns, *Glos.* 367.

⁹⁵ Rudder, *Glos.* 387.

⁹⁶ *Census*, 1801–1991.

⁹⁷ Crickley Hill to Campsfield Road Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

⁹⁸ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 140.

¹ *Ibid.* 42; cf. Glos. R.O., Q/RI 39.

² For most of the hos. mentioned here, below, manor.

³ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/5; cf. Glos. R.O., Q/RI 39; G.D.R., T 1/61.

⁴ Below, church.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/4/1947/5.

⁶ Below, church.

⁷ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/5; cf. G.D.R., T 1/61.

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 2299/837.

⁹ Inf. (derived from local informants and deeds) from Mr. R. M. Courtenay Lord, of Manor Farm Ho., Compton; cf. below, manor.

¹⁰ Below, educ.

Small Hopes (later Smallhope) had been built by 1793, belonging then to the Dyers' small farm.¹¹ The cottages were converted to a single dwelling and a new gabled wing added at the west end in the mid 20th century, before 1968.¹² The Northleach rural district council built two pairs of council houses in the years 1948–9¹³ at Pike Hill Rise above the village on the Puesdown road.

The only early outlying habitation recorded in the parish was at its southern end near Cassey Compton (anciently called Little Compton). In 1442 a tenant of Compton Abdale manor, William Hawkins the elder, held a toft and yardland at Little Compton, and in 1498 it was recorded that he had also held and relinquished through poverty a toft and 12 a. there. The sum owed in rent and other circumstances suggest that the latter tenement represented a holding of Thomas Rogers recorded in 1400 (but given no location) as having been formed from several small tenancies, including three cottages.¹⁴ The site of those dwellings may have been beside the river Coln c. 450 m. downstream of Cassey Compton house, where earthworks and some visible stonework mark the foundations of buildings. The present layout of the site suggests a group of farm buildings and the most prominent foundations, on the slope above the river, have the plan of a sheephouse, suggesting that a yard and buildings for gathering flocks¹⁵ replaced the small hamlet after its desertion in the 14th century. Further complexity to the remains is given by a straight leat (dry in 1999) which runs through the site just above the winding course of the Coln. No mill or millpond is recorded where the leat rejoins the river further downstream, and the leat may have been dug to make a neat south-west boundary for the Compton deer park, which had a row of palings at that point c. 1710.¹⁶

After inclosure of the parish in 1805 buildings were put up in the upland areas for its two principal farms. By 1828 the manor farm (Upper farm) had a yard and buildings at Compton Abdale barn,¹⁷ later called Hill barn and Compton Farm, near the east boundary of the parish. A cottage in the revived Cotswold style was added there in the mid 19th century, a detached dwelling for the farm's head shepherd shortly before 1911,¹⁸ and a pair of farm cottages in the mid 1950s.¹⁹ In 1999 the farm buildings were occupied as a craft centre. In the north-west part of the parish, on a lane leading to Shipton, farm buildings, also called Hill barn

but later known as Springhill, were established before 1821 for Lower farm.²⁰ Four families of labourers were living there in 1851²¹ and there was a pair of cottages in 1911.²² In the 1930s the cottages were remodelled to form a house in the traditional local vernacular, and a pair of cottages was later added further up the lane to the north-west. From the early 1940s to the late 1970s the house and buildings at Springhill were the centre of a large estate belonging to Mrs. Gladys Brutton.²³ Farm buildings called Windmill Buildings were put up in the north of the parish beside the Puesdown road before 1911²⁴ and enlarged later; after a house was built near by in the mid 20th century, that group of buildings was renamed Manor Farm. A small house built in Compton grove for the Lower Farm estate before 1821 later became the house of the estate's gamekeeper.²⁵ It was the centre of a separate farm in the mid 20th century²⁶ but was again occupied by a keeper in 1999.

An innkeeper was living in the parish in 1608,²⁷ but no later reference to an inn there has been found. A small village hall, standing on the south-east of the road junction in the village, was provided c. 1925 at the cost of the principal landowner E. G. H. Maddy.²⁸

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. The manor of COMPTON ABDALE was apparently a part of the ancient endowments of the minster (later priory) of St. Oswald at Gloucester, and in 1066, assessed at 9 hides, it was among the possessions of Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, who had obtained lands of the minster. After Stigand's deprivation in 1070 the manor passed to Thomas, archbishop of York, but in 1086 a part of Compton, 3 hides, was held by a follower of Roger d'Ivry against the claim of the archbishop.²⁹ The 3 hides were apparently recovered by the archbishop or one of his successors but may have continued as a separate sub-manor, for an estate at Compton, assessed at ¼ fee, was held from the archbishops by Adam le Despenser in 1285;³⁰ its later descent has not been traced.

Compton manor remained in the possession of the archbishops of York, as a member of their barony of Churchdown,³¹ until 1545 when it passed to the Crown as part of an exchange of assets.³² In 1552 the Crown granted Compton with the other manors of the barony to Sir Thomas Chamberlayne,³³ who later commenced a suit to secure possession of it against Lawrence

¹¹ G.D.R. wills 1795/14; Glos. R.O., Q/RI 39.

¹² Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/4/1968/8.

¹³ Ibid. DA 31/100/8, pp. 22, 127; P 98a/PC 1/2, mins. 18 Oct. 1948, 18 Jan. 1950.

¹⁴ Ibid. D 621/M 7, M 9, M 11.

¹⁵ TS. description and plan (1994), by Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ.

¹⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 366–7.

¹⁷ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.); *ibid.* 6", Glos. XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.).

¹⁸ Glos. R.O., D 2299/837.

¹⁹ Ibid. DA 31/115/3, p. 215.

²⁰ Ibid. D 363/P 2.

²¹ *Census*, 1851.

²² Glos. R.O., SL 294.

²³ Inf. from Mr. Courtenay Lord; cf. below, manor.

²⁴ Glos. R.O., D 2299/837.

²⁵ Ibid. D 363/P 2; SL 294.

²⁶ Ibid. D 4858/2/4/1957/29.

²⁷ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270.

²⁸ Glos. R.O., P 98a/PC 36/1.

²⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xliii. 94; the detached part of the later par. at Hampen was separately accounted for among the abp.'s lands in 1086.

³⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

³¹ Ibid.; *Cal. Pat.* 1266–72, 59–60; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, p. 422; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xliii. 99, 104.

³² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 214.

³³ *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 357.

Mace, Thomas Mace, and Thomas Townsend, tenants under a lease granted by the archbishop in 1543 to George Throckmorton.³⁴ Sir Thomas Chamberlayne died in 1580, leaving the manor to his second son Edmund.³⁵ Edmund, who was described as of Compton Abdale in 1596 and 1604³⁶ and evidently maintained a household there, sold the manor in 1608 to Sir Richard Grobham of Great Wishford (Wilts.).³⁷ Sir Richard Grobham died in 1629, having settled Compton Abdale on his widow Margaret with reversion to a nephew, George Grobham.³⁸ By 1652 Compton Abdale was apparently in the possession of another of Sir Richard's nephews, John Howe (later Sir John),³⁹ owner of the adjoining Cassey Compton estate.

The ownership of Compton Abdale manor in the later 17th century has not been traced, but it presumably descended with Cassey Compton to Sir John Howe's second son John Grubham (or Grobham) Howe and his widow Annabella, before reverting to the elder branch of the family in the person of Richard Howe, who succeeded to the baronetcy in 1703. Sir Richard held Compton Abdale c. 1710 and died in 1730 when it passed to his widow Mary; she died in 1735 and was succeeded by Sir Richard's nephew John Howe.⁴⁰ Compton then descended as part of the Stowell Park estate,⁴¹ which in 1842 included 1,262 a. of the parish, comprising the large manor farm (Upper, later Parsonage, farm) in the north-east part of the parish and the former park and Compton wood in the south.⁴²

In 1911 the 3rd earl of Eldon sold Parsonage farm, then 932 a. (including the former rectory farm) to Edwin Gilbert Hatherley Maddy,⁴³ who took up residence at the former rectory farmhouse, Parsonage Farm (which he renamed the Manor). Maddy sold off large parts of the farm in the 1930s, when the Manor and over 200 a. were bought by Col. D. W. C. Davies-Evans. Maddy continued to farm land based on buildings near the east boundary of the parish (later called Compton Farm) but before his death in 1945 he sold that land to H. A. Greenway, who also bought the land of Col. Davies-Evans.⁴⁴ From c. 1957 until 1964 the Compton Farm buildings and over 500 a. in the east of the parish were owned and farmed by Col. F. J. Beckford.⁴⁵ In the 1980s those buildings and some land were bought by Lord Vestey and re-united with the Stowell Park estate, but that side of the parish

remained divided among several owners in 1999.

The south part of the parish remained, with Cassey Compton, part of the Stowell estate during the 20th century (except for a few years in the 1920s). The history of Cassey Compton is given below under Withington.⁴⁶

With the apparent exception of Edmund Chamberlayne in the 1590s,⁴⁷ Compton Abdale had no resident lord of the manor. E. G. H. Maddy was, however, regarded as squire of the village in the early 20th century.⁴⁸ The principal farm on the manor estate, Upper farm, was by the early 19th century⁴⁹ based on the house called Manor Farm House in 1999. It occupied a very constricted site, south of and close to Parsonage Farm, the rectory farmhouse, and, although in 1812 it was described as part of a mansion house now used as a farmhouse,⁵⁰ it seems unlikely that it represents the medieval manor house. It was evidently used as the farmhouse of Upper farm until the mid 19th century when the farmers started to occupy Parsonage Farm. It was described as little better than a cottage in 1878.⁵¹ Manor Farm House is a four-bayed, two-storeyed, lobby-entry house of the mid 17th century; the date 1661 appears on the east front. The central stack, which is surmounted by four rebuilt diamond-shaped flues, heated the rooms on both floors, those on the ground floor being a two-bayed hall on the north and a parlour on the south. By 1819 a two-storeyed bay window had been built to command a view of the village street; the west entrance had by then been modified and an east lean-to built.⁵² A service wing, apparently replacing an earlier service end (presumably demolished before 1812), was added on the north in the late 19th century.

The origin of the large freehold farm called the *FARM* or *COMPTON FARM*, and later *LOWER FARM*, has not been discovered, but it may have represented the medieval demesne farm; that had been alienated from the manor by the early years of Elizabeth I's reign when Richard Pate of Gloucester claimed it by purchase from Sir Henry Dee and others.⁵³ Compton farm was owned in the late 17th century by John Rogers (d. 1698) of Haresfield, who left it to his nephew John Parker.⁵⁴ In 1744 Thomas Parker of Longdon (Worcs.) left it to his two sons, Thomas and John Parker, who sold it in 1760 to John Heart,⁵⁵ a solicitor of Stroud.⁵⁶

³⁴ P.R.O., C 3/45/12; C 3/47/29.

³⁵ Hockaday Abs. cccxv, 1580.

³⁶ B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, ff. 495v.-496; Wilts. R.O., 753/1, f. 68v.

³⁷ Wilts. R.O., 753/1, ff. 59v.-60v.; the muster in Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270, evidently compiled while the sale was in progress, includes 4 servants of Mr. Chamberlayne but gives Howe as lord.

³⁸ P.R.O., C 142/460, no. 53.

³⁹ Ibid. CP 25/2/616/1652 Mich. no. 26; cf. Rudder, *Glos.* 387, 708.

⁴⁰ Below, Withington, manors; Atkyns, *Glos.* 367.

⁴¹ Below, Stowell, manor.

⁴² G.D.R., T 1/61.

⁴³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/837.

⁴⁴ G.D.R., T 1/61, altered apportionment 1936; inf. from Miss Ursula Maddy (daughter of E. G. H.), of Holton (Oxon.).

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, p. 215; *The Times*, 24 Feb. 1964, p. 12; inf. (derived from local deeds and informants) from Mr. Courtenay Lord.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5018; below, Withington, manors.

⁴⁷ Above, this section.

⁴⁸ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 159.

⁴⁹ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/8.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁵¹ Ibid. Rectory fm. papers 1879-80, letter 20 Mar. 1878; G.D.R., T 1/61.

⁵² Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/8.

⁵³ P.R.O., C 3/138/7.

⁵⁴ G.D.R. wills 1698/6.

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Compton fm. deeds 1760-1809.

⁵⁶ P. H. Fisher, *Notes and Recollections of Stroud* (Stroud, 1871), 90; *Glouc. Jnl.* 4 Feb. 1755.

Heart died intestate in 1763 leaving a widow Betty and two sons Thomas and John. Thomas apparently succeeded as heir-at-law and died in 1778 when he was succeeded by his brother. John (d. 1779) left Compton farm to his wife Catherine during the minority of his children, and she held it in 1792 when it comprised 389 a. The surviving child Mary Sophia Heart came of age in 1799⁵⁷ and in 1804 sold the estate to the lord of the manor John Howe, Lord Chedworth,⁵⁸ whose purchase was presumably made in order to facilitate the inclosure of the parish then in progress. Lord Chedworth died the same year and, following the inclosure, his devisees sold a large estate based on Lower Farm house.

By 1821 the owner of Lower farm was Thomas Hope of Deepdene (Surr.), whose estate comprised the farmhouse, outlying buildings at Springhill, and 653 a. covering the north-western sector of the parish.⁵⁹ It descended with his estate in Hampnett until 1911⁶⁰ when Lord Francis Hope sold Lower farm to the Cavendish Land Co., which sold it in two or more parts during the next few years. In 1915 the farmhouse and 263 a. were owned by John Hughes.⁶¹ In the 1920s and early 1930s a large part of the farmland was owned by Ernest Turner of Shipton Oliffe⁶² and from 1934 to c. 1957 formed an estate owned by the Mayall family, based on a small house in Compton grove.⁶³ Another part of the former Lower Farm estate was acquired in the 1940s by Mrs. Gladys ('Jackie') Brutton, who lived at Springhill and had a racehorse training stable there. She also bought the farm based on Compton grove and during the 1960s and 1970s added to her estate cottages in the village and some land in the east part of the parish. Some parts were sold again before her death c. 1978, when she owned a total of 725 a. in Compton parish.⁶⁴ The land based on Compton grove and Springhill was bought in 1978 by Maj.-Gen. D. J. Tabor, who also bought Lower Farm house, which had been owned with only a few acres from the early 1930s, and other land; his total estate of 900 a. reconstituted roughly the Hopes' 19th-century estate. Maj.-Gen. Tabor owned and farmed the estate in 1999, his farming operations being based on Springhill.⁶⁵

Lower Farm is a two-storeyed house with attics, having a three-bayed south front with two- and three-light mullioned windows. It appears to have been built mainly in the 17th century on an L plan, but the gabled east cross-wing, which is on a different alignment and has

a very thick east wall, may survive from an earlier building. Before 1842⁶⁶ the house was extended eastwards by two bays, following which the cross-wing was extended north and west and the two bays to the east of it refronted; all the new work was done in a golden-coloured limestone. Later alterations, made before 1911,⁶⁷ included the remodelling of the west end with ashlar facing and with a Venetian window in the gable wall. The farm buildings comprise an 18th- or early 19th-century range of stables with haylofts above, adjoining the house, and, neatly ranged around a yard to the west, 19th-century barns, stables, and an implement shed open to the road.⁶⁸ The buildings had all been converted to domestic use by 1999.

St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, owned all the tithes of the parish, together with glebe land. Its rectory estate formed part of the endowment granted by the Crown in 1542 to the dean and chapter of the new cathedral of Bristol. The glebe was described in 1535 as two yardlands,⁶⁹ but that probably included a separate freehold called Crophorne, which the priory held under Compton manor in 1401⁷⁰ and which was later held with the rectory estate.⁷¹ A rent in respect of Crophorne was charged in a lease of the rectory to William Rogers and his wife Joan in 1529, their other obligations including maintenance of the chancel of the church and the provision of wine and wax for services. From 1564 the lessees under the dean and chapter of Bristol were charged with finding the curate's stipend.⁷² In 1603 the lord of the manor Edmund Chamberlayne held the rectory, probably as sub-tenant to Sir Hugh Brawne, who held a lease under the dean and chapter in 1614. The tithes were valued at £50 in 1603, and Brawne's sub-tenant, Francis Jones, paid him a rent of £80 in 1614;⁷³ c. 1710, however, the total value of the rectory was said to be £60.⁷⁴ The lease remained in the possession of Sir Hugh's descendants, being held from 1692 by the Revd. John Brawne (d. 1736) of Saintbury.⁷⁵ In 1768 the lord of the manor, Lord Chedworth, became lessee⁷⁶ and in 1792 glebe land of 168 a. was sublet under the 4th Lord Chedworth to the tenant of his manor farm, Thomas Walker.⁷⁷ A small part of the rectory, comprising 12 a. of glebe and cottages in the village, had however been held under separate leases from the dean and chapter since the late 17th century.⁷⁸ Following inclosure in 1805 the glebe comprised 148 a. lying on the north side of the village.⁷⁹ The whole rectory estate was leased from c. 1814 to Capel Cure of Bobbingworth

⁵⁷ Glos. R.O., D 1722/1-2; Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/5.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., D 1878, Compton fm. deeds 1760-1809.

⁵⁹ Ibid. D 363/P 2.

⁶⁰ G.D.R., T 1/61; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870 and later edns.); below, Hampnett, manor.

⁶¹ Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/53; G.D.R., T 1/61, altered apportionment 1915.

⁶² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 140; (1931), 138; G.D.R., T 1/61, altered apportionment 1931.

⁶³ Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/4/1957/29.

⁶⁴ Inf. from Mr. Courtenay Lord.

⁶⁵ Inf. from Maj.-Gen. Tabor.

⁶⁶ G.D.R., T 1/61.

⁶⁷ Glos. R.O., SL 294.

⁶⁸ For the bldgs., cf. *ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 487; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii. 637-9.

⁷⁰ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 7.

⁷¹ P.R.O., E 134/35 Eliz. I East./15.

⁷² Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/1.

⁷³ *Eccl. Misc.* 98; B.L. Add. Ch. 42321-2.

⁷⁴ Atkyns, *Glos.* 367.

⁷⁵ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/2; for the Brawnes, *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 83; Rudder, *Glos.* 636-7.

⁷⁶ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/3.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 18/5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 18/2.

⁷⁹ Glos. R.O., Q/R1 39.

(Essex),⁸⁰ who received a corn rent charge of £400 for the tithes in 1842; the land of the estate was then sublet to Thomas Walker, apparently the tenant of Lower farm.⁸¹ Cure's lease ended in 1878 when the rectory reverted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the transfer to them of the chapter's property in 1862. In 1879 the Commissioners sold the rectory farmhouse and the bulk of the glebe (130 a.) to the earl of Eldon,⁸² who absorbed it in his manor farm.

The rectory farmhouse was recorded from 1529 when a lease by St. Oswald's priory reserved the use of rooms at either end of its hall.⁸³ It stood near the centre of the village on the site of the house called the Manor House in 1999, and the outbuildings included a tithe barn standing to the south-east alongside the Puesdown road. In 1818 the farmhouse, comprising parlour, kitchen, and cellar in line, with a brewhouse in a south-west projection and farm buildings, including pigsties, adjoining on the north-east, was taken down, and a new one was built before 1826, mainly at the expense of the lessee Capel Cure.⁸⁴ From the mid 19th century it was occupied by the farmer of Lord Eldon's manor farm as sub-lessee under Cure⁸⁵ and it continued as the farmhouse of that large farm after 1879. The house was called Parsonage Farm in the later 19th and early 20th century,⁸⁶ but E. G. H. Maddy, the owner from 1911, renamed it the Manor⁸⁷ and in 1999 it was called the Manor House. The house, as built c. 1820, was a symmetrical two-storeyed, rubble house with a hipped roof, end chimneys, and a plain classical three-bayed south front. The front had been rendered by 1911 and a single-storeyed north-east extension and a south-east conservatory added.⁸⁸ Additions made soon after 1911⁸⁹ included a gabled south-west wing with drawing-room and, replacing the conservatory, a study and loggia. The old rectory tithe barn was converted to a dwelling in 1967.⁹⁰

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 there were 2 plough teams and 5 *servi* on the demesne of Compton manor.⁹¹ The lord, the archbishop of York, had the demesne farm in hand in 1283 when he ordered it and the demesne of his manor of North Cerney to be stocked with a total of 3 ploughs and 27 oxen.⁹² In 1340 the Compton demesne was extended at 225 a. of arable, 12 a. of meadow, and 40 a. of wood.⁹³ It

was said to comprise 400 a. of arable in 1401, when it was leased among the tenants,⁹⁴ and it remained on lease among the tenants in 1498.⁹⁵

The tenants of the manor in 1086 were 22 *villani* and 5 bordars with a total of 11 ploughs.⁹⁶ The manor had a number of free holdings in the late Middle Ages. In 1401 they were the yardland called Crophorne held by St Oswald's priory, another holding comprising a homestead and 16 a., and 2 yardlands (later accounted 4 yardlands) held by William Curtis and Thomas Hawkins⁹⁷ and remaining in the possession of the Curtis family during the early 16th century.⁹⁸ There were 24 customary tenants on the manor in 1340.⁹⁹ In 1401 the manor contained 21 customary yardlands but only 11 of them were still occupied as such, their tenants' obligations including cash compositions in lieu of ploughing works. The other 10 yardlands, together with a few smaller tenancies, comprising mondaylands and cottage tenements, had lapsed to the lord and were leased out at small cash rents.¹ By 1442, when the 10 yardland tenements had accumulated mainly in the hands of two families, the Rogerses and the Hawkinses, all the dwellings on them were styled tofts and had presumably been abandoned.² The same two families remained prominent among the tenantry in the early 16th century. At a fiscal survey of 1522 William Rogers at £60 and John Hawkins at £50 were given high assessments on their goods;³ William was the tenant of a three-yardland copyhold at his death c. 1541 when he was succeeded by his widow Joan,⁴ who was one of the lessees of the demesne in 1542.⁵ The yardland used at Compton was said in 1593 to contain 48 a.⁶

The amalgamation of holdings and associated pasture rights in the late Middle Ages made possible the accumulation of large sheep flocks, which were probably the source of the wealth of Rogers and Hawkins in 1522. William Hawkins the younger built a sheephouse on the manorial waste before 1423 and came to an agreement with the lord c. 1443 for the rent to be paid for it.⁷ It may have been beside the river Coln downstream of Cassey Compton where the foundations of such a building have been identified and where the Hawkins family is recorded as holding tenancies.⁸ The pasturing of sheep in the parish by outsiders from the Vale was recorded in the mid 16th century and was presumably a long-standing practice; in 1551 men of Matson and Whaddon, near Gloucester, kept

⁸⁰ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/2.

⁸¹ G.D.R., T 1/61.

⁸² Glos. R.O., D 1878, Rectory fm. papers 1879-80.

⁸³ Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/1.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 18/4, 8.

⁸⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1878, Rectory fm. papers 1879-80, letter 20 Mar. 1878.

⁸⁶ Ibid. D 2299/837; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NE. (1885 edn.).

⁸⁷ Kelly's *Dir. Glos.* (1914), 139; O. S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXV. 8 (1922 edn.).

⁸⁸ Photog. in Glos. R.O., D 2299/837; cf. sketch in Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/8.

⁸⁹ Inf. from Miss Maddy.

⁹⁰ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 79.

⁹¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁹² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, 268.

⁹³ P.R.O., C 145/140, no. 7.

⁹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 7.

⁹⁵ Ibid. M 11.

⁹⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 7.

⁹⁸ Ibid. M 3, M 14.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., C 145/140, no. 7.

¹ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 7.

² Ibid. M 9.

³ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 121.

⁴ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 14.

⁵ Ibid. M 4.

⁶ P.R.O., E 134/35 Eliz. I East./15.

⁷ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 9-10.

⁸ Above, intro.

flocks at Compton but took them home for shearing in order to avoid paying tithe wool to the lessee of the rectory estate.⁹

The parish was cropped on a two-course system in 1340, when half of the demesne arable was sown each year,¹⁰ and in 1532, when a fallow field and a corn field were mentioned.¹¹ In the 18th century East field, also called Upper field, occupied a large part of the north-east sector of the parish and West field a large part of the north-west sector, and the South field, also called Home field, lay south-west of the village between Compton grove and the lane from the village to Cassey Compton.¹² The two last mentioned fields were evidently cropped together, for the Compton farm estate had 160 a. in them and 160 a. in East field in 1760.¹³ The total acreage in the three fields just before inclosure in 1805 was 1,241 a.¹⁴ The number of ploughs and tenants recorded in 1086 and 1340 suggests that the small parish was intensively cultivated in the early Middle Ages, and there was possibly once a fourth field lying to the south-east of the village, including an area that in the 18th century comprised the north part of Compton park and closes lying between the park and the Northleach road; furlongs in which some demesne arable lay in 1401 were called Todecombe and High Todecombe and a valley in that area was later called Tadcomb.¹⁵

A tract of common pasture called Compton Downs or Compton Bushes,¹⁶ used in 1540 for pasturing sheep,¹⁷ lay at the north edge of the parish bounded by the Gloucester–Oxford road and, on the east, the lane from the village to Puesdown. Before inclosure the downs covered 77 a.¹⁸ Compton grove, the wood in the west part of the parish, was re-allotted at the inclosure and had presumably also been subject to common rights.¹⁹ The meadow land of the parish lay beside Compton brook, below and to the east of Compton grove, and beside the river Coln at the south end of the parish.²⁰ It was a valuable commodity in 1340 when 12 a. of several meadow on the demesne was worth 15*d.* an acre, compared with a value of 1 ½*d.* an acre put on the open-field arable.²¹

By 1792 the parish comprised only four farms and two smaller holdings. The manor farm had 838 a. and its tenant also held (as under-tenant of Lord Chedworth) the bulk of the rectory glebe (168 a.), the Heart family's Compton farm had 389 a., a farm of the Dyer family had 85 a., and the Cassey Compton farm of the lord of the manor had 487 a. (all inclosed) within the

parish.²² The management of husbandry in the fields was then said to be fairly uncomplicated as there were so few occupiers, though the lands of the various farms were still much intermixed and it was thought that only one aged parishioner knew where the strips belonging to the rectory farm lay.²³ Turnips had been introduced by 1801, when 137 a. was returned for the parish, but the total of cropped arable returned, only 599 a., suggests that about half the open-field land was still being fallowed each year.²⁴ Sainfoin was being grown on some inclosed arable in 1760.²⁵

The parish was inclosed in 1805 (under an Act of 1803) at the instigation of Lord Chedworth (d. 1804) and his devisees, who paid the expenses of the Act and bought out the owner of Compton farm while the inclosure was in progress. Lord Chedworth's estate received the bulk of the re-allotted fields, downs, and Compton grove, a total of 1,234 a., and received another 129 a. as lessee of the bulk of the rectory glebe. Another lessee under the rectory received 7 a., and William Dyer for his freehold farm received 73 a.²⁶

After inclosure and until the early 20th century the village and parish continued to be dominated by two large farms. Upper farm, which remained part of the lord of the manor's Stowell Park estate, was based on the house called (in 1999) Manor Farm House and on buildings at Compton Abdale barn (later Compton Farm) in the east of the parish; it comprised 775 a. in 1842 and employed 53 labourers in 1851. Lower farm, bought by the Hope family before 1821, had its farmhouse on the west side of the village and buildings at Hill barn (later Springhill) in the north-west part of the parish; it comprised 615 a. in 1842, and in 1851, when, possibly because the tenant also leased the rectory farm, it was accounted as 800 a., it employed 50 labourers.²⁷ Upper farm from the late 1780s and Lower farm from c. 1825 were tenanted until c. 1880 by members of the same family, the Walkers.²⁸ The small farm formerly of the Dyer family, based on the house which became known as Old Parsonage Farm, had 79 a. in 1842.²⁹ Both it and the rectory farm were later absorbed by Upper farm, which, being based on the former rectory farmhouse, became known as Parsonage farm.³⁰ In about 1880 it was taken in hand and farmed for Lord Eldon until he sold it in 1911.³¹ Lower farm had also been taken in hand and farmed for its owner, Lord Francis Hope, by 1889,³² but from 1898 he again let it.³³ Much of the former

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 14, ct. 1540; *Hockaday Abs.* clxviii, 1551.

¹⁰ *P.R.O.*, C 145/140, no. 7.

¹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 14.

¹² *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/2, lease 1696; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Compton fm. deeds 1760–1809, deed 1760; cf. *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/4, letter 1792.

¹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Q/RI 39 (no. 79); cf. *ibid.* D 621/M 7.

¹⁶ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

¹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Q/RI 39.

¹⁹ Above, intro.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 2; *G.D.R.*, T 1/61.

²¹ *P.R.O.*, C 145/140, no. 7.

²² *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/5.

²³ *Ibid.* 18/4, letter 1792.

²⁴ *1801 Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 170.

²⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Compton fm. deeds 1760–1809.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Q/RI 39.

²⁷ *G.D.R.*, T 1/61; *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/REL 1; *G.D.R.*, T 1/61; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

²⁹ *G.D.R.*, T 1/61.

³⁰ Above, manor.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/837.

³² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 749.

³³ *Surrey Hist. Centre, Woking*, 2971/1/1, p. 255; *Glos. R.O.*, SL 294.

parkland in the south of the parish remained in the 19th and early 20th centuries part of Cassey Compton farm, which had 231 a. in Compton parish in 1842.³⁴

There were still only three farms of any size, together with two small holdings, in the parish in 1926³⁵ but in the mid 20th century a more complex pattern developed, including in the 1930s farms based on Old Parsonage Farm again and on Smallhope and in the 1950s and 1960s farms based on Springhill and Compton Farm.³⁶ A total of 10 holdings, six of them between 20 and 150 a. and four between 150 a. and 500 a., was returned for the parish in 1956.³⁷ By the end of the century the situation had been simplified with the reconstitution of a large owner-occupied farm in the north-west, based on Lower Farm and Springhill, and with much of the south and east of the parish kept in hand by the Stowell Park estate.

In the mid 19th century the parish had the preponderance of arable common to the area and period. In 1842 there was 1,383 a. of arable compared with 661 a. of permanent grassland,³⁸ and in 1866 1,871 a. was returned as under crops (a rotation of grass seeds or clover in two years, wheat, oats, turnips, and barley) and only 261 a. as permanent grassland.³⁹ The land returned as under crops had fallen to 1,214 a. by 1896⁴⁰ and to only 549 a. by 1926.⁴¹ Sheep flocks, returned (including the lambs) at a total of 1,609 in 1866 and 1,675 in 1926, remained a more stable factor during those years, and herds of cattle, with 183 beasts returned in 1866 and 326 in 1926, were enlarged to help meet the decline in revenue from arable;⁴² Old Parsonage farm had a herd of Aberdeen Angus in 1939. Other enterprises resorted to in the depressed period of the 1930s were represented in the parish by a poultry breeder, a horse breeder and dealer, and a mushroom grower.⁴³ By 1956 the amount of land under crops returned had recovered to 1,162 a., with barley then becoming dominant among the cereals and no roots being grown; the number of livestock kept had been reduced considerably since the 1920s, but there was at least one large poultry enterprise.⁴⁴ In the late 20th century the main owners used their land, on the usual pattern then obtaining on the high Cotswolds, for cash crops and sheep.

The two large farms at Compton in the prosperous years of the mid 19th century evidently drew some of their labour force from adjoining

parishes, having a total of 103 employees in 1851 at a time when the village contained c. 75 farm labourers.⁴⁵ The total number of employees returned on all the farms based in the parish was reduced to 33 by 1926⁴⁶ and to 18 by 1956.⁴⁷ By 1971 only 7 men worked on the land in the parish,⁴⁸ and in 1999 Lower farm, with 364 ha. (900 a.) and a flock of 600 sheep, employed only two men.⁴⁹

A mill was recorded on Compton manor in 1086⁵⁰ and a water mill in 1340,⁵¹ but there appears to have been no mill on the manor in the 15th century⁵² and no record of one has been found at Compton again until the 19th century. Probably by 1842⁵³ and certainly by 1882, there was a corn mill on the east side of the village by the Northleach road.⁵⁴ It was powered from a pond higher up the road, filled by a spring.⁵⁵ The mill was sold as a part of Upper (or Parsonage) farm in 1911,⁵⁶ and it continued working until the 1920s.⁵⁷

In 1401 a stone quarry on the manor estate was on lease to the churchwardens of Cirencester, probably to provide stone for building the tower of the parish church there.⁵⁸ In 1442 the quarry was leased to the tenants of Compton.⁵⁹

In 1608 a smith, glover, weaver, and inn-keeper were the only non-agricultural tradesmen included in the muster roll for Compton,⁶⁰ and later scattered references suggest that the village usually had three or four men following the standard rural crafts. In 1851 six heads of households, 2 masons, 2 shoemakers, a carpenter, and a blacksmith, were employed in trades.⁶¹ The village blacksmith, whose smithy was on the south side of the central road junction,⁶² was the only tradesman apart from a grocer listed in a trade directory of 1906,⁶³ and in 1939 only a grocer was listed.⁶⁴ The village had no shop or tradesman in 1999, though in outlying parts of the parish were a craft centre, in the buildings called Compton Farm, and a restaurant, serving motorists on the Cheltenham–Oxford road at Puesdown.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The manor court for Compton Abdale was held two or three times a year in the 15th century⁶⁵ and in the earlier 16th; at the latter period it was sometimes held in conjunction with the court for North Cerney, another manor of the archbishop of York.

³⁴ G.D.R., T 1/61.

³⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

³⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 137; above, manor.

³⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/257/194.

³⁸ G.D.R., T 1/61.

³⁹ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴² *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23; MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 138; (1935), 137; (1939), 137.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/257/194.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* HO 107/1969.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/257/194.

⁴⁸ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 163.

⁴⁹ Inf. from the owner, Maj.-Gen. D. J. Tabor.

⁵⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁵¹ P.R.O., C 145/140, no. 7.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 7–12.

⁵³ G.D.R., T 1/61, where the pond and leat are shown on the map but the bldg. is described as a barn.

⁵⁴ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXXV. NE.* (1885 edn.).

⁵⁵ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 40.

⁵⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/837.

⁵⁷ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 40.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 7; cf. Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 248.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 9.

⁶⁰ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270–1.

⁶¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁶² *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/837.

⁶³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 132.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* (1939), 137.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 7–9.

Records of the court survive for the years 1528–43. Among those owing suit in those years were Thomas Tame of Stowell and the lords of Shipton Solers and Shipton Oliffe in respect of lands held from the archbishop in Shipton and in the detached part of Compton at Upper Hampen.⁶⁶ Leet jurisdiction in Compton was exercised by the Bradley hundred court.⁶⁷

Compton had two churchwardens in the 16th century,⁶⁸ but there was only one in the late 18th century⁶⁹ and usually until 1907, from which time two were again elected.⁷⁰ Their accounts survive from 1772. In the late 18th century and the 19th the office was held either by the farmer of the manor (Upper) farm or of Compton (Lower) farm, both for many years members of the Walker family;⁷¹ in 1837 the brothers William and Thomas Walker were said to 'govern the whole parish'.⁷² In the early 19th century there were usually c. 12 people receiving poor relief from the parish on a permanent basis, and annual expenditure, at around £100–£150, was about average for a parish of the size.⁷³ Compton became part of the Northleach poor-law union in 1836,⁷⁴ and it was in the Northleach rural district from 1895⁷⁵ until the formation of the Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCH. The church at Compton Abdale was recorded from 1291, when it was a chapel to St. Oswald's church and priory at Gloucester.⁷⁶ St. Oswald's took all the profits of the chapel and after the Dissolution they were used as part of the endowment of the dean and chapter of the new cathedral of Bristol.⁷⁷ The living of Compton Abdale remained a curacy until the mid 18th century when it received several endowments; by 1785 it was styled a perpetual curacy,⁷⁸ and it assumed the style of a vicarage in the mid 19th century.⁷⁹ From 1938 the living was a united benefice with Hazleton,⁸⁰ and Salperton was added to the united benefice in 1953.⁸¹ Under a re-arrangement of benefices in 1962 a united benefice of Compton with Withington was formed,⁸² to which Hazleton was added in 1975.⁸³

During the Middle Ages curates or chaplains were presumably supplied by St. Oswald's

priory, and after 1542 the dean and chapter of Bristol appointed the curates⁸⁴ (later vicars). In 1952 the chapter transferred its right to the bishop of the diocese.⁸⁵

In 1536, at its dissolution, St. Oswald's was paying a curate £5 6s. 8d. a year to serve the church,⁸⁶ and from 1564 the curate was paid £7 a year by the lessee of the rectory estate under the dean and chapter of Bristol.⁸⁷ The stipend was raised to £10 c. 1740,⁸⁸ which sum was made a legal charge on the estate in 1760;⁸⁹ it remained the only contribution made by the rectory to the curate's income in 1828.⁹⁰ From 1715 the income was increased under a charity of Joshua Aylworth of Aylworth who gave £200 each to augment the livings of four churches; the whole £800 was laid out on land in Cheltenham,⁹¹ from which Compton's quarter share of the proceeds was £12 10s. in 1828.⁹² In 1737 and 1758 the living was augmented from Queen Anne's Bounty by lot, receiving £200 on each occasion, and the principal was used in 1761 to buy 19 a. of land in Castle Eaton (Wilts.).⁹³ In 1760 the living received a further £200 to meet benefactions of £100 from Alexander Colston, as executor of Edward Colston, and £100 from the curate of Compton, Charles Page, and that £400 was used in 1762 to buy 20 a. in Lechlade.⁹⁴ The rents from the lands, with the payment from the rectory lessee, gave the curate an income of £48 10s. in 1763⁹⁵ and £78 in 1856.⁹⁶ In 1878 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, patrons and owners of the rectory estate, gave an additional annual stipend of £100 from their common fund,⁹⁷ and in 1891 the living had a gross value of £190 a year.⁹⁸

A cottage called the priest's house was recorded as part of the rectory estate from 1533 and was probably in a group of buildings belonging to the estate on the north side of the main village street (the site of Compton House in 1999). It was presumably used by chaplains serving Compton in the Middle Ages. Although that name long remained in use for the cottage (at least in the leases of that part of the estate),⁹⁹ it is not known if any curates occupied it after the Reformation and there was no residence for the curate in 1735 or in the early 19th century.¹ About 1880 the vicar was leasing a former farm-

⁶⁶ Ibid. M 3–4, M 14.

⁶⁷ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 620; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496–502.

⁶⁸ Hockaday Abs. xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 6; xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 112.

⁶⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/CW 1/1.

⁷⁰ Ibid. VE 2/1.

⁷¹ Ibid. CW 1/1.

⁷² Ibid.; *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/4, letter 11 Feb. 1837.

⁷³ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3; 1818, 146–7; *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁷⁴ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Tax. Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, 224.

⁷⁷ Above, manor.

⁷⁸ Hockaday Abs. clxviii.

⁷⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 273; (1870), 528.

⁸⁰ *Lond. Gaz.* 31 Oct. 1930, pp. 6730–2; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1938–9), 54–5.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/VE 2/1, min. 22 Mar. 1954.

⁸² *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1973), 56.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/IN 3/6.

⁸⁴ Hockaday Abs. xxx, 1544 stipendiaries, f. 4; clxviii.

⁸⁵ *Lond. Gaz.* 1 Aug. 1952, pp. 4127–8.

⁸⁶ *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VIII/1212, rot. 7.

⁸⁷ *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/1.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 18/2, leases 1734, 1742.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 18/3.

⁹⁰ *G.D.R.*, V 5/91t 1.

⁹¹ *B.L. Lansd. MS.* 988, ff. 281v.–282.

⁹² *G.D.R.*, V 5/91t 1.

⁹³ *Wilts. R.O.*, 1040/18; the curate Chas. Page was himself the vendor of the land.

⁹⁴ *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/3; cf. Hodgson, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1826), 321; Rudder, *Glos.* 387.

⁹⁵ *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/3.

⁹⁶ *G.D.R.* vol. 384, f. 69.

⁹⁷ *Lond. Gaz.* 16 Aug. 1878, p. 4650.

⁹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P98/VE 2/1, account of par. by H. Morgan 1891.

⁹⁹ *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/1, lease 1533; 18/2, leases 1695, 1702, 1792; cf. *ibid.* 18/8, plan 1819.

¹ *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(2), p. 12; Hockaday Abs. clxviii, 1838.

house in the village (which later became known as Old Parsonage Farm).² A new vicarage was built in 1884 and occupied from the following year. It was paid for by a grant of £1,500 from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and a further £400 from the vicar Henry Morgan, and it was designed by Ewan Christian.³ It remained the residence of the vicars until the union of the benefice with Withington in 1962, when it was sold.⁴

Partly no doubt because of the poverty of the benefice, Compton was not efficiently served during the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1576 the curate Robert Coles⁵ was reported not to preach quarterly sermons, teach the catechism, or give alms to the poor;⁶ the curate in 1599 was said to be neither ordained nor licensed;⁷ and in 1650 the parishioners, petitioning for an augmentation of the stipend so that they might be able to find a 'faithful preaching minister', claimed that the curate then in post had never preached in 20 years and sometimes was absent for months at a time.⁸ Robert Coles was apparently suspected of Catholic tendencies in 1576, for it was reported also that he used a cope and did not possess an English New Testament, and the fact that one of the parishioners had disrupted the administration of communion indicates tension over liturgical matters.⁹ The churchwardens were resisting the reading of the Book of Sports in 1634,¹⁰ and the petition of 1650 suggests a strong puritan element at Compton. The petition resulted in an augmentation temporarily of £20 a year,¹¹ and in 1659 William Beckett, who had been appointed to serve the church the previous year, received £30 a year out of the tithes of other Gloucestershire parishes.¹² Beckett was ejected after the Restoration and became a Congregational minister at Winchcombe and later at Stroud.¹³ Strong dissent from the established church evidently remained in 1682 when 42 people from the small parish were indicted for failure to receive communion.¹⁴

Charles Page, who contributed to the augmentation of the living, served as curate from 1757 to 1784, and was succeeded by another Charles Page (d. 1803).¹⁵ In the early 19th century the benefice was held in plurality with adjoining parishes and was usually served from them, sometimes however by stipendiaries employed by the perpetual curates. One of the few clergymen to reside in the village itself was the stipendiary curate Thomas Nutt, whose petition to the patrons to succeed James Holmes, rector of Colesbourne, as perpetual curate in

1837 was unsuccessful; some parishioners claimed that his inadequacies had led to an increase in nonconformity in the village, and William Mellersh, stipendiary curate of Shipton and later perpetual curate of Salterton, was appointed instead.¹⁶ Henry Morgan, vicar 1873-93, began the work of restoring the church fabric and contributed to the cost of a new vicarage house.¹⁷ Edmund Lowndes, vicar from 1917 to 1937 or 1938,¹⁸ was in dispute with his parishioners for much of his incumbency. From c. 1924 until 1931 or later the villagers, led by the chief landowner E. G. H. Maddy, attended services in a barn under lay readers from Cheltenham while Lowndes read services in the church alone or to a tiny congregation. The ostensible cause of the dispute, a minor matter over the disposal of funds for a village piano, presumably masked more deep-seated disagreements over parish matters.¹⁹

The church of *ST. OSWALD* was recorded by that dedication, taken from the mother church of the parish at Gloucester, from 1497.²⁰ Built of limestone rubble with the east part of the north aisle and the tower ashlar-faced, it comprises chancel and nave in one, a four-bayed north aisle, a north porch, and a west tower. The addition of a balancing south aisle, which might have been expected from the design of the church as remodelled during the 15th century, was presumably prevented by the site, a narrow terrace in the steep hillside on the south side of the village.

There are no obvious survivals from the church which existed by the late 13th century. The nave with north aisle and chancel are both of the early 15th century and (as the position of a surviving upper door for a rood loft shows) were originally undivided; a plain chancel arch which, with a simple wooden screen, was in position before the restoration of 1883²¹ was evidently a post-Reformation addition. The north arcade has octagonal piers, very tall for the size of the church, and the north doorway has good quality headstops. The porch was probably built in the 15th century but it was mostly renewed at one of the restorations in the late 19th century or the early 20th. The tower was added in the late 15th century and is of three stages with angle buttresses and a staircase tower. Although generally plain, it has some unusual detail: a man playing a pipe or horn is carved over the west window, couchant rams, presumably a reference to the local wool trade, occupy the offsets of the buttresses, and hounds or wolves clutching posts

² O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 8 (1883 edn.); cf. Glos. R.O., D 2299/837, where (in 1911) it was described as the 'old vicarage house'.

³ Glos. R.O., P 98/VE 2/1, account by Morgan 1891; IN 3/1.

⁴ Ibid. P 374/MI 1/6, Withington par. mag. Sept. 1964.

⁵ Hockaday Abs. xlv, 1572 visit. f. 48; xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 112.

⁶ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 153v.

⁷ Ibid. vol. 87, p. 126.

⁸ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iv, p. 1357.

⁹ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 153v.

¹⁰ Ibid. vol. 175, 26 Sept. 1634.

¹¹ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iv, p. 1503.

¹² Hockaday Abs. clxviii, 1658-9.

¹³ *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, 43.

¹⁴ G.D.R. vol. 244, pp. 133-9.

¹⁵ Hockaday Abs. clxviii; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 287.

¹⁶ Hockaday Abs. clxviii; *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 191; G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 69; and for Nutt, Bristol R.O., DC/E/18/4.

¹⁷ Glos. R.O., P 98/VE 2/1, account by Morgan 1891.

¹⁸ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1937-8), 48-9; (1938-9), 54-5.

¹⁹ Copies of press cuttings 1931 (including *News Chronicle* and *Sunday Express*), in possession of Mr. Courtenay Lord; Glos. R.O., P 98a/PC 1/1, mins. 1923-4; Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 137.

²⁰ Hockaday Abs. clxviii, 1498.

²¹ Photog. of nave (looking E.): kept in vestry (1999).

provide the corner pinnacles of the embattled parapet.²² The tower arch has embattled capitals and rosettes. On the soffit of a window at the south-west end of the nave, inserted in the late 15th century, there is a carving of a 'Green Man'.

The body of the church was restored between 1880 and 1883 to the designs of Ewan Christian, at the instigation of the vicar Henry Morgan. The work included replacing two 'unsightly' windows in the south wall of the nave, repewing, and adding dated rainwater heads to the north aisle. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, owners of the rectory tithes, paid for the restoration of the chancel.²³ In 1904 and 1905 a further restoration and general refitting were carried out under F. W. Waller at the cost of the earl of Eldon, lord of the manor, who took responsibility for the whole church after a disagreement with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners over details of the restoration of the chancel. The chancel appears to have been much rebuilt and a new window was inserted in its north wall, the roofs of nave and chancel were renewed, the floor of the east bay of the nave was raised and resealed for the choir, and the west end of the aisle was screened off to provide a vestry.²⁴ It was apparently at that restoration that the chancel arch was renewed in a more appropriate style.

A defaced carving, possibly depicting St. George and the Dragon, is set internally in the south wall of the nave; it is said to have been discovered concealed in the wall in 1939.²⁵ A restored and incomplete set of brass lamp brackets fixed to the pew ends is a prominent feature of the nave furnishings; installed with the pews in the early 1880s,²⁶ they were removed and sold when electric lighting was introduced in 1939, but several were recovered and replaced at the end of the 20th century.²⁷ The monuments in the church include four wall tablets to members of the Walker family (d. between 1814 and 1910), the leading farmers of the parish in the 19th century. The church formerly had a ring of four bells, comprising a treble and a second bell cast in 1682, a third bell cast by Thomas Rudhall of Gloucester in 1769, and a tenor of late-medieval date, by tradition brought from St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester. In 1880 the peal was recast and enlarged to six and hung in a new frame by Warner & Son of London.²⁸ The peal was rehung in a new iron frame in 1986.²⁹ The plate includes a chalice of 1762, bought for

the church in that year, and a paten and flagon given by the vicar Henry Morgan in the 1880s.³⁰ The registers survive from 1720 for baptisms and burials and from 1760 for marriages.³¹ The monuments in the churchyard include a late-medieval chest tomb.

NONCONFORMITY. Despite signs of strong dissent in Compton Abdale in the 17th century,³² no early nonconformist meeting was established and the parish had none in 1825.³³ Houses were registered there by Cheltenham men in 1834 and 1846,³⁴ and in 1851 Particular Baptists had a meeting in the village with an average attendance of 35 in the morning and 50 in the evening.³⁵ There was also in 1851 a meeting of Mormons, attracting a following of c. 30.³⁶ The later fortunes of those two groups have not been traced, but in the early 20th century, until c. 1914, Primitive Methodists held services in a cottage in a row on the north side of the village.³⁷

EDUCATION. In 1818 Compton Abdale had only a Sunday school, which was attended by c. 47 children and supported by voluntary contributions;³⁸ in 1833 its teacher was paid a small salary by the lord of the manor, Lord Stowell. At the latter date the village also had a small day school where up to 10 children were taught at their parents' expense,³⁹ but the Sunday school remained the only parish school in the village in 1847.⁴⁰

In 1852 a new building for a day and Sunday school was built south of the village on the lane to Cassey Compton, the site being given by H. T. Hope, the owner of Lower farm.⁴¹ The school had been affiliated to the National Society by 1875, when it was supported partly by a voluntary rate as well as by other contributions and school pence. The attendance was then c. 27, taught by a schoolmistress.⁴² In 1885 the average attendance was 35,⁴³ and in 1910, as the Compton Abdale C. of E. school, it had an average attendance of 32, still in one mixed class.⁴⁴ The average attendance had fallen to 22 by 1932,⁴⁵ and the school closed in 1937 with 27 children on the roll.⁴⁶ The building was sold in 1939 and converted to a dwelling.⁴⁷

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. None known.

²² The significance (presumably heraldic) of the last detail has not been discovered. A supposed connexion with the Howe fam., who did not become lords of Compton until the 17th cent., was originated by a late 19th-cent. vicar: *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/VE 2/1, account by Morgan 1891.

²³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/VE 2/1, account by Morgan 1891.

²⁴ *Ibid.* CW 3/4-5.

²⁵ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 116-17.

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/VE 2/1, account by Morgan 1891.

²⁷ Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 115; inf. from Mr. R. Owens, of Compton.

²⁸ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 242-4; cf. *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/3.

²⁹ Inf. from Mr. Owens.

³⁰ *Bristol R.O.*, DC/E/18/3; *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 63.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/IN 1/1-5.

³² Above, church.

³³ *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. li.

³⁴ Hockaday Abs. clxviii.

³⁵ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/5/11.

³⁶ *Ibid.* HO 129/341/2/5/10.

³⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1910), 136; Kosmala, *Compton Abdale*, 137.

³⁸ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 296.

³⁹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 311.

⁴⁰ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, *Glos.* 8-9.

⁴¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 273; *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/VE 2/1, min. 16 Sept. 1901.

⁴² *P.R.O.*, ED 7/34/91.

⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 435.

⁴⁴ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1911 (*H.M.S.O.*), 160.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1932, 114.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, S 98/2.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* P 98/VE 2/1, account by Morgan 1891 (added note).

DOWDESWELL

DOWDESWELL PARISH, which formerly included most of the hamlet of Andoversford, lies at the edge of the Cotswold escarpment 6 km. south-east of Cheltenham. It was recorded from the late 8th century A.D. as 'Dogodeswellan',⁴⁸ presumably the name of one of the springs that rise there and combine to form the river Chelt. In the mid 8th century an abbot called Headda inherited an estate at Dowdeswell and was also granted an estate at Andoversford ('Onnanforda'),⁴⁹ those two estates possibly comprising the whole of the later parish of Dowdeswell, which covered 2,246 a. (909 ha.).⁵⁰

The eastern end of the ancient parish⁵¹ was at a place called Hannington hill⁵² on the Stow–Gloucester road east of Andoversford; the hill was presumably the 'Onnandunam' which marked the east boundary of the Andoversford estate granted to Abbot Headda and which gave its name to the whole of that estate c. 790 A.D.⁵³ The south boundary of the parish crossed the river Coln at the ford at Andoversford and followed the Stow–Gloucester road up to its junction with the main Oxford–Gloucester road at a place called by the late 18th century Kilkenny.⁵⁴ From there the boundary branched away south-westwards along Ratshill bank (apparently called Norden bottom in 1681)⁵⁵ and Bogdon bank, taking in an upland area called Pegglesworth. Beyond Pegglesworth the west boundary of the parish followed a valley called Chatcombe, a name recalling 'cattes hlinc', which was mentioned as a landmark c. 1000 A.D. when Dowdeswell was perambulated as part of the bishop of Worcester's Withington estate. Further north the boundary followed a stream down the side of the valley of the river Chelt to cross the river at the bottom of the valley; stream and crossing were probably those recorded as 'maerbroc' and 'maerforda' (boundary brook and boundary ford) c. 1000 A.D.⁵⁶ The north boundary of the parish is partly on an old Charlton Kings to Whittington road, and, in returning to Andoversford, it followed ancient field boundaries, which are mostly no longer apparent as a result of the enlargement of Sandywell park and the building of a new Cheltenham to London road in the 1820s and the building of a railway later in the 19th century.

After Dowdeswell became established as a separate parish, distinct from Withington, land called Rossley (c. 102 a.) on the south side of

the Chelt valley remained a detached part of Withington until Dowdeswell absorbed it in 1883.⁵⁷ Land in Foxcote common meadow within Withington parish, amounting to 3 a. in 1819 after the inclosure of the meadow, was a detached part of Dowdeswell,⁵⁸ presumably until the implementation of the Divided Parishes Act of 1882. In 1956 426 a. at the east end of the parish was included in a new civil parish of Andoversford, which also took parts of Withington, Whittington, and Shipton.⁵⁹ The following account covers the ancient parish of Dowdeswell together with Rossley, and it includes the whole of Andoversford hamlet, where some buildings stood just within the adjoining ancient parishes.

Dowdeswell includes one of the highest parts of the Cotswold escarpment, the land reaching 298 m. just west of Pegglesworth Home Farm and 289 m. further east at Cold Comfort hill, so called by the mid 17th century⁶⁰ from its exposed situation. Further north the land falls steeply to the valley of the river Chelt, which lies at around 140 m., and to a side valley formerly called the Coombs;⁶¹ beyond the Chelt the land rises steeply again to reach c. 230 m. at the north boundary. The lowest part of the parish, in the Chelt valley, is on the Lower Lias clay and the sides of the valleys are formed of the Middle and Upper Lias clays and sands, with an intervening band of marlstone. The high ground is formed mainly by the Inferior Oolite and the two highest points by caps of the Great Oolite above a band of fuller's earth.⁶²

The river Chelt rises just west of Sandywell park and is augmented by springs emerging on the north side of the valley at Woodlands farm and Dowdeswell wood and on the south side of the valley at Upper Dowdeswell (near the head of the Coombs), Rossley, and Lineover wood.⁶³ Plans to employ the Chelt's headwater springs to supply Cheltenham with water were discussed from the 1830s⁶⁴ and were realized between 1883 and 1886 when the Cheltenham borough corporation built the Dowdeswell reservoir,⁶⁵ formed by a dam constructed across the valley bottom near the west boundary of the parish. The water treatment plant below the dam was improved by the installation of mechanical filters in the years 1924–5,⁶⁶ and in the late 1920s the corporation bought much of the Dowdeswell manor estate to safeguard the sources of supply to the reser-

⁴⁸ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 391–2. This account was written in 1998 and 1999.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 266–7, 391–2.

⁵⁰ *Census*, 1881.

⁵¹ For the boundaries, G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁵² *Ibid.* (no. 143); Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 3 and v.

⁵³ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, pp. 266–7, 391–2.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/E 6, accts. 1793; O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.). The reason for the name has not been discovered.

⁵⁵ G.D.R., V 5/108t 2.

⁵⁶ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 262–71.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; *Census*, 1891.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; D 2850.

⁵⁹ *Census*, 1961.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., E 134/14 Chas. II Trin./1, deposition of Rob. Whitthorne; *Glos. R.O.*, D 627/12, deed 1814 (citing deed of 1774).

⁶¹ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁶² *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn., revised to 1879).

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 414/1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 159.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* CBR, C 2/3/35/1, *passim*; plaque on reservoir lodge.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, CBR, C 2/3/35/1, min. 14 Feb. 1924; 3/35/2, mins. 3 Nov. 1924, 21 May 1925.

voir.⁶⁷ In 1998 the reservoir was no longer used for water supply and its owners, Severn Trent Water Ltd., were preparing to convey it to the Environment Agency to be maintained as a flood defence and nature reserve.⁶⁸

The slopes of the Chelt valley are well wooded. Dowdeswell wood, which occupies the bulk of the land within the parish on the northern slopes and before the reservoir was built extended southwards to the main Cheltenham–London road, covered 159 a. in 1838.⁶⁹ Woodlands farm, adjoining on the north-east, was probably an assart from Dowdeswell wood, taken out before 1632 when a group of closes, including three called the Woodlands grounds, were recorded there.⁷⁰ Lineover wood, Acres grove, and Red wood, occupying part of the slopes of the Chelt valley, south-west of Rossley, covered 76 a. in 1838, and there were some smaller groves on the hillside further east. From the early modern period all the woods of the valley sides belonged in severalty to the Dowdeswell manor estate, which, by 1641, also included a wood called Ayles wood by the south-west boundary. Ayles wood was originally part of a larger wood of that name, mainly in the adjoining Hilcot area of Withington. The part in Dowdeswell, 48 a. in 1838,⁷¹ was felled before 1883.⁷² Smaller groves in the same area of the parish, at Ratshill bank and Little grove, belonged to the Pegglesworth estate, whose owners added other small plantations and shelter belts on the high land in the 19th century.⁷³

Some spruces were introduced on part of the Dowdeswell manor estate in the 1790s,⁷⁴ but its woodland in the Chelt valley comprised mainly ash and hazel coppice with some old oak timber trees c. 1950. The owner, Cheltenham corporation, then began an extensive reafforestation scheme, planting mainly conifers but also some beech.⁷⁵ In 1998 Dowdeswell wood, owned by Severn-Trent Water Ltd., was a nature reserve, as were the woods south-west of Rossley (then known collectively as Lineover wood) which Severn-Trent had sold to the Woodland Trust in 1986.⁷⁶

Parts of Dowdeswell were enclosed as parkland for its several large houses. A park adjoining Sandywell house, in the north-east part of the parish, was enlarged, or newly made, by Henry Brett who rebuilt the house in the early 18th century: in 1705 he acquired by exchange

land called Hulls Cross field to form the part of the park adjoining the Kilkenny–Whittington road.⁷⁷ By c. 1710 the park was already elaborately planted, part as a deer park and part, to the north of the house, as formal gardens with a short canal and a pond.⁷⁸ By 1770 the park had been re-landscaped in Brownian style,⁷⁹ and in 1803, when its wall enclosed 80 a., it was grazed by a herd of 150 deer.⁸⁰ In 1824 the owner Walter Lawrence enlarged it northwards to take in part of Whittington parish as far as the line of a new Cheltenham–London road then under construction.⁸¹ In 1998 most of Sandywell park was arable but some of its ornamental trees, including an avenue of limes leading to an old entrance on the Kilkenny–Whittington road in the west, survived. A long canal-like fishpond which survives in Duncce meadow, just east of the park, may once have been part of its ornamental features, though by 1828 it had been excluded from the walled area.⁸²

In the higher part of the parish a park covering c. 30 a. was formed between Upper Dowdeswell and the main Gloucester–Oxford road for Upper Dowdeswell Manor,⁸³ probably by the Rich family who enlarged that house in the late 17th century. The park was grazed by deer in 1773⁸⁴ but it was probably not maintained during the 19th century when the house was leased as a farmhouse. On the north-eastern slopes of the Coombs valley, below Lower Dowdeswell village, there was a deer park belonging to Upper House (later Dowdeswell Court) by the 1820s.⁸⁵ More extensive grounds were landscaped in the late 1830s and early 1840s, after the house was rebuilt, including an ornamental lake formed on the stream flowing down the valley.⁸⁶

A rectangular hillfort, called the Castles,⁸⁷ encloses 14½ a. of the ridge on the south-west side of the Coombs valley.⁸⁸ Its ramparts were damaged by ploughing in the mid 19th century,⁸⁹ and only part of the south-western side remained in a good state of preservation in 1998. Another rectangular earthwork adjoins the south side of Upper Dowdeswell and was partly included in the park mentioned above. Wycomb, a small Romano-British town near Andoversford, lay mainly in the ancient parish of Whittington but extended into a field called Black Close within Dowdeswell, beside the Stow–Gloucester road.⁹⁰ A tumulus at Cold

⁶⁷ Below, manors.

⁶⁸ Inf. from Severn Trent Water Ltd. (asset management dept.).

⁶⁹ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁷⁰ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 151; cf. G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁷¹ G.D.R., T 1/69; *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, ii. 164; Glos. R.O., D 269a/E 45 (parties. of woods, at end of vol.); and for Ayles wood, below, Withington, intro.

⁷² O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁷³ *Ibid.*; G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁷⁴ Glos. R.O., D 269a/E 45, pp. 242, 245, 247.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* CBR, C 2/3/35/2, mins. 9 Dec. 1947, 13 Dec. 1949, 1 June 1950, 15 Oct. 1952.

⁷⁶ Notices at Dowdeswell wood and Lineover wood.

⁷⁷ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 17.

⁷⁸ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 400–1.

⁷⁹ Rudder, *Glos.* plate at pp. 414–15.

⁸⁰ *Glouc. Jnl.* 30 Mar. 1801; Glos. R.O., D 444/T 8.

⁸¹ *Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (Glouc. 1979), 37; Glos. R.O., Q/SRh 1824 B/4.

⁸² O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.); G.D.R., T 1/69; the meadow was part of the Sandywell est. in 1839, but had earlier, until 1657 or later, belonged to the Dowdeswell manor est.: Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 3 and v.; Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 2, note by John Stephens, 1657.

⁸³ G.D.R., T 1/69 (nos. 186, 204–5); Glos. R.O., D 627/12, deed 1814 (citing deed of 1774).

⁸⁴ *Glouc. Jnl.* 10 May 1773.

⁸⁵ *Griffith's New Hist. Description of Chelt.* (Chelt. 1826), plates of 'Dowdeswell House' at pp. 98–9.

⁸⁶ Glos. R.O., D 269a/F 19.

⁸⁷ Atkyns, *Glos.* 401.

⁸⁸ R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i. 43–4.

⁸⁹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/F 19.

⁹⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xcvi. 11–55.

Comfort, crowned by a clump of trees, was known as St. Paul's Epistle by 1828⁹¹ and it has been suggested that an epistle was read there at the beating of the parish bounds, which run close by.⁹² In the mid 19th century, however, the name 'Paul and the Epistles' was sometimes used and was said to refer to the number of trees.⁹³

Twenty-one people were assessed for the subsidy at Dowdeswell in 1327,⁹⁴ and in 1381 at least 45 were assessed for the poll tax in the parish, excluding Pegglesworth.⁹⁵ About 55 communicants were recorded in 1551⁹⁶ and 8 households in 1563.⁹⁷ In 1650 there were said to be 27 families,⁹⁸ c. 1710 c. 120 inhabitants in 25 houses,⁹⁹ and c. 1775 199 inhabitants.¹ In 1801 196 people were enumerated in 37 houses. The population fluctuated later but showed a rise overall, reaching 232 in 1831 and 350 in 1861. It fell again to 261 by 1901 but during the first half of the 20th century, mainly due to building at Andoversford, it rose, reaching 316 by 1921 and 416 by 1951. In 1961 the residual Dowdeswell parish, after the creation of Andoversford civil parish, had a population of 192, falling to 174 by 1991. Andoversford civil parish had a population of 352 in 1961, rising to 547 by 1991.²

Routes from Gloucester and Cheltenham have played an important part in Dowdeswell's history. The ancient road from Gloucester to Burford and Oxford³ crosses the high land of the west part of the parish, and the Gloucester–Stow road⁴ branches from it at Kilkenny, crossing the river Coln at Andoversford. The ford at Andoversford was of sufficient note in 759 A.D. to give its name to a local estate.⁵ A bridge, presumably a small pack-horse bridge, was mentioned there in 1580⁶ and in 1697,⁷ but the ford evidently continued to be used by vehicles until the 1760s⁸ or later. An ancient ridgeway along Withington and Foxcote hills entered the parish from the south⁹ at a place called in 1819 Cold Comfort gate.¹⁰ From the gate an easterly branch, passing close to St Paul's Epistle, joined the Gloucester road near Kilkenny and from Kilkenny led down the hill towards Whittington. That road was called the salt way c. 1600,¹¹ presumably because it connec-

ted near Winchcombe with the main Cotswold salt way to Droitwich, and in 1737 it was called the Cirencester–Winchcombe road.¹² A westerly branch from Cold Comfort gate, marked only by foot and bridle paths in 1998, crossed the Gloucester road and descended the escarpment between Lineover wood and Rossley to the Chelt valley;¹³ it provided part of a route to Cheltenham from Lechlade, Cirencester, and elsewhere.¹⁴

The road on which the village of Lower Dowdeswell was established was originally part of a route across the Chelt valley, which was described in 1591 as a highway from Cheltenham to Northleach¹⁵ but was apparently little used in the mid 18th century. It descended the north side of the valley through Dowdeswell wood to cross the Chelt just below the village, where it was known as Scob lane. It entered the village at Dowdeswell rectory house¹⁶ before climbing the hillside to meet the Gloucester–Stow road at a place called Garricks Head. Another lane (in 1998 for the most part only a field path) left it just above Lower Dowdeswell and ran eastwards to link the village with Andoversford. Parts of the lane, along what became the south boundary of Sandywell park, were called in the late 16th century the green way and (from an estate of the Knights Templar) Temple Lane. Its crossroads with the salt way, at the south-west corner of the park, was presumably the Hulls cross which gave its name to an adjoining field.¹⁷

The Gloucester–Oxford road by way of Kilkenny and Frogmill (in Shipton parish) was a turnpike from 1751 until 1870¹⁸ and with the development of coaching it became the principal London road from Gloucester, though until the 1780s some London-bound traffic went by way of Andoversford and through Shipton parish.¹⁹ The Gloucester–Stow road was a turnpike from 1755 to 1877.²⁰ In 1786 (under an Act of 1785)²¹ a new London route from Cheltenham was formed through Dowdeswell parish by building a road up the Chelt valley from Charlton Kings into Lower Dowdeswell village, widening and improving the road from there up to Garricks Head, and forming a short new branch from Garricks Head to the Gloucester–London

⁹¹ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.); it probably had the name by 1777 when Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777) marked it as 'Paul Aposd (*sic*)'.

⁹² *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 170.

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/C 3.

⁹⁴ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11–12.

⁹⁵ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313; cf. *P.R.O.*, E 179/113/31a, rot. 3; the lists of lesser payers include one headed Dowdeswell but with no names entered and one for Pegglesworth with one name, while in the lists of wealthier payers that for Pegglesworth is fragmentary.

⁹⁶ *E.H.R.* xix. 105.

⁹⁷ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 21v.

⁹⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxiii. 92.

⁹⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 401.

¹ Rudder, *Glos.* 415.

² *Census*, 1801–1991.

³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 9, deeds 1642, 1701.

⁴ *Corpus Christi Coll. Archives*, Fc 8/3, plan at ff. 73v–74.

⁵ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i, pp. 266–7.

⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 147.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/PA 11, overseers' acct. 1697.

⁸ *Ibid.* D 1930.

⁹ Below, Withington, intro.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 162 (roads section).

¹¹ *Corpus Christi Coll. Archives*, Fb 14/17, ff. 1v., 4v.

¹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 6.

¹³ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 54, 122.

¹⁴ Below, Withington, intro.

¹⁵ *Cat. Anct. D.* v, A 13045.

¹⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 142; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); cf. the name Scobb field in *G.D.R.*, T 1/69 (no. 74).

¹⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 153, 156; *Corpus Christi Coll. Archives*, Fb 14/17, ff. 1v., 3 and v.

¹⁸ Crickley Hill to Campsfield Road Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

¹⁹ Below, this section (inns).

²⁰ *Glos. and Warws. Roads Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

²¹ *Chelt. Roads Act*, 25 Geo. III, c. 125.

road.²² From that time some of the Gloucester to London traffic, including the newly established mailcoaches, came through Cheltenham and up that road.²³ The hill through Lower Dowdeswell village was, however, steep and difficult and a new line of road to replace it was opened in 1825: branching from the road of 1786 in the valley west of Lower Dowdeswell, it ran between Whittington and Sandywell and through Andoversford to rejoin the old route east of Frogmill.²⁴ A turnpike placed at the junction of the old and new routes in the Chelt valley²⁵ was later moved westwards down to a point near the parish boundary.²⁶ The new line of road, which won the approval of Thomas Telford when he surveyed the South Wales mail route in 1825,²⁷ remained the principal Cheltenham–London road for motor traffic in the 20th century. It was rerouted east of Andoversford village by a short bypass in 1971.²⁸

Plans for a railway down the Chelt valley to Cheltenham were promoted from the 1830s,²⁹ and some works for what was originally called the East Gloucestershire railway were done before 1876 on the north side of the London road near Dowdeswell wood.³⁰ Later a different course was adopted running south of the road, traversing Sandywell park by a cutting and short tunnel and straddling the road to Lower Dowdeswell by a high 12-arch brick viaduct. The line, and a station on the north-west of Andoversford, opened in 1881 as the Banbury and Cheltenham Direct railway but it was absorbed by the Great Western in 1897.³¹ In 1891 the Midland and South Western Junction railway, running from Andover (Hants) through Cirencester to Andoversford, was opened to join the Banbury and Cheltenham line north of the hamlet. Its trains were not allowed to stop at the G.W.R. station until 1904 and the M. & S.W.J. company built its own station (called Andoversford and Dowdeswell) south of Andoversford within Shipton parish. That station was closed to passengers in 1927 but continued in use for freight until the line closed in 1961. The Banbury and Cheltenham line closed the following year,³² and the viaduct at Lower Dowdeswell was demolished in 1967.³³

Dowdeswell has two villages, Lower Dowdeswell on the north-east side of the Coombs valley and Upper Dowdeswell on a high site at the head of the valley; those names

for the two parts were in use by 1470.³⁴ Lower Dowdeswell comprises the church and a group of fairly large houses. Home Farm, the old manor house, stands close to the west end of the church with its farm buildings (converted as a dwelling by 1998) to the north and another house called Eight Gabled House, formerly part of the same property, to the south. Some way to the south stood Upper House, which became the residence of the owners of the manor in the late 17th century and was replaced by a big new mansion called Dowdeswell Court in the 1830s.³⁵

North of Home Farm and further down the hillside, a farmhouse called Lower House was the home of a branch of the Rogers family between the 16th century and the mid 19th. It was added with its farm to the manor estate in 1858,³⁶ was renamed the Villa before 1870,³⁷ and c. 1910, when it was the home of Lt.-Col. George Beale-Browne and his wife Ellen, part owners of the estate, it was renamed Dowdeswell House.³⁸ Surviving in the three-bayed rear wing are a moulded chimneypiece and an ex-situ mulioned window from the 16th century or the early 17th, but the wing otherwise dates mainly from the late 18th century. The main range of the house's L plan, facing south-west over the Coombs valley, was given a plain classical façade in ashlar at a rebuilding c. 1790³⁹ which, judging from its asymmetry, conceals older fabric. Canted bays were added on the north-west of both ranges, perhaps early in the 19th century, and in 1932⁴⁰ the main range was extended to the south-east by three matching bays. The dormers, rear extensions, and hooded porch may be of the late 19th century or the 20th.

The former rectory house, a private house in 1998, stands at the north end of Lower Dowdeswell village, separated from the other houses since the building of the new road in 1786. The village once had a few houses standing on Well Lane, which formerly led down from Upper Dowdeswell and joined the main road on or near the course of the drive to Dowdeswell Court.⁴¹ They included the house of a Dowdeswell attorney John Applegath (d. 1753),⁴² which before 1777 was converted to form five cottage tenements. Applegath's house and the others on the lane were later bought by the owners of the manor and they were demolished by Hester Rogers in the 1830s or 1840s when she rebuilt Upper House as Dowdeswell

²² *Glos. Jnl.* 8 May 1786; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/E 6, accts. 1785, 1787; E 45, pp. 5, 33; D 2850, Dowdeswell deeds, case for opinion 1786; for the Cheltenham–London roads, above Fig. 2.

²³ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 485; H. Ruff, *Hist. of Chelt.* (Chelt. 1803), 346–7; *Glos. Jnl.* 26 Dec. 1808.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 19; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

²⁵ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUm 414/1.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 98/5.

²⁸ *Ibid.* TR/M/72.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Q/RUm 145; D 269a/Z 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.* D 1388, Lawrence fam., sale partic. 1867; Q/RUm 408.

³¹ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.* (1927), ii. 178; O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SE., SW. (1883 edn.).

³² C. G. Maggs, *Midland & SW. Junction Rly.* (1980), 43–4, 89–90, 105; for the station, O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.*

XXVII. 15 (1903 edn.).

³³ *Chelt. Chronicle*, 6 May 1967.

³⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 149.

³⁵ Below, manors.

³⁶ Below, econ. hist.; *Glos. R.O.*, D 627/31; G.D.R., T 1/69 (Thos. Rogers Baylis was then the owner).

³⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 536; O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SW. (1883 edn.).

³⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 142; (1910), 146.

³⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xcii. 173–4.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/3/1938/10; date on rainwater head.

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 48/2, deed 1730; E 45, p. 150; cf. *ibid.* Q/SRh 1832 D/1; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824). The lord of the manor Edw. Rogers renamed it 'Ruffian Lane' in 1793 after being attacked there by the rector Wm. Baker: *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/A 2.

⁴² *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/Z 1; P 117/IN 1/2.

Court and remodelled its grounds.⁴³ That, and the building of some cottages at Upper Dowdeswell by Hester's successor Richard Coxwell-Rogers, seems to be the origin of a tradition that an early 19th-century owner moved the cottagers wholesale from Lower to Upper Dowdeswell.⁴⁴

Upper Dowdeswell, which formed on a lane leading westwards along the hillside from the old road called the salt way, comprises Upper Dowdeswell Manor, once the centre of a large freehold estate, and some short rows of cottages. Several of its houses were grouped loosely around a green on the steep bank on the north side of the lane. In the 16th century two small farmhouses at the lower, northern edge of the green were owned respectively by Corpus Christi college, Oxford, which had succeeded to property of the Knights Templar in the parish,⁴⁵ and by the Huddleston family.⁴⁶ There were cottages at the west end of the green, below Upper Dowdeswell Manor, *c.* 1700,⁴⁷ and in 1838 two stood there and two others near the north-east corner.⁴⁸ A farmhouse which belonged to the Okey family from the 16th century until 1769⁴⁹ stood at the south-east of the green, facing the lane. A gabled building in Cotswold vernacular, it was demolished by Richard Coxwell-Rogers in 1851 and replaced by a row of four cottages in a Tudor style.⁵⁰ A pair in similar style stands on the south side of the lane and, with a few earlier cottages, a former schoolhouse of 1843, and a Romanesque-style wellhouse built in 1870 at the cost of Anne Rogers Morris, sister of the lord of the manor,⁵¹ helps to give the lane the character of a regular village street.

Pegglesworth, on the highest land of the parish, existed as a distinct estate before the Norman Conquest, possibly by 981 A.D.⁵² It was taxed as a separate vill in 1381, though it probably then had very few inhabitants.⁵³ That it had a small hamlet in early medieval times is reflected later by its distinct open fields and by the divided ownership of the land, which persisted until the late 17th century when Pegglesworth was consolidated into a single farm.⁵⁴ Pegglesworth Home Farm, which occupies a relatively sheltered site in a low coomb at the centre of the area, may represent the early-medieval hamlet. In 1838 a cottage just east of that farmhouse was the only other dwelling,⁵⁵

but later in the century a pair of farm cottages was added at Ratshill bank.⁵⁶ Shortly before 1910 a house (later called Pegglesworth House) with gables in mock timber-framing was built on the Gloucester–Oxford road by the owner of the estate, perhaps to let as a hunting box; it was offered for sale as suitable for that purpose in 1921 when the buildings included stables and a groom's cottage.⁵⁷

At Rossley, the detached part of Withington parish in the Chelt valley, there was probably a dwelling by 1327 when William de Rosteleie was assessed for tax under Dowdeswell,⁵⁸ and a farmhouse was recorded there from the mid 15th century. The farmhouse was extensively remodelled and enlarged in the early 20th century, becoming a country club *c.* 1930.⁵⁹ At Sandywell, to the east of Lower Dowdeswell, there was a dwelling *c.* 1600, replaced by the large mansion set in parkland at the start of the 18th century.⁶⁰

By the end of the 17th century three outlying farmsteads, probably all built within that century,⁶¹ belonged to the Upper Dowdeswell estate. In 1649 it had farmhouses at Cold Comfort on the Gloucester road⁶² and at Ossage (formerly Ausage) west of Andoversford.⁶³ In the early 1920s Ossage Farm was acquired for use as the kennels of the Cotswold Hunt, which in 1924 and 1938 added new cottages adjoining the farmhouse for its staff.⁶⁴ Woodlands Farm, in the north of the parish near Dowdeswell wood, was built for the Upper Dowdeswell estate before 1687.⁶⁵ The rubble-stone lower part of the L-plan farmhouse possibly survives from the 17th century, but in the 19th or 20th centuries it was heightened in brick and the whole rendered. Its buildings include a pair of cowsheds, weather-boarded and originally thatched.

At Castle barn, on the hillside south-east of Rossley, the Dowdeswell manor estate built new farm buildings in 1782.⁶⁶ In 1851 two labourers' families lived at Castle barn⁶⁷ and a pair of cottages there was later converted to a farmhouse. In the years 1936–7 the owners, Cheltenham corporation, built a new farmhouse there.⁶⁸ In the mid 19th century a farmhouse called Heylyns Farm was built for the manor estate north of Upper Dowdeswell, near the junction of the old salt way and the old Cheltenham turn-

⁴³ Ibid. D 269a/T 12; E 45, pp. 12, 150; D 627/31, will of Hester Rogers.

⁴⁴ *Glos. Life*, June 1973, 36.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 10, order of Temple Guiting *et.* 1662; Q/SRb 1832 D/1; Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 4.

⁴⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlviii. 127, 129; l. 289, 294; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 47, lease 1591.

⁴⁷ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 400–1.

⁴⁸ *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

⁴⁹ Below, *econ. hist.*

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, A 117/3; for the site, cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/69. The cottages have the family crest of his wife Ellen (Baker): cf. mon. and brass in church (beside chancel arch); Fox-Davies, *Armorial Families* (1929), i. 79.

⁵¹ Inscr. on bldg.

⁵² Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 61.

⁵³ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313.

⁵⁴ Below, *econ. hist.*; manors.

⁵⁵ *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

⁵⁶ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.); cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/4/1932/6.

⁵⁷ Deed 1910, in possession of Mr. A. Ebeid, of Pegglesworth Home Fm.; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1302/8/16.

⁵⁸ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁵⁹ Below, manors.

⁶⁰ Ibid.
⁶¹ Cf. *Inq. p. m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 151–2, which in 1632 recorded the fields where they stand with no mention of houses.

⁶² Below, this section (inns).

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7.

⁶⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927), 156; *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/4, pp. 151, 213, 242; 100/6, p. 25.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7.

⁶⁶ Ibid. E 10; cf. *ibid.* E 45, p. 25.

⁶⁷ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, CBR, C 2/3/35/2, mins. 14 Jan., 9 June 1936, 11 May 1937.

pike road.⁶⁹ In the late 20th century the farmhouse and its barn became private houses and a new farmhouse, retaining the name Heylins Farm, was built east of Upper Dowdeswell.

Andoversford hamlet, named from the crossing of the river Coln by the Stow–Gloucester road at the east end of the parish, is mainly of 19th- and 20th-century growth,⁷⁰ though there were a few dwellings in that area by the 13th century when several inhabitants of Dowdeswell were surnamed ‘of Andoversford’.⁷¹ In the early modern period the place-name usually took the form Anford or Anfords ford.⁷² From the Gloucester road a short way west of the ford an old lane led northwards to join an old Cheltenham–London road in Whittington parish west of Syreford,⁷³ and in the early 17th century an inn (from the mid 19th century called the Royal Oak) was built on the Gloucester road opposite the entrance to the lane.⁷⁴ A stone farmhouse, later called Home Farm, was built beside the lane in the 17th century and comprises a squarish gabled chamber block of two storeys and attics, attached to a lower, and possibly earlier, two-storeyed range. Before the end of the 18th century at least one cottage had been established on the waste on the north side of the Gloucester road near the entrance to the lane; the lord of Dowdeswell manor gave a mason leave to rebuild it on a larger scale in 1807 and it was joined by a second cottage soon afterwards.⁷⁵ The new Cheltenham–London road built through Andoversford in 1825 crossed the old lane north of Home Farm and crossed the Coln by a bridge before forming a crossroads with the Gloucester road beside the old ford. Though making Andoversford a focal point on the road system, the new road was little developed until the 20th century; the only buildings on it by 1838 were the new Andoversford inn (later Hotel) on its east side, a cottage and smithy at the crossroads, and a cottage and carpenter’s shop near by.⁷⁶ A pair of cottages for the Sandywell estate was built just north of the inn in 1877⁷⁷ and others, in pairs or threes, were added before the end of the century further north⁷⁸ on the site of a former brickworks. Before 1883 a terrace of 10 cottages was built on the south side of the Gloucester road adjoining the Royal Oak inn.⁷⁹

The role of Andoversford was enhanced in the late 19th century by the building of the two railway lines and their stations; it became a centre

for the local carrying trade and a livestock market was opened there.⁸⁰ The Midland and South Western Junction line overlaid part of the Cheltenham–London road at the south end of the hamlet, and the road was diverted to the east by means of two right-angled turns and a bridge to carry the railway over it. The Northleach rural district council built six houses on the Cheltenham road at the north end of the hamlet in 1921.⁸¹ A few houses and bungalows were added to the hamlet in the 1920s and 1930s by private enterprise,⁸² which in 1930 the council said was likely to supply local housing needs.⁸³ After the Second World War, however, the council decided on Andoversford, with its good road and rail communications and its proximity to Cheltenham, as the site of its main housing development outside Northleach town, and in the mid 1950s the Crossfield estate was built north of the Gloucester road some way west of the old hamlet.⁸⁴ The estate was further enlarged in the 1960s⁸⁵ when new private bungalows were also built in the Andoversford area.⁸⁶ In the late 20th century, after a bypass had relieved the pressure of traffic, there was further private building, including a substantial estate on the west side of the Cheltenham road; that estate was being expanded in 1998 by building on the site of the Banbury and Cheltenham line station. Another recent estate then covered the site of the Andoversford Hotel on the east of the road, and an industrial estate had been formed at the south end of the hamlet on former property of the M. & S.W.J. railway.

At the south edge of Dowdeswell parish a series of inns served traffic on the Gloucester and Cheltenham roads. A cottage built beside the Stow–Gloucester road west of the ford at Andoversford on the waste of Whittington manor⁸⁷ was granted on lease by the lord of that manor in 1628. It had opened as an alehouse by 1647⁸⁸ and in the 18th century it had the sign of the George,⁸⁹ though it was more usually known simply as the Andoversford inn. It became a posting house,⁹⁰ and in the 1760s and 1770s it also enjoyed the custom of some of the Gloucester to London stagecoaches, which came through Andoversford to join an old Cheltenham–London road in Shipton parish; that caused rivalry with the landlord of the Frogmill inn on the main London route, who was accused by the Andoversford innkeeper in 1763 of altering signposts.⁹¹ By 1788, after the

⁶⁹ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SW. (1883 edn.).

⁷⁰ For Andoversford in the early 20th cent., below, Fig. 6.

⁷¹ Below, manors (Temple Dowdeswell); *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁷² e.g. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 143, 147, 168; Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 3 and v.; B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, ff. 483v., 507v., 511; *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 3/7.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁷⁴ Below, this section.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 627/13; cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/69 (nos. 153–4).

⁷⁶ *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., contracts 1867–77.

⁷⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 15 (1903 edn.).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 6', Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁸⁰ Below, econ. hist.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/4, pp. 60, 112.

⁸² *Ibid.* pp. 256, 284; 100/5, pp. 354, 368–9; 100/6, p. 18.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 100/5, p. 119.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 100/9, p. 726; 115/3, p. 123.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 100/9, pp. 2098, 2167; 115/3, p. 417.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 115/3, *passim*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* D 1930; Q/RI 162.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* P 374/IN 3/7; *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rot. 14.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 6.; D 444/L 1a, letter 14 Jan. 1754; *Glouc. Jnl.* 15 June 1789.

⁹⁰ *Glouc. Jnl.* 14 Apr. 1777.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 29 Aug., 5 Sept. 1763; cf. *ibid.* 18 Apr. 1774 (advert. by Thos. Pruen). For the route through Shipton, below, Shipton, intro.



➔ ANDOVERSFORD ✦ HOTEL, ✦ ➔

Pleasantly situated on the Cotswold Hills, six miles from Cheltenham, five minutes' walk from the Railway Station, and within easy reach of four good Packs of Hounds.

POST HORSES AND CARRIAGES FOR HIRE. GOOD STABLING AND LOOSE BOXES FOR HUNTERS. Hunters Summured. EXCELLENT BED ROOMS AND PRIVATE SITTING ROOMS. Special Terms for Boarders. Good Trout Fishing. Tennis Courts, Swings, &c. DINNERS AND TEAS PROVIDED FOR PIC-NIC AND PLEASURE PARTIES. Splendid Drives can be arranged from the Hotel to Chedworth Woods, Roman Villa, Foss Bridge, &c.

C. ARKELL, Proprietor.

FIG. 3. ANDOVERSFORD HOTEL ADVERTISEMENT, 1889

opening of the Cheltenham–London turnpike through Dowdeswell, the route by Frogmill had reasserted its position and the Andoversford inn was said to be much reduced in value. A new landlord fitted it up in 1789 but it closed before 1820 and was converted to two tenements.⁹² It reopened before 1870 as the Royal Oak inn,⁹³ which it remained in 1998. The building retains some 17th-century beams internally and has a mid 18th-century ashlar front with a classical doorcase.

Within a few years of the opening of the new Cheltenham–London road in 1825⁹⁴ a coaching inn called the Andoversford inn (later Hotel) was built on the east side of the road. It was a two-storeyed square building with a hipped roof and had on the north side a large yard with ranges of stables on three sides.⁹⁵ From 1840 until the mid 1870s the innkeepers farmed Home farm at Andoversford, leasing both inn and farm from the Sandywell Park estate.⁹⁶ In the late 19th century they relied for part of their

custom on the accommodation of hunting visitors and their horses. The hotel was also a stopping place for carriers from Cotswold villages to Cheltenham. The opening of the railway stations brought more business and in 1889 it kept its own post horses and carriages.⁹⁷ It closed c. 1980 and was later demolished to make way for housing.

A house called Crarricks House in 1737⁹⁸ (later usually Carricks⁹⁹ or Garricks House) stood west of Andoversford on the north-west corner of the junction of the Gloucester road and the road from Lower Dowdeswell. Its position suggests that it was at one time an inn or alehouse, and in 1824¹ and until the early 20th century a smithy adjoining served traffic on the main road.² A small stone house built at the south-west corner of the junction (within Withington parish) after 1819³ had opened as a public house by 1851 under the sign of the Garricks Head,⁴ though the name Garricks House was also used sometimes for it as well as

⁹² Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/197, no. 325122, pp. 151–2; *Glos. Jnl.* 15 June 1789.

⁹³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 678; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁹⁴ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 15 (1903 edn.); personal observation.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840–76.

⁹⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 756, advert. section p. 38; (1894), 137.

⁹⁸ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 6; the early appearance and forms of the name preclude a connexion with the actor, though his fame may have influenced the later form.

⁹⁹ e.g. *ibid.* E 6, accts. 1785, 1795.

¹ *Ibid.* Q/RUM 98/2.

² O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 14 (1902 edn.); cf. G.D.R., T 1/69 (no. 161), where it appears as 'Caddicks House'.

³ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 14 (1883 edn.).

for the older house opposite.⁵ The public house closed in the mid 20th century.⁶ The small settlement at the road junction was enlarged in 1939 by an estate of eight council houses called Clock House Square⁷ and in the 1950s and 1960s by a few private houses and bungalows, one replacing the original Garricks House.⁸

At Kilkenny, at the fork of the Gloucester roads to Stow and London, an inn called the Cross Hands opened shortly before 1780; it stood on the north side of the junction but its site was just within Withington parish. The inn-keeper in the 1780s, Richard Stallard, also occupied adjoining land, for which he paid his rent to the owner of the Dowdeswell manor estate, Edward Rogers, partly in the form of post-chaise hire.⁹ The inn retained its sign of the Cross Hands until the mid 20th century,¹⁰ but later it was called the Kilkenny inn.¹¹ The low, late 18th-century range of buildings also incorporated two cottage dwellings and a further dwelling was added to the range in the late 20th century.

At Cold Comfort, the high point on the Gloucester road west of Kilkenny, a house was built shortly before 1649. It was apparently intended only as a farmhouse for that part of the Upper Dowdeswell estate¹² but it had become the Cold Comfort inn by 1667¹³ and was open as such until 1777 or later.¹⁴ The building remained a farmhouse on the Upper Dowdeswell estate¹⁵ until the early 20th century, but it was derelict by the late 1960s when it was restored as a private house. It was later a restaurant and in 1994 became a small hotel under the name of the Pegglesworth Hotel.¹⁶ The house¹⁷ mentioned in 1649 was a two-storeyed, lobby-entry building with a three-bayed east façade with mullioned windows. In the early 18th century a south wing with a basement kitchen was added, giving the house an L plan, and in the 19th century a narrow range with a cellar was added in the angle. Early in the 19th century a canted bay was added at the north end of the original range facing the road. A farm building added on the west side of the house in the 19th century was taken into the house at the restoration in the 1960s and later given an additional storey.

In 1802 a friendly society called the Hand in Hand met at the Cross Hands at Kilkenny.¹⁸ Another met at the Andoversford inn (later

Hotel) in 1828 and was dissolved c. 1870,¹⁹ and the Andoversford Working Men's friendly society met at the hotel from 1885 until its dissolution in 1909.²⁰ In 1900 Agatha Lawrence, sister of the owner of Sandywell Park, opened a reading room and working men's club at Andoversford for use by railwaymen.²¹ In 1950 a village hall, formed of two wartime army huts brought from Sandywell park, was built for Andoversford on the east side of the Crossfield housing estate. It was opened in 1951 and managed in conjunction with an adjoining playing field, apparently laid out a few years earlier. Andoversford then had cricket and football clubs, which amalgamated into a single sports club c. 1964,²² and the hall, enlarged and improved, served as village hall and sports clubhouse in 1998. A village hall for Upper Dowdeswell, a converted farm building on the south side of the lane there, was opened in 1927²³ and remained in use in 1998.

A skirmish occurred at Andoversford in 1643 when royalist soldiers, some from Sudeley castle, attacked a detachment from Gloucester under Edward Massey, returning from a sally against Stow-on-the-Wold.²⁴ George Turner of Dowdeswell, whose family leased Upper Dowdeswell Manor farm, wrote a short survey of Gloucestershire agriculture for the Board of Agriculture in 1794.²⁵

For most of the early modern period Dowdeswell, unusually for a place of its size, had several resident gentry families, occupying houses at Lower Dowdeswell, Upper Dowdeswell, and Sandywell Park, and litigation between them over manorial and parochial matters was a feature of the period. The Rogers family was at one time represented in the parish as landowners by four separate branches, one branch taking the name Coxwell-Rogers in the 19th century.²⁶

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. A mid 8th-century abbot called Headda inherited an estate at Dowdeswell, and in 759 A.D. he also acquired 10 *cassati* of land at 'Onnanforda' (apparently Andoversford) by gift of three princes of the Hwicce acting with the sanction of King Offa. Headda left his whole estate to any of his kinsmen who were in priestly orders, with reversion to the see of Worcester.²⁷ It prob-

⁵ *Licensed Houses in Glos. 1891*, 164-5; Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/3/1928/2.

⁶ O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 01 (1957, 1985 edns.).

⁷ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/5, p. 416; 100/6, pp. 14, 43, 84.

⁸ *Ibid.* 115/3, pp. 104, 119, 232, 384.

⁹ *Ibid.* D 269a/E 6, accts. 1779-80, 1793; E 45, pp. 84-90.

¹⁰ O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 01 (1957 edn.).

¹¹ In 1998 the 'Kilkenny (*sic*) Inn and Brasserie'.

¹² Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7, deed 1649; cf. *ibid.* D 627/12, deed 1814 (citing deed of 1774).

¹³ *Ibid.* Q/S1b 1, f. 143; P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

¹⁴ Hist. MSS. Com. 29, 13th Rep. II, Portland, iii, p. 296; Glos. R.O., D 269a/PA 4, accts. 1752, 1753-4, 1776-7.

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 627/12-13; D 2428/2/63; G.D.R., T 1/69.

¹⁶ *Cotswold Life*, Jan.-Feb. 1969, 30-2; inf. from the owner, Mrs. D. Pearce.

¹⁷ N.M.R., hist. building rep. 31712.

¹⁸ Glos. R.O., Q/RSf 2.

¹⁹ P.R.O., FS 2/3, Glos. no. 232; FS 4/12, Glos. no. 232.

²⁰ *Ibid.* FS 4/13, Glos. no. 111.

²¹ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 4/4; cf. Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i. 869.

²² Glos. R.O., D 3168/4/7/17, 128.

²³ *Ibid.* 4/7/38.

²⁴ *Bibliotheca Glos.* ii. 38.

²⁵ *Glouc. Jnl.* 7 Oct. 1793; G. Turner, *General View of Agric. of County of Glouc.* (1794); cf. Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 17, lease 1792.

²⁶ Below, manors; church. For the Rogerses, cf. Glos. R.O., D 269a/F 12, F 19; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii, pedigree facing p. 120.

²⁷ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, pp. 36, 41; for the grantors in 759, cf. *ibid.* pp. 178-9.

ably passed to the see before 957, when land at Pegglesworth was held from Bishop Coenwald.²⁸ A perambulation of the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor c. 1000 A.D. included the whole or most of Dowdeswell,²⁹ and in 1086 4½ hides in Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth (later accounted as 3 and 1½ hides respectively) were held from Withington by Robert.³⁰ By 1166 Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth were held as 1 knight's fee by Humphrey de Bohun, whose widow Margaret held them later in the 12th century. By Margaret's death c. 1197 the de Bohuns had made a subinfeudation to the Knights Templar, and a tenant-in-demesne held the bulk of Dowdeswell from the Templars, the Templars from the de Bohuns, and the de Bohuns from the bishops of Worcester.³¹ In 1226 Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, was disputing the bishop's claim to service³² and in 1299 the estate was said to render no service to the bishop.³³ The earl confirmed his ancestors' gift to the Templars in 1225 and 1244,³⁴ and later tenants-in-demesne held from Temple Guiting manor, the site of a Templar preceptory.³⁵ Corpus Christi college, Oxford, owner of Guiting from 1517, received a chief rent from the lords of Dowdeswell manor until the 19th century.³⁶

In the later 12th century a man called Robert held Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth in demesne under the Knights Templar,³⁷ and William of Dowdeswell, who gave a demesne estate at Andoversford to the Templars before 1185,³⁸ was presumably another owner at that period. In 1248 Roger son of William was claiming half the manor of *DOWDESWELL* from John of Dowdeswell and also the lordship of four tenant holdings there.³⁹ A later owner was Robert of Dowdeswell, whose son William of Dowdeswell was lord of the manor in 1285⁴⁰ and conceded dower to Robert's widow Agnes and her husband Thomas de Teye in 1287. William died before 1320 when, subject to rights in dower of his widow Maud, his son Thomas of Dowdeswell held the manor; Thomas retained the manor until 1328 or later.⁴¹ John of Dowdeswell held it in 1346,⁴² Richard Chastilon in 1358,⁴³ and William Gernon in 1400.⁴⁴ The

same or another William Gernon was lord in 1434,⁴⁵ and in 1445 Dowdeswell manor was held by another William Gernon, a minor who had livery before 1451.⁴⁶ The last-mentioned William died in 1461, leaving his son and heir William, then a minor;⁴⁷ he died before 1479 when his son, also called William Gernon, was a minor in the custody of Edward Woodville. Four feoffees held the manor during the same minority in 1484.⁴⁸ In 1494 it was held by Elizabeth Hill, widow of Sir Thomas Hill;⁴⁹ she died in 1501 and was succeeded by her son Robert Hill,⁵⁰ a merchant of the Calais staple. Robert sold the manor in 1504 to Ralph Latham, a London goldsmith,⁵¹ who sold it in 1505 to Edmund Tame of Fairford.⁵² Edmund (d. 1534) was succeeded by his son Sir Edmund Tame,⁵³ who in 1539 leased the manor for 60 years to Joan Rogers, her son William Rogers, and members of William's family.⁵⁴

At Sir Edmund Tame's death in 1544 a life-interest in the freehold passed to his widow Catherine⁵⁵ and by agreement among his sisters and heirs the reversion passed to one of the sisters Isabel, who married, apparently as her second husband,⁵⁶ William ap Rees. William, Isabel, and her son Rees ap Owen sold the reversion in 1558 to the lessee William Rogers, who died the same year; some rights reserved in that sale were released to his son William Rogers by Rees ap Owen in 1559.⁵⁷ Catherine Tame, who married Sir Walter Buckler and later Roger Lygon,⁵⁸ died in 1582 when the freehold was assumed by William Rogers. The Rogerses, a branch of a family based at Bryanston (Dors.), remained the principal landowners in Dowdeswell parish for over three centuries.⁵⁹

William Rogers died in 1593, having settled the manor house and part of the estate on the marriage of his daughter Dorothy and John Higford and the rest on his own second marriage, by which he left an infant son William.⁶⁰ In 1594 the manor court was held in the names of John and Dorothy but in 1610 and 1611 in that of William, who was in the guardianship of Walter Savage and later of William Moulton. William came of age c. 1614⁶¹ and died in 1640, having settled the manor for life on his wife

²⁸ Ibid. p. 61.

²⁹ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 262–71.

³⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165; cf. *Red Bk. of Worc.* 367.

³¹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 418, 437; for Margaret's death, *Camd. Misc.* xxii. 10.

³² *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 148, 213.

³³ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355.

³⁴ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/7, no. 81; CP 25/1/73/16, no. 325.

³⁵ Ibid. C 142/71, no. 156; C 142/378, no. 107; *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, ii, p. 299; *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, ii. 166.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/E 45, pp. 5, 190; L 2, no. 24.

³⁷ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 437.

³⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 823.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2 (the bdl. includes transcripts of mediæval recs. of Dowdeswell in the P.R.O.).

⁴⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2.

⁴² *Feud. Aids*, ii. 278.

⁴³ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Brian, i, f. 21; cf. *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, p. 38.

⁴⁴ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Winchcombe, f. 51.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., CP 25/1/292/68, no. 160.

⁴⁶ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 20v., 97v.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., C 140/550, no. 50.

⁴⁸ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Alcock, ff. 59v., 139v.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1485–1500, p. 217.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen VII*, ii, p. 299.

⁵¹ *Cal. Close*, 1500–9, pp. 136–7.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 45.

⁵³ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 75.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., C 142/239, no. 111.

⁵⁵ Ibid. C 142/71, no. 156.

⁵⁶ Ibid. CP 40/1134, Carte rott. 2–3, where (in 1547) her husband was named as Lewis ap Watkins.

⁵⁷ *Cat. Anct. D.* v, A 12523, A 12745; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2.

⁵⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 140.

⁵⁹ For the various branches of the fam. in Dowdeswell, *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 19, pedigree; F 9, account of Rogers fam. 1790; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii, pedigree facing p. 120.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., C 142/239, no. 111.

⁶¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 158, 165, 169. In 1634 and 1635 the ct. was held in the names of Wm. Sheldon and Wm. Rogers of Sandywell and, in 1636, of Sheldon, Wm. Higford, and others; presumably all were trustees or creditors.

Philip (d. 1644), with reversion to his eldest son Don Rogers. Don's brother William⁶² succeeded and in 1655 for the benefit of his creditors conveyed the estate to trustees,⁶³ who sold off parts during the 1660s. William (d. 1678) was succeeded by his son William Rogers, who came of age in 1683 with the estate still encumbered by debt and in 1687, in order to secure a release from the surviving trustee, sold a large part to John Vannam, vicar of Bibury.⁶⁴ William incurred further debts, and in 1695, to keep it 'in the name and family of ... Rogers', he conveyed Dowdeswell manor to his kinsman and creditor William Rogers in return for an annuity.⁶⁵

The new owner William Rogers, a London lawyer and Chancery Master, was from a younger branch of the family which had settled at Upper House in Dowdeswell. He died in 1734⁶⁶ and was succeeded by his nephew John Rogers, rector of Dowdeswell, who in 1751 bought back the land alienated to Vannam in 1687.⁶⁷ The Revd. John Rogers (d. 1768) left the manor to his nephew William Rogers (d. 1783), who left it to his brother Edward. Edward (d. 1810) left it to his niece Hester Rogers with contingent remainders in favour of the sons of her sister Ann, wife of the Revd. Charles Coxwell, and a proviso that male heirs who inherited should take the additional surname of Rogers.⁶⁸ Hester, whose estate in Dowdeswell covered 806 a. in 1838,⁶⁹ died in 1848 and was succeeded by her nephew Richard Rogers Coxwell, who became R. R. Coxwell-Rogers.⁷⁰ He added Upper Dowdeswell to the estate in 1867⁷¹ and died in 1895. He was succeeded by his daughters Ellen, wife of Lt.-Col. George Beale-Browne, and Grace; Richard's eldest surviving son Godfrey, having been declared a bankrupt, had conveyed his reversionary life-interest to his mother Ellen (d. 1894) and she had left it to the two daughters.⁷² Godfrey died in 1913, and in 1914 the manorial rights and the bulk of the estate belonged to his son Richard Hugh Coxwell-Rogers,⁷³ who was killed in action in 1915, having devised the Dowdeswell estate to a friend Cecil Mein Probyn-Dighton, who took the name Coxwell-Rogers.⁷⁴

Several parts of the estate were later sold off, but most of the land in the Chelt valley was eventually re-united by purchases made by Cheltenham corporation to safeguard the catch-

ment area of its Dowdeswell reservoir. In 1928 the corporation bought Dowdeswell wood and Woodlands farm, a total of 311 a. adjoining the reservoir on the north side of the valley,⁷⁵ and the following year it bought Home and Castle Barn farms (583 a.) from C. M. Coxwell-Rogers.⁷⁶ The corporation's Dowdeswell estate passed with its water undertaking in 1965 to the North West Gloucestershire water board and in 1974 to Severn-Trent Water, which sold some of the land in the 1980s, retaining in 1998 Dowdeswell wood and Castle Barn farm.⁷⁷

The old manor site of Dowdeswell, on the west side of the church, was called the Farm in the early modern period and Dowdeswell Farm in the 19th century; in the late 20th century the two houses which stand close together there were known as Home Farm and Eight Gabled House. Following the purchase of Dowdeswell manor by a younger branch of the Rogers family in 1695 Upper House (later Dowdeswell Court), standing further south, was the residence of the owners, while the old manor buildings remained the centre of the principal farm on the estate.⁷⁸

At Home Farm the older, western range was probably built by the Rogerses in the later 16th century, before 1581.⁷⁹ It is of two storeys, built of coursed squared rubble, and contains a two-bayed hall with a chimneypiece with a four-centred head; the western end retains part of the service end, originally divided from the hall by a timber-framed partition. The rest of the service end was probably removed in the 19th century (the apparent date of the present west wall). The chamber end on the east was rebuilt as a tall block of two storeys and attics in the 17th century,⁸⁰ apparently before 1638,⁸¹ and has large windows in the gabled attics and a newel stair with timber treads and post at its south-east corner. In the 19th century the entrance in the hall range was moved to the centre of the north side and the cross passage was converted to a kitchen; the early 16th-century first-floor window with arched lights may have been introduced then. About 1971, during an extensive restoration of Home Farm and its adjoining buildings,⁸² the entrance to the hall range was moved back to its old position.

Eight Gabled House, standing only a few yards to the south of Home Farm, is unusual both in its form and its position. Its original purpose is obscure. Its position and the lack of

⁶² *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, ii. 164-6; *Glos. R.O.*, P 117/IN 1/1, bapt. 1623, 1626, burials 1644.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* T 5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* T 6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; Bigland, *Glos.* i. 486.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 2, T 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* F 2, F 14/1.

⁶⁹ *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 627/31. For the Coxwell-Rogers fam. in the 19th and early 20th cent., Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), ii. 1941, which, however, gives Hester's date of death wrongly.

⁷¹ Below, this section.

⁷² *G.D.R.*, D 5/1/17; *Glos. R.O.*, EL 565 (Whittington Ct. MSS.), notes on 'bdle. 1' (nos. 74, 81); cf. *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 141; (1910), 145.

⁷³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1914), 149; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/1351.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927), 156; inf. from Lt.-Col. R. A. Coxwell-Rogers, of Coberley.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, CBR, C 2/3/35/2, mins. 17 Feb., 14 June 1928.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* mins. 12 July, 11 Oct. 1928, 16 May 1929.

⁷⁷ Inf. from Severn Trent Water Ltd. (asset management dept.).

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 12, account of Rogers fam. 1790; cf. *ibid.* T 6, lease 1750; F 9, insurance policy 1836; *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

⁷⁹ 'WR 1581' is scratched on the splay of a S. window in the range.

⁸⁰ For the bldg., Plate 17.

⁸¹ The date (with the initials 'A.S.') is scratched on the splay of the ground-floor S. window.

⁸² Photogs. in possession of, and inf. from, Mrs. A. Sale, owner of Home Fm; N.M.R., hist. building rep. 31711.

documentary reference to it as a separate house suggest it was always part of the same property as Home Farm. The assessment of William Rogers on 10 hearths in 1672 is likely to have covered both buildings,⁸³ and Eight Gabled House was certainly part of the same tenancy in 1838, when it was apparently no longer in domestic use.⁸⁴ It was used as a farm building to Home Farm in the mid 20th century until the restoration of the buildings in the early 1970s, when it was sold off as a separate dwelling.⁸⁵ Eight Gabled House contains (in the roof above the central corridor in the north part of the house) the remains of a substantial cruck and other re-used, smoke-blackened timbers. It is possible, therefore, that it originated in a medieval hall house that predated Home Farm. Its present form, probably assumed by 1687,⁸⁶ is a square building of two storeys and attics with three bays on the north and east sides and two bays on the south and west. Each face is surmounted by two matching gables (giving the house its name), the two- or three-light mullioned windows have individual hoodmoulds, and there are small, arched lights in the gables; a central north entrance is linked in a symmetrical composition to flanking windows by a single stringcourse. The east-west spine wall, containing two chimney stacks, is of large blocks of dressed stone, as was a wall that formerly divided the ground floor of the south part of the house into two unequal, unheated rooms. The south-west room formerly had a small, partitioned compartment at its south-west corner and possibly two other timber-framed subdivisions. North of the spine wall the house is divided into two rooms and a central corridor by substantial timber-framed walls; the west wall is close-studded on the ground floor but box-framed on the first floor and the box-framed east wall is of one build. The north-west room has beside the stack the base of a spiral stair, later hollowed to make a cauldron. The staircase, which has splat balusters, may have been imported into the central passage from elsewhere and re-erected in one straight flight.⁸⁷

The former farmyard north of Home Farm includes on its north side a rubble-built barn of the late 16th century or the 17th. It is of five bays with a gabled cart-entrance to the south and retains its original roof of raised cruck trusses, which have arched braces to a tiebeam, a high collar, and a saddle carrying the ridge piece.⁸⁸ The barn has been extended, probably in the 18th century. To its west, forming the entrance to the farmyard, is a 16th-century stone-built gatehouse with a partly weather-boarded timber-framed upper storey containing a dovecot. During the restoration of the buildings in the early 1970s a

range of cowsheds on the east side of the yard was remodelled to form a separate dwelling house and the barn and gatehouse were restored as part of the same property.

Upper House, so called by the 1670s, was evidently the dwelling with 6 hearths for which Richard Rogers of Dowdeswell was assessed in 1672.⁸⁹ The earliest visual evidence found, of the 1820s,⁹⁰ shows an **H**-plan, two-storeyed house of the late 16th century or the 17th; the main range had a south front with a symmetrical five-bayed centre, flanked by gabled wings and extended eastwards by other irregular ranges. Alterations seem to have been made in the 18th century or the early 19th, including the creation of a railed forecourt with a two-storeyed building attached at the south-west corner and the refenestration of the central bays of the house. An octagonal gazebo containing a cold bath was built on the slope to the west in 1773⁹¹ and survived in 1998.

In 1833 Hester Rogers pulled the house down and began to build a large new mansion, which was completed in 1837 and became known as Dowdeswell Court. It was designed by Charles Paul, of the firm of Rowland Paul & Sons of Cheltenham, though some details of the elevations were altered by the builder, a local mason Thomas Denley of Syreford, in Whittington. Hester Rogers ceased to employ Denley in 1835 as a result of a dispute over his charges, and the remaining work, mostly internal joinery, was completed by Joseph Rainger of Cheltenham. The house, built mainly of stone from Syreford quarry, is in a convincing early 18th-century style, the windows being copied from the nearby Sandywell Park, and it has stone carving of high quality, including the massive Corinthian capitals, which were carved by Denley.⁹² The entrance front on the south has a five-bayed centre with two-bayed projecting wings and a hexastyle portico, the garden front on the west is of six bays, and a service wing projects to the east. The house was originally three-storeyed⁹³ but c. 1928 the top floor was removed, the parapet and the capitals of the angle pilasters being carefully reinstated.⁹⁴ The north front appears also to have been altered, for a mid 19th-century illustration shows its east five bays as projecting. Richard Coxwell-Rogers when he inherited the estate in 1848 remodelled the entrance hall to the designs of Samuel Onley of Cheltenham; a screen of columns has been partly blocked.⁹⁵ The groin-vaulted cellars beneath the balustraded terrace, south-west of the house, were probably built as part of the substructure of the new mansion, and there is a substantial coach house and stable block to the south-east.

It appears that Dowdeswell Court was not occupied by the Coxwell-Rogers family after

⁸³ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10, where Wm. Rogers, esq., is evidently the lord of the man. and the Wm. Rogers assessed on 3 hearths is presumably the owner of Lower Ho.

⁸⁴ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁸⁵ Inf. from Mrs. Sale.

⁸⁶ The date appears on a W. window.

⁸⁷ Plates 27–8; plan in N.M.R., hist. building rep. 31711.

⁸⁸ Plate 24.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10; Glos. R.O., P 117/IN 1/1, burials 1674, 1681; cf. *ibid.* D 269a/F 19, pedigree.

⁹⁰ Griffith's *New Hist. Descr. of Chelt.* (Chelt. 1826),

plates at pp. 98–9.

⁹¹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/E 42.

⁹² For the building of the house, *ibid.* D 2025, Rogers fam. papers 1833–5 (particularly depositions of Chas. Paul, Jas. Taynton, and Edw. Coxwell-Rogers); D 269a/F 9.

⁹³ Glos. Colln. prints GL 99.2; photogs. of S. front c. 1900 in possession of Cheltenham Dalecare.

⁹⁴ Inf. from Mr. J. W. Stevens, of Foxcote (reporting local inf.).

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 269a/F 10.

1897. It was tenanted by 1906,⁹⁶ and it was later sold, but it returned to the same ownership as the bulk of the estate in 1947 when Cheltenham corporation bought it.⁹⁷ Requisitioned by the Air Ministry during the Second World War, Dowdeswell Court housed in succession colleges for R.A.F. apprentices and for R.A.F. chaplains, the chaplains' college remaining there⁹⁸ until 1962; various other institutions occupied it later, including the staff college of Rolls Royce Ltd. and a special school for children with behavioural difficulties. The owners, Severn-Trent Water, sold the house c. 1985 to a consortium which opened it as a private nursing home for the elderly; that concern was succeeded by another nursing home called Cheltenham Dalecare, the occupant in 1998. The landscaped park adjoining the house was sold separately in the 1980s, together with the coach house which was converted to a residence.⁹⁹

By the 15th century a large freehold estate was based on *UPPER DOWDESWELL*. It was then and later styled a manor, but in the late 16th century it owed suit to Dowdeswell manor,¹ whose owners resisted the claims to manorial rights of Edward Rich in the 1660s and 1670s and Edward Gilbert Rich in the 1730s.²

Upper Dowdeswell was evidently the manor at Dowdeswell that Richard Beauchamp, perhaps the heir of Lord Beauchamp of Powicke, sold to John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, in 1463 or 1464. The bishop's purchase was presumably part of his scheme for the re-endowment of the college of Westbury-on-Trym,³ which held Upper Dowdeswell at the Dissolution.⁴ In 1544 the Crown granted it with the other property of Westbury college to Sir Ralph Sadler⁵ who sold it in 1549 to Richard Abington.⁶ Richard died in 1593 and his son Edmund in 1605,⁷ but Edmund's son Anthony had possession of the whole or part of the estate by 1588⁸ and had a conveyance from his father in 1589.⁹ Anthony (d. 1631) was succeeded by his son John Abington,¹⁰ who in 1649, when under sequestration for royalist activities,¹¹ sold the estate to Edward Rich, a lawyer. Edward died in 1681 and the estate was possibly retained by his widow Martha (d. 1684). Edward's grandson Lionel Rich¹² held it in 1687 and at his death in 1736 was succeeded by his grandson

Edward Gilbert Rich (d. 1753), who devised the estate in trust for his daughter Mary. She married Robert Lawrence of Shurdington, but under a provision of her father's will Upper Dowdeswell passed at her death in 1761 to her cousin Thomas Rich, who sold it in 1774 to Charles Van Notten, a London merchant.¹³

Charles Van Notten, who assumed the surname Pole (that of his wife's family) in 1787 and was created a baronet in 1791, died in 1813. He devised Upper Dowdeswell to his fourth son, the Revd. Henry Pole, who from 1853 used the surname Van Notten Pole. The Revd. Henry (d. 1865) was succeeded by his son Henry,¹⁴ who sold the estate in 1867 to Richard Coxwell-Rogers, owner of Dowdeswell manor. It then included c. 420 a. in the parish, comprising farms based on Upper Dowdeswell Manor, Ossage, Cold Comfort, and Woodlands.¹⁵ In 1919 the owner of the Dowdeswell manor estate sold the various farms off separately.¹⁶ Upper Dowdeswell Manor and a few fields were bought then by Capt. Ferdinand Reiss,¹⁷ and during the mid 20th century the house was owned successively by the Clutterbuck and Bridgeman families. About 1980 it was divided into three dwellings.¹⁸

A chief house on the Abingtons' estate, presumably Upper Dowdeswell Manor, was mentioned in 1588,¹⁹ and in 1672 Edward Rich was assessed for tax on 13 hearths.²⁰ When illustrated by Kip c. 1710²¹ Upper Dowdeswell Manor had four ranges of equal size enclosing a small inner court, the main fronts being to the north and the east; there was a courtyard of service buildings, including a large dovecot, on the west and south. The walled gardens, evidently laid out in the late 17th century, included massive north gatepiers and at the north-east corner a small gazebo, features which survived in 1998. In the late 18th or early 19th century, when the house was leased as a farmhouse,²² the south range and the south part of the west range were demolished, making the house *L* plan.²³ The surviving north and east ranges were probably built in the late 16th century as hall range and chamber wing respectively; on the ground floor of both are chimneypieces with four-centred arches. The north range had three central bays, containing a ground-floor hall, and projecting, gabled wings

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, EL 565, notes on 'bdle. 2' (nos. 41, 77, 85); *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 139; (1906), 141.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, CBR, C 2/3/35/2, mins. 10 July, 11 Dec. 1945, 10 June 1947.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* mins. 17 Sept. 1946, 11 Feb. 1947, 13 Dec. 1950, 17 Sept. 1952.

⁹⁹ Inf. from Lt.-Col. Coxwell-Rogers and from Severn Trent Water Ltd. (asset management dept.); *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, p. 423.

¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 147, 167.

² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2.

³ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/175, no. 92484; cf. C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society* (Camb. 1980), 173-4, 204-5.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 432.

⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), pp. 175-6.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1548-9, 375; for the Abingtons, *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 12.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 117/IN 1/1; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 150, 152, 158.

⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 151-2.

⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xvii. 130.

¹⁰ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 151-2.

¹¹ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iii, p. 1664.

¹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7; Bigland, *Glos.* i. 486-7; *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/368 (P.C.C. 171 North), ff. 237v.-238.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7; for dates of death, Bigland, *Glos.* i. 486.

¹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 627/12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/63.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

¹⁸ *N.M.R.*, *Glos.* par. files, Dowdeswell, sale partic. May 1980, Sept. 1981, Apr. 1982.

¹⁹ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 151.

²⁰ *P.R.O.*, E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

²¹ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 400-1, detail reproduced opposite, Fig. 4.

²² Below, econ. hist.

²³ Cf. its plan on *G.D.R.*, T 1/69.

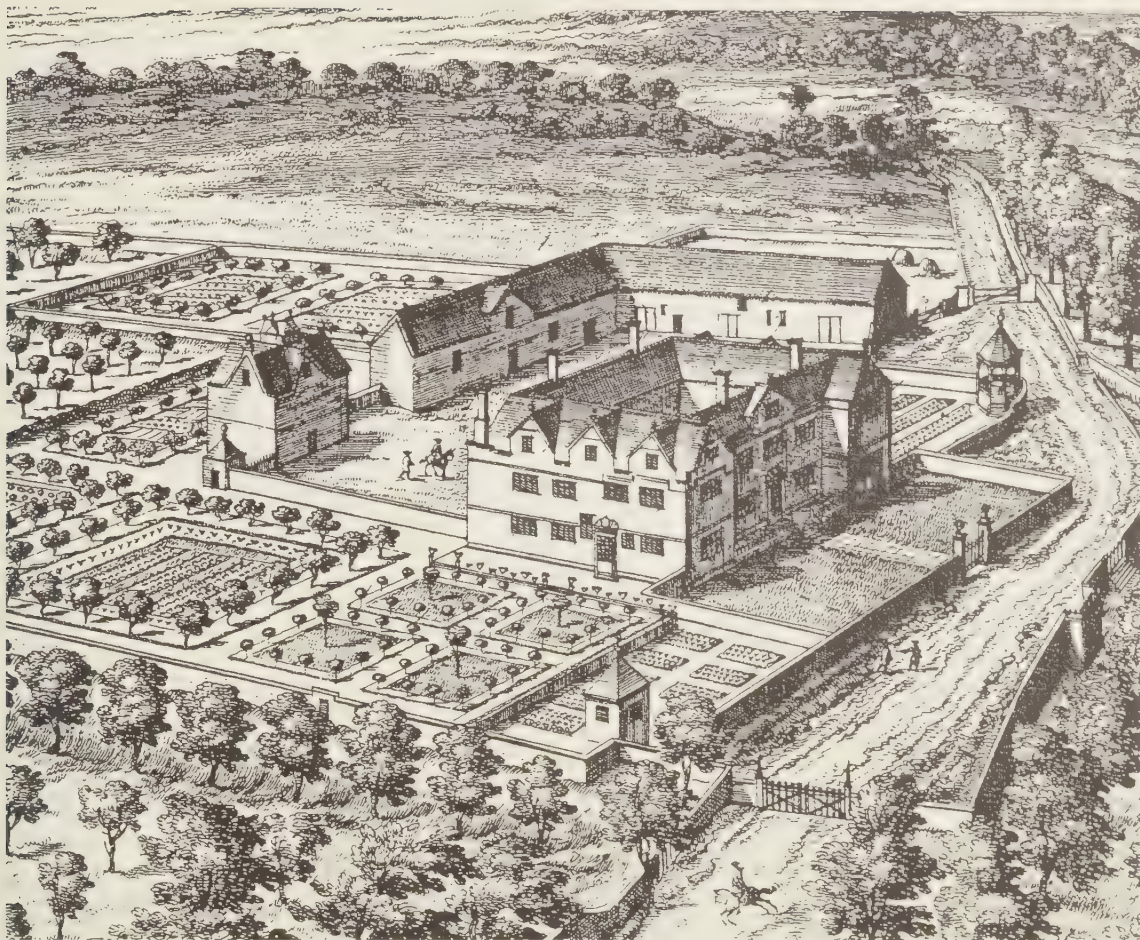


FIG. 4. UPPER DOWDESWELL MANOR FROM THE NORTH-EAST, c. 1710

with six-light mullioned and transomed windows. The north entrance doorway into the hall, surmounted by the Rich family's arms, is of the late 17th century; the entrance may have been moved to that position at that time and a doorway made in the east front for access to the garden. A well-staircase was built adjacent to the doorway. Some chimneypieces and bolection-moulded panelling may also be of that date. Between 1919 and 1921 Capt. Reiss²⁴ replaced the west wing in a matching style and added a one-bayed wing, projecting east, to the south end of the east wing. His architects were Healing and Overbury of Cheltenham.²⁵ Since the early 18th century the north front has been altered by the addition of a porch and the removal of its central gable and the east front by replacing its doorway with a window and by the removal of its three gables.

PEGGLESWORTH formed part of Dowdeswell manor in the early Middle Ages,²⁶ and what appears to have been the principal freehold there in the late 16th century owed suit to the manor.²⁷

In 1619, however, that estate was said to be held directly from the former Templar manor of Guiting²⁸ and at times during the 17th century Pegglesworth was claimed as a separate manor.²⁹

In the late 16th century Pegglesworth was divided among various owners, including the Rogerses of Dowdeswell manor, who had two yardlands there, and Giles Brydges, Lord Chandos, who had a house and 54 a. at his death in 1594,³⁰ possibly the lands at Dowdeswell in which his ancestor Giles Brydges of Coberley acquired an interest in 1501.³¹ In 1605 one of Brydges's coheirs, Elizabeth wife of Sir John Kennedy, sold his Pegglesworth land to William Dutton of Sherborne³² (d. 1618). William's son John³³ bought 2 yardlands at Pegglesworth from the Okey family in 1619, and in 1628 his estate there comprised a chief house and c. 200 a. John Dutton sold his estate in 1648 to Theophilus Brereton and Thomas Spencer, who in 1668 divided it between them, Spencer's land later passing to a Mr. Harris. Brereton added 1 yardland, bought from William Rogers, lord of

²⁴ *Glos. Countryside*, Oct.-Dec. 1956, 111-12, 128; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/2584.

²⁵ *N.M.R.*, *Glos. par. files*, Dowdeswell, sale partic. Oct. 1990.

²⁶ Above, this section.

²⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 159.

²⁸ *P.R.O.*, C 142/378, no. 107.

²⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/misc./138; D 245/I/26, where the

owner Thos. Ridler claimed in 1685 to hold it under Shipton Solers man.; cf. *ibid.* D 269a/L 4, abstract of deeds (citing deed 1683).

³⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 159, 166-7, 170.

³¹ *Cal. Close*, 1500-9, pp. 40-1; cf. *P.R.O.*, STAC 1/1, no. 20.

³² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 4, abstract of deeds.

³³ *P.R.O.*, C 142/378, no. 107.

Dowdeswell manor, in 1661, and in 1683 he sold his share to Thomas Ridler, a Stroud clothier. Ridler also bought out Harris and the other owners at Pegglesworth and took a lease of the rector's glebe land there, inclosing the whole into a compact estate.³⁴

Thomas Ridler and his son Robert, who may have succeeded to part of his Pegglesworth estate, died before 1711; Thomas's three daughters Sarah, Hannah, and Mary, who soon afterwards married respectively William Jones, John Wade, and Richard Cambridge, then agreed to partition his estates. Sarah's share included the chief house and lands described as a moiety of Pegglesworth manor, while a reversionary right to other lands there, held in dower by Thomas's widow Winifred, was divided between the three of them. John and Hannah Wade (both d. by 1746) were succeeded by their son John Wade,³⁵ who inherited his aunt Mary Cambridge's share at her death in 1761. He died in 1793, leaving his estate to a kinswoman, Anna, the wife of William Gordon and later of John Berkeley Burland.³⁶ At Anna's death in 1819³⁷ her share of Pegglesworth, said to be $\frac{7}{10}$ of the whole,³⁸ passed to her son Robert Gordon of Kemble (Wilts., later Glos.). William and Sarah Jones's share of Pegglesworth passed to their daughters Elizabeth and Mary. Mary was a lunatic by 1774 in the custody of her cousin John Wade, who probably acquired her share. Elizabeth (d. 1752) left an unrestricted right in her share to her husband Samuel Storke (d. 1753), whose son and heir Richard died a minor in 1767, when under Samuel's will that share passed for life to his second wife Mary. Mary, who was married twice more, to George Hayley and Patrick Jeffery, died in 1808, when her share reverted to Samuel's heirs, Thomas Cooper and his sister Elizabeth Storke Cooper; Elizabeth died c. 1818, leaving her right to be sold for the benefit of her nephews and nieces.³⁹

In 1821 Robert Gordon and Thomas Cooper (acting for himself and his sister's beneficiaries) were negotiating to sell the Pegglesworth estate, then comprising a farmhouse (later called Pegglesworth Home Farm) and 560 a., to John Gardner, a Cheltenham brewer.⁴⁰ By 1823, however, it was owned by James Fielder Croome of Cirencester, its former tenant.⁴¹ Croome added the estate to lands he had bought in the adjoining part of Withington parish (later forming Pegglesworth Hill farm)⁴² and died before 1838.⁴³ By 1867 the Pegglesworth estate belonged to William Hall⁴⁴ (d. 1872) and it passed, with his estate in Coberley to his daughter Sarah,⁴⁵ who married first John

Hampson (d. 1876) and second, in 1884, Henry Bubb. Sarah Bubb conveyed Pegglesworth in 1885 to her first husband's sister, Mrs. Sarah Bouth, who sold it in 1894 to Charles Macintosh Rodger. The estate, based on Pegglesworth Home and Pegglesworth Hill farms, was enlarged by Rodger to a total of 1,034 a. by his purchase the same year of Needlehole farm, in Withington, and the former part of Ayles wood in Dowdeswell. He died in 1902 and his executors sold the estate in 1910 to George Forrest (d. 1914), who was succeeded by his brother Charles (d. 1915).⁴⁶ In 1922 the estate was bought by Andrew Hart,⁴⁷ who with his wife Catherine sold Pegglesworth Hill farm in 1924.⁴⁸ The Harts offered Pegglesworth Home farm for sale in 1932, by which time part of it, adjoining the Gloucester–Oxford road and including Pegglesworth House, was in separate ownership.⁴⁹ Pegglesworth Home farm belonged in 1977 to Robert Pilkington, who sold it then to Mr. A. Ebeid, who later bought back the land based on Pegglesworth House. Mr. Ebeid remained the owner of Pegglesworth in 1999, using some fields to pasture his polo ponies and leasing the rest to a farmer.⁵⁰

Pegglesworth Home Farm dates from the mid or late 17th century and is an L-plan, rubble-built house of two storeys and attics. The symmetrical main front, to the north, has three gables, two- and three-light, chamfered-mullioned windows, and a central entrance, linked by stringcourses stopped at each end of the façade.⁵¹ A hall and parlour filled the ground floor of the main range, with service accommodation in the rear wing. The re-arranged well-staircase has dumb-bell balusters. In 1970, to the designs of Kershaw & Ganter,⁵² a tall porch, incorporating bathrooms, was added and the house was linked by a new range to a two-storeyed, 17th-century former cottage and out-building standing to the west.⁵³ Both 17th-century buildings retain their original roofs, that over the main block having cambered collars. The ranges of 19th- and early 20th-century farm buildings, forming a yard on the north side, were adapted for stables and domestic purposes in the late 20th century.

The estate at Dowdeswell later called *SANDYWELL* was represented by a house and 2½ yardlands in the late 16th century. It was then a free tenancy, owing suit to Dowdeswell manor,⁵⁴ but c. 1600 and later it owed a quit rent and suit of court to Corpus Christi college's Temple Guiting manor.⁵⁵ William Lygon (d. c. 1577) was succeeded in one third of the estate by his son Richard,⁵⁶ and the remaining two

³⁴ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 4.

³⁵ Ibid. D 1539/2; cf. D 269a/L 4, petition of Revd. John Rogers.

³⁶ Ibid. D 1347, Playne fam., Pudhill deeds 1714–1826; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 297.

³⁷ *Glouc. Jnl.* 22 Mar. 1819.

³⁸ G.D.R., K 2/9.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., D 192/5.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. Q/REL 1; G.D.R., K 2/9.

⁴² Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁴³ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 5, nos. 3, 20.

⁴⁵ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 178.

⁴⁶ Deeds in possession of Mr. A. Ebeid, of Pegglesworth Home Farm.

⁴⁷ Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/63.

⁴⁸ Deed in possession of Mr. Ebeid.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/4/1932/6; cf. *ibid.* 2/3/1937/3.

⁵⁰ Inf. from Mrs. J. Ebeid.

⁵¹ Plate 2.

⁵² Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 325.

⁵³ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/4/1932/6.

⁵⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 141, 151, 155.

⁵⁵ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 4v.

⁵⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 141.

thirds apparently belonged to Thomas Wye at his death in 1581, passing to his widow Gillian who married John Throckmorton.⁵⁷ Robert Rogers, probably a younger son of William Rogers (d. 1558), was tenant of all or part of the estate in 1581,⁵⁸ and c. 1588 he acquired the freehold, part from Richard Lygon and part from John Throckmorton.⁵⁹ At his death in 1628 Robert was succeeded by his son William⁶⁰ (d. 1664), whose widow Elizabeth retained Sandywell until her death in 1670. It then passed to William's daughter Elizabeth,⁶¹ the wife of Paul Dodwell (d. 1691). Elizabeth, who had been married earlier to Sir Walter Raleigh⁶² and continued to be styled Lady Raleigh, died in 1697. She had settled Sandywell on the marriage of her daughter Philip Raleigh to Oliver Weekes⁶³ (d. 1688 or 1689), and their son Carew Weekes sold it in 1704 to Henry Brett.⁶⁴

Henry Brett sold Sandywell in 1712 to Francis Seymour-Conway, Lord Conway,⁶⁵ who added to it the adjoining Whittington estate in 1714. Lord Conway was succeeded at his death in 1732 by his son Francis,⁶⁶ who sold the estates in 1748 to Thomas Tracy,⁶⁷ M.P. for Gloucestershire. Tracy died in 1770 and his estates were retained by his widow Mary⁶⁸ until her death in 1799. Mary Tracy died intestate and litigation over her estate lasted until 1807. Three sisters Rebecca Lightbourne, Patience Timbrell, and Judith Timbrell were then declared heirs to the bulk of it and in 1809 had a conveyance from Mary's surviving trustees, Charles Hanbury Tracy and his wife Henrietta; other claimants were compensated with land at Upper Slaughter or with cash, and Rebecca's estranged husband, Thomas Lightbourne, surrendered his rights in return for an annuity.⁶⁹ Judith died in 1812 and Patience in 1814, both devising their shares to Rebecca,⁷⁰ who died in 1823, leaving her estate to Walter Lawrence Lawrence (formerly Morris). Attempts to upset Rebecca's will made by other claimants, partly on the grounds of undue influence by Walter's father, William Morris, who had managed her affairs, failed.⁷¹ In 1838 Walter Lawrence's estate in Dowdeswell parish comprised 328 a., including Sandywell house and park and, at Andoversford, Home farm and the Andoversford inn.⁷²

In 1847 W. L. Lawrence leased Sandywell house and park to Dr. Samuel Hitch,⁷³ who opened a private asylum there, initially in partnership with Dr. William Bush.⁷⁴ In 1851 it housed 17 patients and 23 servants and staff, including Hitch, his wife and daughter, and his son-in-law, the architect Frederick Waller, who managed the business side of the asylum.⁷⁵ In 1862 there were 30 patients. About 1865 Hitch, in debt for reasons unconnected with the asylum, sold the establishment to Dr. William Sankey,⁷⁶ who continued it until 1881 or later.⁷⁷

Ownership of Sandywell and the rest of the estate remained with Walter Lawrence, whose financial difficulties led to the appointment of a receiver for his creditors in 1860.⁷⁸ He died in 1877 and Sandywell was presumably retained, as was Whittington,⁷⁹ by his widow Mary before passing to his son Christian William Lawrence, who took over Sandywell as a residence again before 1889. C. W. Lawrence, who followed a career in the diplomatic service,⁸⁰ died in 1920,⁸¹ and the same year his coheir, his niece Katharine Evans-Lawrence, sold Sandywell house and its park to Hubert Stephens of Gloucester.⁸² Sandywell was bought in 1925 by Capt. Thomas Colville (d. by 1950), and it was later acquired by the English, Scottish, and Australian Bank, which leased it in 1962 to Gloucestershire county council. The council used it as a conference centre for adult education and youth courses⁸³ until the mid 1970s, and from c. 1976 until 1980 it was owned by Mr. A. Preston, who restored it and used part as a showroom for an antiques business. In the early 1980s the house was converted to form 12 flats.⁸⁴

Robert Rogers had a house at Sandywell on or close to the site of the present mansion c. 1600,⁸⁵ and in 1672, when occupied by Paul Dodwell, it had 10 hearths.⁸⁶ A new house was built by Henry Brett soon after 1704 and was illustrated by Kip c. 1710.⁸⁷ Its main front faced west. The plan was double-pile, with a transverse corridor running between a central entrance on the south front and the services, which included a low projecting wing, on the north side. Flanking wings were added on the north and south for Lord Conway, probably in the 1720s. The new wings, of two by five bays

⁵⁷ Ibid. 151, 155; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 112.

⁵⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 151, pedigree facing p. 120.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 155; Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 4v.

⁶⁰ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 19; P 117/IN 1/1.

⁶¹ Ibid. D 444/T 80; Bigland, *Glos.* i. 485.

⁶² *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3, 58; Glos. R.O., P 285/IN 1/1, burials 1690/1.

⁶³ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 17; P 117/IN 1/1.

⁶⁴ Ibid. D 444/T 17; P.R.O., PROB 11/396 (P.C.C. 138 Ent), ff. 380-1.

⁶⁵ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 19.

⁶⁶ Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 1207.

⁶⁷ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 14.

⁶⁸ Ibid. T 14; D 2153/At/9-10.

⁶⁹ Ibid. D 444/T 65, release 1820.

⁷⁰ Ibid. EL 565, notes on '6th attic bdl.'; 'misc. box A' (nos. 10a-e); 'misc. box C'.

⁷¹ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁷² Glos. R.O., D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840-76.

⁷³ Ibid. D 1395, partnership deeds 1847, 1852.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; cf. Glos. R.O., D 4183/2/7.

⁷⁵ *Jnl. of Mental Science*, cvii. 630; Glos. R.O., D 4183/2/7.

⁷⁶ Glos. R.O., P 290/IN 1/4.

⁷⁷ Ibid. D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840-76; rentals 1866-78.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879), 783; (1885), 619.

⁷⁹ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i. 869; Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 62.

⁸⁰ Inscr. in Whittington ch.

⁸¹ Glos. R.O., D 4858/2/4/1923/2; D 2299/3822.

⁸² Ibid. PA 117/1.

⁸³ N.M.R., Glos. par. files, Dowdeswell, sale partics. Sept. 1980; *Glos. Echo*, 3 July 1981.

⁸⁴ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 4v.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10, where he appears as 'Mr. Doudswell'; cf. Glos. R.O., D 444/T 19, deed 1671.

⁸⁶ Atkins, *Glos.* 400, and plate at pp. 400-1, reproduced below, Fig. 5.



FIG. 5. SANDYWELL PARK FROM THE WEST, c. 1710

and three storeys with balustraded parapets and baroque detail, were possibly designed by Francis Smith of Warwick.⁸⁸ The west façade of the original house seems to have been slightly altered: pedimented dormers replaced circular ones in the outer bays and a doorcase with semicircular pediment replaced a mannered one.⁸⁹ Early eighteenth-century panelling has survived throughout, with mannered pedimented doorcases on the east wall of the present entrance hall and in the upper part of the staircase hall, but internal alterations seem to have been made for Lord Conway. The staircase seems to have been replaced or remodelled and the lower part of the staircase hall altered and given more conventional classical detail. The west entrance hall may have been created at the same time, possibly partitioned from a central saloon. The south wing appears to have accommodated the new saloon.

Alterations to Sandywell Park were made by

Walter Lawrence in 1824⁹⁰ and by Samuel Hitch in 1847.⁹¹ The ground floor of the north wing and the south-west room of Brett's original house were redecorated and plain two-storeyed wings were added on the south-east and north-east; some sashes and the staircase window appear to have also been altered. By the 1850s the cupola and balustrade of Brett's house had been replaced,⁹² the latter with an iron railing, and in 1861⁹³ a ballroom was fitted up in the north-east wing. When the house was divided into flats in the 1980s much panelling was reproduced in matching early 18th-century style.

The formal approach to Henry Brett's new house was from the Kilkenny–Whittington road on the west by an avenue leading through the deer park, described above,⁹⁴ but the entrance forecourt lay on the south side, the west front having a railed parterre. The stable court was to the east and the formal gardens lay on the

⁸⁸ N. Kingsley, *Country Houses of Glos.* ii (1992), 219.

⁸⁹ Cf. engraving by T. Bonnor, 1770, in Rudder, *Glos.* at pp. 414–15; below, Plate 59.

⁹⁰ *Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (Glouc. 1979),

37; Griffith's *New Hist. Descr. of Chelt.* (Chelt. 1826), 99.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444, letters of Jos. Castree, 1847.

⁹² *Ibid.* A 117/1.

⁹³ Date on bldg.

⁹⁴ Above, intro.

north.⁹⁵ During the Conways' ownership wrought-iron gates, with the family crest incorporated in the overthrow, were set in the west wall of the park, at the end of the avenue, and a gateway with urn-surmounted pillars and a similar overthrow in the south wall. The drive approach seems to have been from Whittington by 1770.⁹⁶ When he enlarged the park northwards to the new Cheltenham–London road in 1824 Walter Lawrence made an entrance with a pair of lodges on the new road to the north-west of the house,⁹⁷ but that was later abandoned in favour of one on the same road north of the house, where there is another set of 18th-century pillars and gates, perhaps moved from an old entrance on that side, and another lodge. A small dovecot and clock tower, dated 1851 with the initials of Samuel Hitch, stands north of the stable block.

The Knights Templar, who had a mesne lordship over the whole of Dowdeswell in the 12th and 13th centuries, themselves acquired an estate there and annexed it to their manor of Temple Guiting.⁹⁸ The core of the estate was the part of the parish adjoining Andoversford: 'Temple Andoversford' was named among the hamlets of Guiting manor in 1328,⁹⁹ and c. 1600 the extreme eastern end of the parish formed a separate liberty of *TEMPLE DOWDESWELL*, which owed suit to the Guiting manor court.¹ It was claimed, however, that the liberty should actually extend as far west as the road called the salt way, running between Kilkenny and Whittington,² and land at Upper Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth seems also to have once been Templar property.

The land at Andoversford was given to the Templars by William of Dowdeswell before 1185, when their tenant Jordan (evidently known as Jordan of the Temple) held demesne land and 2½ yardlands and another tenant held 1 yardland.³ One of the earls of Hereford, the Templars' overlords in Dowdeswell during the 13th century, was also said to have given them a house and land in the parish.⁴ At least one large freehold was later based in the Andoversford end of the parish, possibly representing Jordan's estate: in 1367 Ralph of Andoversford had 3 yardlands with other lands in Dowdeswell, Andoversford, and adjoining parishes;⁵ in 1388 Thomas Adynet of Northleach had an estate described as in Temple Dowdeswell and Pegglesworth;⁶ and shortly

before 1599 2½ yardlands within Temple Dowdeswell liberty and a messuage at Upper Dowdeswell were sold by John Redfern to Henry Browne.⁷ Corpus Christi college, Oxford, owner of Temple Guiting, retained a few closes at the end of the 16th century but ownership within the liberty was by then much divided, with the college, Browne, and the owners of the Sandywell, Upper Dowdeswell, and Shipton Solers estates all having land within it. Also presumably old Templar property, but lying outside the liberty as then defined, were a tenement at Upper Dowdeswell and 1 yardland 'in the fields of Dowdeswell', belonging to Corpus Christi, and lands called Temple fields and Temple meadow, belonging to the Upper Dowdeswell estate.⁸ The college still owned the site of a cottage and barn at Upper Dowdeswell in 1830, and its yardland was presumably represented by three fields lying south of Sandywell park which the park's owners held by copyhold under the college in the 18th century and the early 19th.⁹

About 1200 Richard de Croupes granted the Templars pasture rights in his manor of Whittington for livestock kept at the 'court' of Jordan of the Temple.¹⁰ That was probably the place called the Temple or Old Temple beside Temple Lane at the south-east corner of (the later) Sandywell park: there were ruined buildings there c. 1600,¹¹ and the remains of a rectangular moat, fed from a spring that rises nearby, with traces of building foundations at its centre were visible in 1998.

Lands in *ROSSLEY*, which formed a detached part of Whittington parish, were given to Studley priory (Warws.) before 1330 by Peter of Ashridge and Jordan, his brother,¹² and in 1462 the owners of Dowdeswell manor held a house and land (later recorded as 50 a.) there from Studley.¹³ In 1536 another estate at Rossley, described as a pasture with woodland belonging to it, was owned by Winchcombe abbey, which leased it to Richard Rogers and his family.¹⁴ The Crown granted the abbey's estate in 1547 to John Dudley, earl of Warwick, who sold it shortly afterwards to Owen Whorwood.¹⁵ Whorwood sold it in 1550 to William Rogers, Richard's son.¹⁶ William was then lessee of the other part of Rossley, of which his family became owners, with Dowdeswell manor, in 1582.¹⁷ Rossley, usually styled a manor, then descended with Dowdeswell manor

⁹⁵ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 400–1.

⁹⁶ Rudder, *Glos.* plate at pp. 414–15.

⁹⁷ *Griffith's New Hist. Descr. of Chelt.* 99; *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUm 122; cf. *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos. XXVII.* 10 (1884 edn.).

⁹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 823; *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, pp. 253–4.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 321.

¹ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, ff. 1–5; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 143–4, 161, where (following the original ct. bk. in *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/M 10) material dating from after 1594 appears under a ct. heading of 1577.

² Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, loose plan of land at Dowdeswell; Fb 14/17, f. 1v.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 823; for Jordan, cf. below.

⁴ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, pp. 253–4.

⁵ P.R.O., CP 25/1/78/74, no. 456.

⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1389–92, 288–9, 357–8, 362.

⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 161, 168.

⁸ *Ibid.* lxxvii. 143–4; Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, ff. 3–4v.

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 14, undated copy of deed (citing deed 25 July 1748); Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, map 52.

¹⁰ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/3, no. 62.

¹¹ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 3 and v.; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 153.

¹² *Cal. Close*, 1330–3, 139.

¹³ P.R.O., C 140/550, no. 50; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 1–2.

¹⁴ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rot. 106d.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 220, 253.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 1549–51, 351; cf. *Cat. Anct. D.* v, A 12997.

¹⁷ Above, this section (Dowdeswell man.).

until the early 20th century and, together with lands lying within Dowdeswell parish, formed one of the main farms of the estate.¹⁸ Before 1923 C. M. Coxwell-Rogers made the house at Rossley his residence¹⁹ and he kept it, with 73 a. of land, when he sold the rest of his Dowdeswell estate in the late 1920s.²⁰ About 1930 he opened a residential country club called Rossley Manor, much enlarging the house and providing it with squash and tennis courts and a swimming pool. At his death in 1953 he left it to Mr. (later Lt.-Col.) R. A. Coxwell-Rogers (a descendant of the former owners of Dowdeswell) who continued it as a country club until 1966. He sold Rossley Manor in 1993 to Mr. J. Hitchins.²¹

In 1883 the buildings at Rossley comprised a farmhouse with a south entrance, and an attached barn which extended northwards to link with other farm buildings ranged around a yard. Other outbuildings stood to the south-west and south-east²² but those were removed during extensive remodelling in the first half of the 20th century, which transformed the farmhouse and its attached buildings into a large, rambling residence in the revived Cotswold style.

The original house, surviving as part of the south range in 1999, was built in the mid 16th century in large blocks of dressed stone and was probably of a single storey with attics. It appears to have had four bays with two ground-floor rooms and a through-passage, represented by the doorway on the south front. There is a heavy beam with broach-stops near the west end of the range and an original chimney stack on the west wall. In the mid or late 17th century a two-storeyed wing, with an attic and one room on each floor, was added to the north-east, forming an L plan; a 16th-century, four-centred headed doorway with vase-stops has been reset in its north wall. Probably some time later, and with workmanship of a very poor quality, the adjoining part of the main, south range was raised and roofed in line with the wing. In the 18th century a brick-built addition of two storeys and attics was made to the east end of the south range and by 1883 the whole east side of the house had been extended to the east.²³ The farm buildings appear to have been added mainly in the 19th century.

The remodelling of the farmhouse²⁴ as Rossley Manor had begun by 1914, when the east side had become the new entrance front and had a 17th-century style, gabled façade and the east front of the former barn had been given

mullioned windows. On the west side of the house a lean-to had been replaced by a loggia and a single-storeyed addition had been built. By 1929 the south range of the farm buildings around the yard had been replaced by a single-storeyed range of bedrooms and garages and the east range had been reconstructed as other accommodation; brick was used for the walls facing into the courtyard. Further alterations followed for the country club during the 1930s, additional bedrooms being planned in 1933 and 1935.²⁵ The south range of the courtyard was raised to two storeys and the east front of the house was remodelled by the addition of three projecting wings, and the south front was given a two-storeyed gabled projection, which partly masked the brick-built east bay. All the façades were given mullioned windows and so looked consistently 17th-century in style. After 1945 the west range of the courtyard was replaced by a two-storeyed cottage, and a long, projecting two-storeyed range containing bedrooms was built south of it. A pair of detached cottages was built to the north-east of the house in the mid 1940s.²⁶ A single-range, timber-framed house, brought from its original site on the north side of Cheltenham (by Gloucester Road), was re-erected at the entrance to the drive of Rossley Manor on the London road in 1929.²⁷

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Little is known of the early agricultural organization of Dowdeswell, partly because ownership of the land was fragmented. Dowdeswell manor apparently had demesne arable enough to employ two plough-teams *c.* 1300, when its lord William of Dowdeswell granted a house and 16 a. to a smith to hold by the service of providing the fittings for two ploughs and shoeing his warhorse.²⁸ The manor had at least four customary tenants in 1248,²⁹ and in 1558 there were five tenants holding from it by copy.³⁰ In 1599 four copyhold tenements were granted to members of the Higford family, relations of the lord and lady of the manor; the purpose of the grants is not clear but they may have been a preliminary to enfranchisement, as three of the estates were later freeholds. They were 2 yardlands based on the house later called Upper House³¹ then in the tenure of Richard Rogers (d. 1609), a younger brother of the former owner of the manor William Rogers;³² 3 yardlands which became Lower House farm, long in the possession of another branch of the Rogerses;³³ and 6 yardlands held by William

¹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 46, E 12, E 45, L 2; D 627/13-14.

¹⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 150.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, CBR, C 2/3/35/2, mins. 11 Oct., 13 Dec. 1928.

²¹ Inf. from Lt.-Col. Coxwell-Rogers; the Colonel's father, Maj.-Gen. N. A. Coxwell-Rogers, also lived at Rossley and for some years managed the club.

²² O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXVII. 13 (1884 edn.).

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ This account is based partly on photogs. in possession of Lt.-Col. Coxwell-Rogers.

²⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/5, pp. 239, 289.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 115/1, min. 10 Dec. 1945.

²⁷ Inf. from Lt.-Col. Coxwell-Rogers; *Glos. Echo*, 28 Apr. 1988.

²⁸ *Year Bk. 1313-14* (Selden Soc. xxxix), 84.

²⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2.

³⁰ *Cat. Anct. D.* v, A 12523; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 145-6.

³¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 162-4; for the identification of the estates, *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2 (nos. 16, 19).

³² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 3, deed of exchange 1562; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii, pedigree facing p. 120.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 12; L 2 (no. 19); P 117/IN 1/1, burials 1677, 1687, 1726; IN 1/2, burials 1731, 1754, 1763; tomb in churchyard to, among others, Thos. Rogers (d. 1812).

Okey (or Smith) which were based on a farmhouse at Upper Dowdeswell and remained in part in possession of the Okeys until the late 18th century.³⁴ The fourth tenement recorded in 1599, 1 yardland in the tenure of Henry Hibbert, remained a copyhold of the manor in the tenure of the Hibberts and their successors until the mid 18th century.³⁵

The Upper Dowdeswell estate had tenants paying a rental of 20s. in 1535 when they were called customary tenants,³⁶ but in later disputes over the alleged manorial status of Upper Dowdeswell no evidence that it ever had copyhold tenants owing suit to a manor court was produced.³⁷ Some land of the former estate of the Knights Templars at Dowdeswell remained copyhold under Temple Guiting manor until the 19th century.³⁸

There is evidence for Dowdeswell's share in Cotswold sheep farming from the end of the 12th century when the Templars' estate there was given rights to pasture a flock of 300 in the adjoining manor of Whittington.³⁹ A shepherd was among those assessed for tax at Dowdeswell in 1381.⁴⁰ In the mid 1460s, following his purchase of the Upper Dowdeswell estate, John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, built a sheephouse, cleared pastures, and stocked the land with sheep.⁴¹ The sheephouse and pastures were possibly on what became the Woodlands farm of the estate, where there was a field described as the old sheephouse close in 1632.⁴² Another sheephouse in the parish, belonging to Lower House farm, was mentioned in 1664.⁴³

Dowdeswell, excluding the Pegglesworth area, was inclosed in 1562 by an agreement between the lessee of the manor William Rogers, the copyhold tenants, and the freeholders including Richard Abington of Upper Dowdeswell.⁴⁴ The details of the inclosure are not known, but it appears to have replaced at least two open fields, an upper field occupying land between Upper Dowdeswell and the main Gloucester road and a lower field (possibly also called Temple field) extending from the Kilkenny–Whittington road eastwards towards Andoversford.⁴⁵ The inclosure possibly covered common downland in the high part of the parish, where a sheep down of 100 a. on the south side of the Gloucester road, called Dowdeswell (or Cold Comfort) hill, belonged in severity to the Upper Dowdeswell estate in 1649⁴⁶ and one of 166 a. on the north side of that

road, called the Downs and Castles (after the prehistoric camp), belonged to the Dowdeswell manor estate in 1687.⁴⁷ In the 17th century, and presumably from the origins of the parish as a part of Withington, all or most of the Dowdeswell freeholders and the rector had land in Foxcote common meadow, both within and outside an area of the meadow that formed a detached part of Dowdeswell parish.⁴⁸

Following the inclosure Dowdeswell was farmed as a mixture of substantial tenant farms and smaller freeholds. The latter, having been formed by enfranchisement, apparently in 1599, were eventually re-absorbed into the Dowdeswell manor estate, the Upper House estate in 1695 when its owner bought the manor,⁴⁹ the Okeys' farm based at Upper Dowdeswell in 1769,⁵⁰ and Lower House farm in 1858.⁵¹ During the 18th and 19th centuries the Dowdeswell manor estate comprised two main tenant farms. Dowdeswell farm, based on the old manor house (Home Farm), had 182 a. in 1782,⁵² while a farm based on the farmhouse at Rossley and including buildings at Castle barn had 349 a. in 1786.⁵³ Those two farms remained much the same size in the 19th century, Dowdeswell farm having 176 a. in 1879 and Rossley farm 321 a. in 1872.⁵⁴

On the Upper Dowdeswell estate new farmhouses were built before 1649 at Ossage, near Andoversford, and at Cold Comfort, on the high sheep down beside the Gloucester road. About 80 a. forming the detached part of the estate between Dowdeswell wood and the Whittington boundary, was provided before 1687 with a small farmhouse,⁵⁵ later called Woodlands. In 1774 the estate comprised four units, based on Upper Dowdeswell Manor, Ossage, Cold Comfort, and Woodlands, but all were then leased to the same farmer.⁵⁶ Later, Woodlands with 84 a. was a separate tenancy, but the other three parts of the estate, a total of 354 a. employing 10 farm labourers in 1851, continued as a single farm,⁵⁷ worked from c. 1820 to c. 1910 by members of the Arkell family.⁵⁸

Of the agricultural land at Andoversford belonging to the Sandywell Park estate 86 a. was farmed in 1838 from Home Farm, on the west side of the Cheltenham turnpike road, and 37 a. from the Andoversford inn, on the other side of the road;⁵⁹ all that land was presumably included in the 170 a. that the innkeeper was farming in 1851.⁶⁰

³⁴ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 2, letter 3 July 1676; T 9; T 49/1.

³⁵ Ibid. L 2 (no. 19); T 6, deed 1688.

³⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 432.

³⁷ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 2, letter 3 July 1676.

³⁸ Ibid. D 444/T 14, undated copy of deed (citing deed 25 July 1748); Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, map 52.

³⁹ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/3, no. 62.

⁴⁰ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288.

⁴¹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/175, no. 92485; 176, no. 92493.

⁴² *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 151; cf. Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7, deed 1649.

⁴³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxvii. 186; cf. Glos. R.O., D 444/T 19, abs. of title (citing deed 1705).

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 2 (no. 25); T 3.

⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.* T 7, deed 1649; G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁴⁶ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7, deed 1649; cf. *ibid.* D 627/12,

deed 1814.

⁴⁷ Ibid. D 269a/T 5.

⁴⁸ Ibid. D 2850; G.D.R., V 5/108t 1.

⁴⁹ Above, manors.

⁵⁰ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 9.

⁵¹ Ibid. D 627/31.

⁵² Ibid. D 269a/T 17.

⁵³ Ibid. E 45, pp. 25–31.

⁵⁴ Ibid. D 627/14; G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7.

⁵⁶ Ibid. D 627/12, deed 1814 (citing deed of 1774).

⁵⁷ Ibid. succession duty cert. 1866; G.D.R., T 1/69; P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., D 627/15, declaration of Jas. Arkell 1867; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870 and later edns.).

⁵⁹ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

Pegglesworth had its separate open-field system comprising a north field on the high plateau above and to the west of Pegglesworth Home Farm and a south field south-east of the farmhouse extending to Ratshill bank.⁶¹ In 1661 a yardland in the Pegglesworth fields was 48 a. and had pasture rights for 12 beasts and 120 sheep.⁶² By the early 1680s when Thomas Ridler began purchasing land in Pegglesworth the whole or part of the north field had been inclosed to form a sheep walk; having acquired all the land, Ridler completed the inclosure of Pegglesworth and turned more of the arable land to sheep pasture.⁶³ The large ring-fenced farm that resulted was said to be almost entirely arable c. 1785,⁶⁴ but over 100 a. of its highest land, west of the farmhouse, was still cultivated as sheep pastures (slaights) in 1838.⁶⁵ In 1851, when it included land in the adjoining part of Withington, it was a Cotswold sheep- and corn-raising farm of 690 a., employing 18 labourers.⁶⁶

The lower parts of the parish, with much steep land, considerable woodland, and tracts of parkland attached to the principal houses, were less intensively cultivated. Even in the mid 19th century, in the parish as a whole, pasture and meadow was roughly equal to arable: in 1838 880 a. was pasture and 884 a. arable,⁶⁷ and in 1866 778 a. was returned as permanent grassland and 897 a. as under crops or rotated grassland.⁶⁸ In the late 19th century and early 20th the balance shifted firmly to permanent grass, which was returned as 1,493 a. compared with 467 a. under crops in 1926.⁶⁹ Cattle farming played an increasing role over that period, with cattle (raised mainly for beef) returned at 86 in 1866, 230 in 1896, and 250 in 1926. Sheep and lambs were returned at 864 in 1866 and 1,803 in 1926.⁷⁰ In 1926 a total of 19 farms was returned in the parish, most of modest size for the Cotswolds: only one was over 300 a. and only three others over 100 a. They then employed a total of 27 full-time workers.⁷¹

By 1956 the proportions of arable and permanent pasture, then supporting one or more dairy herds, were roughly equal again, and in 1986 for Dowdeswell civil parish (the Andoversford end of the ancient parish having been removed) 281.5 ha. (696 a.) of arable and 152.8 ha. (378 a.) of grassland was returned. Fifteen farms, employing 25 workers, made returns in 1956.⁷² During the late 20th century some land and most of the farmhouses went out of agricultural

use, and in 1986 for the civil parish only three farms, worked by 11 people, made returns; one was an arable enterprise, growing mainly winter barley and wheat, one was a dairy farm, and the third was worked part-time.⁷³ In 1998 the farms based in the ancient parish of Dowdeswell were Castle Barn, Woodlands, and Heylyns Farm (near Upper Dowdeswell), and some land, including most of Pegglesworth, was occupied by farmers from outside the parish.

Dowdeswell mill, situated on the river Chelt at the west boundary of the parish,⁷⁴ was recorded from the late 16th century. There were two mills there in 1591, one new-built.⁷⁵ In 1620 the lord of Dowdeswell manor William Rogers granted a lease of the two mills for six years to the owners of Upper Dowdeswell, Sandywell, and Upper House.⁷⁶ There were evidently still two mills at the site in 1649 when the lower mill was mentioned.⁷⁷ Dowdeswell mill was included in the lands that were alienated from the manor estate to John Vannam in 1687⁷⁸ and returned to the estate in 1751.⁷⁹ It apparently remained in use until Dowdeswell reservoir was built on the Chelt just above it,⁸⁰ its site being absorbed in the waterworks below the reservoir dam.

In 1381 the inhabitants of the parish included 3 tailors and a carpenter.⁸¹ The only tradesmen listed at Dowdeswell in the muster roll of 1608 were a miller, a millwright, and a glover.⁸² In 1831 six families in the parish were supported by trade and 27 by agriculture.⁸³ During the 19th and 20th centuries most trading activity was concentrated at Andoversford. In 1851, however, a stonemason had a yard at Hill Cottages, just above Lower Dowdeswell, and employed 9 workmen,⁸⁴ and the cottagers at Upper Dowdeswell included a grocer in 1856⁸⁵ and a shopkeeper and a carpenter in 1906.⁸⁶ During the 19th century there was a smithy at Garricks Head on the Gloucester road;⁸⁷ that small roadside settlement also had a carpenter in 1828 and in 1851, when he kept the beerhouse there, and a mason in 1831.⁸⁸ At the Kilkenny inn, on the same road further west, the landlord was a haulier in 1856.⁸⁹

By the early 18th century the woodland of the Dowdeswell manor estate supplied wood in many small consignments, presumably for domestic fuel, to inhabitants of Cotswold villages as far away as Bibury and the Slaughters,⁹⁰ and in the 1790s that trade was bringing the owner an income of around £250–£350 a year.⁹¹ In the

⁶¹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 3, deed 1633; T 5, deed 1661; G.D.R., V 5/108t 1.

⁶² Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 5.

⁶³ Ibid. I. 4; cf. ibid. D 1539/2.

⁶⁴ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 485.

⁶⁵ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁶⁷ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

⁶⁹ Ibid. MAF 68/3295/17.

⁷⁰ Ibid. MAF 68/25/23; MAF 68/1609/1; MAF 68/3295/17.

⁷¹ Ibid. MAF 68/3295/17.

⁷² Ibid. MAF 68/4533/255/186; MAF 68/6005/14/186.

⁷³ Ibid. MAF 68/6005/14/186.

⁷⁴ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SW. (1883 edn.).

⁷⁵ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 2.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/2/299/18 Jas. I Trin. no. 4.

⁷⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lvii. 178.

⁷⁸ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 5.

⁷⁹ Ibid. T 6.

⁸⁰ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SW. (1883 edn.).

⁸¹ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288.

⁸² Smith, *Men and Armour*, 268.

⁸³ *Census*, 1831.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁸⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 277.

⁸⁶ Ibid. (1906), 142.

⁸⁷ Above, intro. (inns).

⁸⁸ Glos. R.O., P 374/IN 1/5, bapt. 1828, 1831; P.R.O., HO 107/1969 (s.v. Withington).

⁸⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 391–2.

⁹⁰ Glos. R.O., D 269a/E 3.

⁹¹ Ibid. E 6.

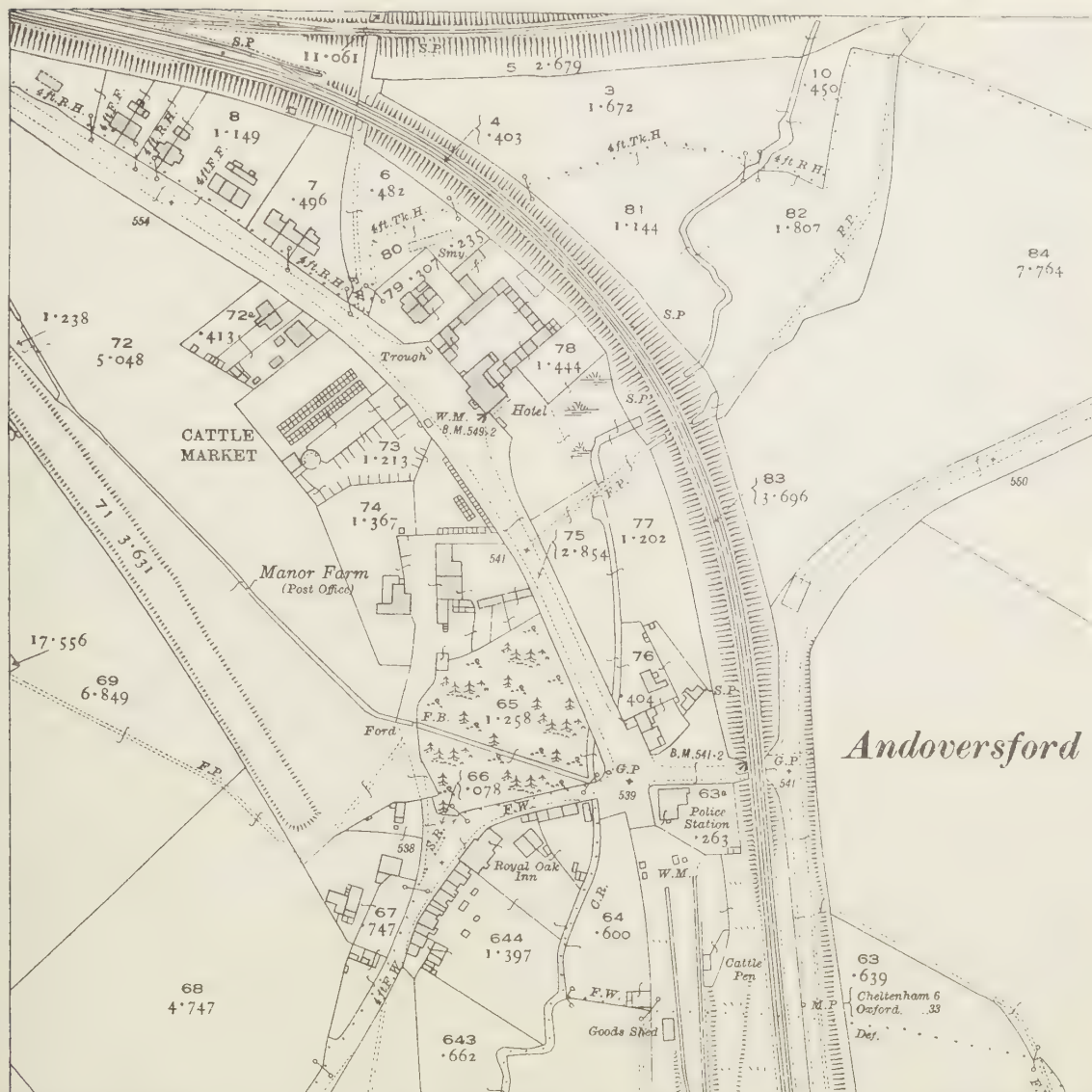


FIG. 6. ANDOVERSFORD IN 1920, WITH THE MIDLAND AND S.W. JUNCTION RAILWAY ON THE NORTH-EAST OF THE HAMLET AND THE BANBURY AND CHELTENHAM ON THE NORTH

1920s and 1930s stone quarries were worked commercially on the high ground by the Gloucester road near Kilkenny.⁹²

A mason was living at Andoversford in 1807.⁹³ By 1838, as the hamlet developed under the influence of the new turnpike road of 1825, a smithy stood at the crossroads formed by that road and the Gloucester–Stow road and a carpenter's shop close by, and the hamlet also had a butcher.⁹⁴ In the 1830s and 1840s its inhabitants included chaise drivers and ostlers employed by the Andoversford inn or the nearby Frogmill inn,⁹⁵ and in 1841 three Andoversford men were described as horsekeepers.⁹⁶ In 1864

Walter Lawrence of Sandywell Park established a brick and tile works at the north end of the hamlet, in the angle between the Cheltenham road and the Banbury and Cheltenham railway line, then under construction.⁹⁷ He let the works to the railway company in 1876.⁹⁸ Production apparently ended *c.* 1890 when the Midland and South Western Junction railway was built across the site.⁹⁹

Shortly before 1894 the railways prompted the opening of a livestock market, holding fortnightly sales, on a site opposite the Andoversford Hotel.¹ It was established by farmers from the surrounding area of the

⁹² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 150; (1939), 148.

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 627/13.

⁹⁴ *G.D.R.*, T 1/69; *Glos. R.O.*, P 117/IN 1/4, bapt. 1836, 1839.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 117/IN 1/4, bapt. 1833, 1836, 1843; P 374/IN 1/5, bapt. 1838.

⁹⁶ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351/5, 19 (s.v. Dowdeswell,

Withington).

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., est papers 1840–76.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* leases and tenancy agreements 1861–76.

⁹⁹ *O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 15* (1883, 1903 edns.).

¹ *Ibid.* (1903 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1894), 137.

Cotswolds, who formed a limited company called the Andoversford Sale Yard Co.² By 1906 two coal merchants (one also dealing in hay) and a corn and manure merchant had premises at Andoversford,³ and during the earlier years of the 20th century it was a depot for railway freight, with, as well as the livestock on market days, much corn and timber being loaded there and large quantities of coal unloaded for distribution to surrounding villages.⁴ In 1939 elements of what had become an important centre for the area were the saleyard, coal merchants, two public houses, two garages, a doctor's surgery, a branch of the National Farmers' Union, a post office (kept at Home Farm), the smithy, and a grocer, builder, and newsagent.⁵ The livestock market remained open in 1998, dealing mainly in sheep brought from farms within a distance of 25–30 miles; the sales, then held once a week with special sales in autumn, were conducted by the firm of Tayler & Fletcher, auctioneers of Stow-on-the-Wold, who leased the market from the shareholders.⁶

A small industrial estate was established on the south side of Andoversford in 1966 by Mr. V. A. Masek, who moved his furniture-making firm, Balanced Bobbins, to the site of former sidings of the M. & S.W.J. railway.⁷ Other firms settling there later included Cleanacres, makers of agricultural sprays, and Cotswold Windows, making window units. In the late 1980s a development company bought another part of the former railway property further south and introduced other businesses.⁸

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1299 the bishop of Worcester claimed jurisdiction over Dowdeswell, as over other former members of Withington, for his view of frankpledge held at Withington; but Dowdeswell evidently freed itself early from that jurisdiction, sending no representatives to the Withington court in the late 15th century or afterwards.⁹ In addition, in 1287, the Knights Templar claimed view of frankpledge in Dowdeswell, Upper Dowdeswell, Pegglesworth, and Temple Andoversford, saying that their tenants from those hamlets attended their view at Temple Guiting.¹⁰ Whether that was a general claim over the whole parish made in respect of the Templars' mesne lordship under the de Bohuns or in respect of specific tenements that they had obtained in fee is not clear, but *c.* 1600 the

owners of Guiting, Corpus Christi college, Oxford, claimed leet jurisdiction, waifs, strays, and other unspecified rights in a 'liberty' called Temple Dowdeswell, restricted in area to the Andoversford end of the parish.¹¹ In spite of those ancient claims, in the late 16th century and the 17th the lords of Dowdeswell manor held their own court leet and baron which appears to have exercised jurisdiction over the whole of the parish, with the owners of the Upper Dowdeswell estate and owners from Sandywell, Pegglesworth, and Temple Dowdeswell all owing suit as free tenants.¹²

A later complication was that in the 1670s Edward Rich, seeking to establish that his Upper Dowdeswell estate was a separate manor, held his own court baron and summoned his tenants to attend. He also attempted to intimidate William Okey, whose freehold farm based on Upper Dowdeswell was a former copyhold of Dowdeswell manor, into rendering suit. When his claim to hold the court was challenged by William Rogers, lord of Dowdeswell manor, Rich seems to have been unable to produce any concrete evidence or precedent,¹³ and no record has been found of his successors holding a court.

A court book, recording courts held for Dowdeswell manor during the period 1577–1673,¹⁴ was compiled from original court records in the late 17th century, and the proceedings of the 26 courts it contains are probably not a complete record of those held in the period.¹⁵ The court leet heard presentments of assaults and bloodshed until 1649 or later,¹⁶ and in 1588 and 1610 the lords exercised a claim to take felons' goods.¹⁷ In 1730 the lord claimed a horse as a deodand after a man was killed in a road accident on Cold Comfort hill.¹⁸ Since suit was owed to it from, apparently, the whole parish, the court involved itself in matters of parochial government in the 16th and 17th centuries. It elected the two surveyors of the highways for the parish, enforced the performance of statutory road work, and in 1663 fixed a rate for those who wished to compound for their obligations in that respect.¹⁹ In 1634 the jury complained that the inhabitants of Pegglesworth were refusing to do their share of the road work.²⁰ The court also made efforts to keep down the poor rates, demanding that parishioners give security for lodgers they took in and report any beggars to the constable and, in 1664, ordering the constable to take action against vagabonds.²¹ The office of constable was

² Inf. from Mr. T. G. Baddeley, of Tayler & Fletcher, auctioneers.

³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 142.

⁴ 'Tales of Andoversford' (TS. reminiscences of two inhabitants, 1975), in possession of Mrs. V. White, of Syreford, Whittington.

⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 148.

⁶ Inf. from Mr. Baddeley.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, TR/M/72.

⁸ Inf. from Mr. G. Swanwick, of Swanwick Catering Equipment, Andoversford.

⁹ Below, Withington, local govt.

¹⁰ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 245, where 'Petheswrth' is evidently Pegglesworth: cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 321, 488.

¹¹ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, Fb 14/17, f. 3 and v.; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 143, 161; cf. above, manors.

¹² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 140–203.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 2, letters 24 Nov. 1664, 3 July 1676; cf. *ibid.* L 2 (nos. 11, 22).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* M 10, fully and accurately transcribed in *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 140–203.

¹⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 120.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 140, 153, 175, 177.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 153, 165.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 204.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 147, 169, 173, 179, 181, 184–5, 203.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 172.

²¹ *Ibid.* 173, 178, 182, 185.

served by a rota of the householders of the parish.²²

The surviving records of parish government include churchwardens' accounts for the years 1683–1731, 1741–78, and 1815–1909,²³ overseers' accounts for 1687–1782,²⁴ and vestry minutes for 1840–65.²⁵ The parish offices were sometimes served by the resident gentry of the parish: the lord of the manor William Rogers was a churchwarden in 1661²⁶ and Paul Dodwell and Lionel Rich were among the overseers in the 1680s.²⁷ The appointment of the officers and the passing of their accounts were left in the hands of two or three leading parishioners; in the 1740s, for example, John Rogers, rector and lord of the manor, Edward Gilbert Rich of Upper Dowdeswell, and William Rogers of Lower House were sometimes the only ones present on such occasions.

In the late 1770s the overseers of the poor deputed a man, presumably salaried, to carry out their duties. No more than two or three paupers were ever on permanent relief during the late 17th and early 18th centuries, rising to c. 5 in the mid 18th century.²⁸ Late in the century one or two paupers were housed by the overseers in cottages rented from the lord of the manor at Lower Dowdeswell.²⁹ Between 1813 and 1815 14–16 people were on regular relief each year³⁰ but the annual cost of relief, and presumably the numbers relieved, had fallen significantly by the last years of the old poor-law system.³¹

Dowdeswell became part of the Northleach union in 1836³² and was later in the Northleach rural district³³ before becoming part of the new Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCH. Dowdeswell church, on architectural evidence, was founded during the Norman period. It originated as a chapel to Withington at a time when Dowdeswell formed a part of that large manor. It evidently had its own separate endowment by 1287 when a rector of Dowdeswell was mentioned,³⁴ and in 1413 the rector was said to have performed the full sacraments in the church time out of mind. Until 1413, however, when Dowdeswell was given burial rights, the parishioners still carried their dead to Withington for burial and paid mortuaries to its rector.³⁵ The rectors of Dowdeswell later owed an annual pension of £2 to the rector

of Withington³⁶ and until the late 15th century their church was sometimes styled a chapel or 'chapel with cure of souls' (*capella curata*).³⁷ Dowdeswell remained part of the peculiar of Withington, whose rector exercised archidiaconal powers,³⁸ including the induction of the incumbents,³⁹ and proved the wills of Dowdeswell parishioners in his court.⁴⁰ Dowdeswell was made a united benefice with the Shiptons and Salperton in 1975, when the ecclesiastical parish was renamed Dowdeswell and Andoversford.⁴¹

In 1306 the advowson of the rectory was held by the lord of the manor, William of Dowdeswell,⁴² and it remained in the possession of his successors. William Beaufiz presented during a minority in 1445.⁴³ In 1568 and at two later vacancies William Rogers, farmer of the manor under Lady Catherine Buckler (later Lygon), presented under her grant,⁴⁴ becoming patron in his own right when assuming the freehold of the manor in 1582.⁴⁵ The Queen presented during a minority in 1598, and in 1778 John Read of Frenchay, in Bristol, exercised the advowson for one turn.⁴⁶ The ladies of the manor Ellen Beale-Browne and Grace Coxwell-Rogers were patrons in 1910,⁴⁷ and in 1931 and 1939, when it had not been exercised since 1908, the advowson belonged to Sir C. A. King Harman.⁴⁸ About 1941 it was acquired by the Martyrs' Memorial Trust and c. 1952 by the Church Pastoral Aid Society.⁴⁹

The rector of Dowdeswell received all the tithes of the parish.⁵⁰ By the early 17th century it was customary for the owners of the main estate in Pegglesworth to make a fixed payment of 26s. 8d. a year for tithes, except those of grain, but in the 1620s the rector William Driver took action against John Dutton to enforce payment in kind or a new composition.⁵¹ In 1672 the rector Joseph Stone agreed to let the tithes of Theophilus Brereton's land at Pegglesworth, together with glebe land there, to Brereton for £5 a year.⁵² The tithes of the Sandywell estate were leased by the rector John Rogers to the owner, Lord Conway, for £7 a year in 1718.⁵³ The tithes arising from a few fields at the east end of the parish were replaced by a rent charge of £3 16s. under the inclosure award for the Shiptons in 1793,⁵⁴ and the remainder were commuted for a corn rent charge of £421 4s. in 1838.⁵⁵

²² Ibid. 149, 177.

²³ Glos. R.O., D 269a/PA 4, PA 11; P 117/CW 2/1.

²⁴ Ibid. D 269a/PA 4, PA 11.

²⁵ Ibid. P 117/VE 2/1.

²⁶ Hockaday Abs. lxviii, 1661 visit. f. 9.

²⁷ Glos. R.O., D 269a/PA 11.

²⁸ Ibid. PA 4, PA 11.

²⁹ Ibid. E 45, pp. 132, 144, 174.

³⁰ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1818, 146–7.

³¹ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66; (1835), 65.

³² *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

³³ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/1, p. 3.

³⁴ *Reg. Giffard*, 312, 387.

³⁵ *Cal. Papal Reg.* vi. 388.

³⁶ *Reg. Cobham*, 245; *Reg. Bransford*, p. 397; Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Alcock, f. 90.

³⁷ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Alcock, ff. 56v., 90.

³⁸ Below, Withington, church.

³⁹ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Brian, i. f. 21; Reg. Winchcombe, f. 51.

⁴⁰ G.D.R. Withington peculiar wills.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., P 98/IN 3/6.

⁴² *Reg. Ginsborough*, 165–6, 181.

⁴³ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 20v.

⁴⁴ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii, 1561, 1568–9, 1575.

⁴⁵ Cf. above, manors.

⁴⁶ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii.

⁴⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1910), 145.

⁴⁸ Ibid. (1931), 147; (1939), 147.

⁴⁹ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1940–1), 33; (1952–3), 49.

⁵⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 444; G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁵¹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/L 4.

⁵² Ibid. T 61.

⁵³ Ibid. D 444/T 8.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Q/R1 126.

⁵⁵ G.D.R., T 1/69.

In 1612 the rector's glebe comprised *c.* 24 a. in two closes in Lower Dowdeswell, 5 a. in Foxcote common meadow, and uninclosed arable in the Pegglesworth open fields. The Pegglesworth land was for long a cause of dispute. It was thought to be $\frac{1}{2}$ yardland in 1612 but, being insufficiently distinguished from William Dutton's lands in the fields, it was in danger of being lost to the rectory.⁵⁶ When Joseph Stone became rector in 1670 he found the land, then said to be 1 yardland (48 a.), rented by the various owners in Pegglesworth for a total of £10 a year, and *c.* 1680 only 4 a. of it could be identified. When Thomas Ridler inclosed Pegglesworth in the early 1680s he did not accept that any of it was glebe land, claiming that payments made to the rectors by former owners had been for tithes only. He came to an agreement with the rector about the matter, but in 1713 his heirs were again denying that there was glebe there. Following litigation,⁵⁷ in 1715 the Ridlers accepted a lease from the rector John Rogers of all the glebe at Pegglesworth, together with all the small tithes there, at £15 a year.⁵⁸ In 1838, when no part of Pegglesworth was accounted as glebe, the rector had 22 a. in the parish, mostly in closes north of the rectory house.⁵⁹

The rectory house was recorded with its farm buildings from 1612 and was described *c.* 1680 as comprising 5 bays and measuring 94 ft. in length.⁶⁰ It was sold after the union of the benefices in 1975, the incumbent residing at Shipton.⁶¹ The building, which stands on the north side of Lower Dowdeswell village, may post-date that described *c.* 1680, having no front of the length or number of bays then specified. In its present form it is a two-storeyed, U-plan building of dressed limestone with a stone-slatted roof. It has gabled wings on the south-west, where, because of the steep slope, there is a high basement; the north-east, entrance front is of seven asymmetrical bays under a roof with hipped ends. The south-east end is the earliest part of the house and seems to have had an L plan, with three-bayed north-east and south-east elevations; there are mullioned-and-transomed cross windows on the north-east front, a former central entrance on the south-east front, and the remains of an original staircase. The house was enlarged *c.* 1780 by the rector William Baker,⁶² who was presumably responsible for replacing the windows on the south-east front with sashes and for moving the entrance to the north-east by adding a three-bayed projection, which contains the entrance

hall and has a Tuscan portico. Alterations made soon after 1826 by Charles Coxwell⁶³ apparently included the addition of a bay within the U of the south-west front and the addition or rebuilding of the north-west wing. A chimney-piece in the south-east wing may also be part of that work. By 1926⁶⁴ a square bay window, since removed, had been attached to the west bay of the north-west front. Late 20th-century alterations and additions included the flat-roofed infill, with a conservatory above, between the wings on the south-west front.

The living of Dowdeswell was valued at £13 6s. 8d. in 1535,⁶⁵ £80 in 1650,⁶⁶ £100 in 1750,⁶⁷ and *c.* £160 in 1771. By 1803, however, the value had risen to *c.* £350.⁶⁸ The corn rent of £421 awarded for the tithes in 1838 had declined in value by 1889 when the living was worth £345 net.⁶⁹

The rector John of Dowdeswell who died *c.* 1306⁷⁰ and other men of the same name who were instituted in 1307 and 1326 respectively⁷¹ were presumably relatives of the lords of the manor. William Somerset, a monk of Eynsham abbey (Oxon.), was dispensed to hold the living in 1445⁷² and was succeeded the following year by Richard Necton, a doctor of medicine.⁷³ In 1551 the rector John Strange was found satisfactory in knowledge of doctrine but employed a curate who was unable to repeat the Ten Commandments.⁷⁴ Christopher Andrews, rector 1554–67, also had the rectory of Canon Frome (Herefs.). He neglected Dowdeswell: the churchwardens complained in 1563 that no alms were given to the poor, no provision made for sermons, and that both church and churchyard were in disrepair.⁷⁵ Andrews was temporarily suspended for failure to appear at a visitation in 1566.⁷⁶ Thomas Child, rector 1575–98,⁷⁷ was not a graduate or preacher but in 1576 was judged to be a good Latinist and sound in theological knowledge.⁷⁸ In 1605 the rector Robert Temple, described as a usurer, and his curate John Harby, described as a drunkard and common gamester, were indicted for shortcomings in their ministry, and a public altercation between the two during a church service was reported.⁷⁹ William Driver was instituted in 1623 and survived the changes in Church policy until his death in 1670.⁸⁰

In 1713 John Rogers (d. 1768) was presented to Dowdeswell by his uncle William Rogers, whom he later succeeded as lord of the manor. William Baker, rector from 1778 and from 1803 also vicar of Stonehouse,⁸¹ was involved in a

⁵⁶ G.D.R., V 5/108t 1.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 108t 2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 4.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1332/T 4.

⁵⁹ G.D.R., T 1/69.

⁶⁰ Ibid. V 5/108t 1–2.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/IN 3/6.

⁶² Bigland, *Glos.* i. 484.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 19.

⁶⁴ Photog. in possession of the owner, Mr. J. L. Robertson.

⁶⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 444.

⁶⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁶⁷ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 57.

⁶⁸ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii.

⁶⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 756.

⁷⁰ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 165–6.

⁷¹ Ibid. 181; *Reg. Cobham*, 245.

⁷² *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 20v.

⁷³ Ibid. f. 28v.

⁷⁴ *E.H.R.* xix. 105.

⁷⁵ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii.

⁷⁶ Ibid. xliii, 1566 visit. f. 2.

⁷⁷ Ibid. clxxxii.

⁷⁸ Ibid. xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 139; xlix, 1584 state of clergy, f. 11; lii, 1593 state of clergy, f. 10.

⁷⁹ G.D.R. vol. 97, ff. 145–6.

⁸⁰ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii, 1623; *Glos. R.O.*, P 117/IN 1/1.

⁸¹ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii; for the Rogers fam., above, manors.

series of disputes over minor matters with the lord of the manor Edward Rogers, whom on one occasion he physically assaulted.⁸² In 1821, when Baker had been absent for several months without providing anyone to serve the cure, the bishop licensed as curate Charles Coxwell,⁸³ brother-in-law of the lady of the manor. Coxwell, who inherited the Ablington estate at Bibury,⁸⁴ succeeded Baker as rector in 1826 and served to his death in 1854. His son William Rogers Coxwell-Rogers (who followed his elder brother, the lord of the manor, in adopting the additional surname) succeeded to the living and held it to 1894; he was succeeded in turn by his son Richard who served to 1908.⁸⁵

In 1919 C. W. Lawrence of Sandywell Park gave a site at the north end of Andoversford for a building to be used for church services under the direction of the rector of Whittington.⁸⁶ The building remained in use as a mission hall until 1951 or later.⁸⁷

The church of *ST. MICHAEL*,⁸⁸ which stands on the hillside at Lower Dowdeswell, is predominantly Perpendicular in style, a large part of it built in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Of dressed limestone, it is cruciform on plan, and comprises chancel with south organ chamber, central tower with spire, transeptal chapels, and nave with south porch and north-west vestry. Many of its interior fittings are reminders of the parish's leading landowners.

Fragments from a Norman church were found buried in the churchyard in the 19th century, including a tympanum with the 'Tree of Life' motif and some dogtooth ornament and part of a capital, which were later set in the south wall of the organ chamber built in 1867.⁸⁹ The base of the tower and the east end of the nave are of the 14th century, though the crude groin vault in the tower and the buttresses against its east and west sides may have been constructed when the spire was added in 1577. The chancel is mainly of the late 15th century and has a north window and an unceiled wagon roof of that period. The south porch was added in the 16th century, and the north transeptal chapel has 16th-century windows, probably pre-Reformation. The short splay-footed, stone-slatted spire was built in 1577 at the cost of nine leading parishioners, whose names are recorded in an inscription cut into the sill of the west window of the north chapel.⁹⁰ The south transeptal chapel was rebuilt in 1632.⁹¹

In 1840 the south wall of the chancel was

rebuilt with new Perpendicular-style windows and a doorway,⁹² but in 1867 at the cost of Richard Coxwell-Rogers an organ chamber was built⁹³ in the angle formed by that wall and the south chapel, and the doorway and one of the windows were re-set in the chamber. A new east window was inserted in the chancel in 1849 in memory of Hester Rogers, lady of the manor, and her sister Ann Coxwell, the rector's wife;⁹⁴ it forms part of a triptych, the side panels of which are inscribed with the Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer. The nave and north transept also acquired new windows in the 19th century and a small vestry was added to the north-west of the nave.

The south transeptal chapel of Dowdeswell church was apparently the lady chapel in the Middle Ages,⁹⁵ but according to John Abington in 1632 it was used after the Reformation as a private chapel by his family, owners of the Upper Dowdeswell estate. Anthony Abington, John's father, left a legacy for rebuilding it when he died in 1631,⁹⁶ but the rebuilding was carried out the following year as a joint project of the parishioners and only £10 of the total cost of £50 was supplied by the legacy.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, John Abington secured a licence from the bishop confirming an exclusive right in the rebuilt chapel for himself and later owners of his house. He was immediately challenged by the owners of Dowdeswell manor, Sandywell, and Lower House (all called William Rogers), who presented evidence that the original chapel had long been used by the parish in general. Arbitrators appointed in 1634⁹⁸ seem to have decided in favour of Abington, for the chapel, called Abington's chapel, was included in later conveyances of the Upper Dowdeswell estate⁹⁹ and in 1804 was referred to by Edward Rogers, the lord of the manor, as Sir Charles Pole's aisle.¹ The north transeptal chapel was apparently common to the parish in 1632 when poorer parishioners sat there at service time,² but it appears to have been appropriated later to the lords of the manor: many of the Rogers family were buried there,³ and in 1804, when part seated his female servants, Edward Rogers called it 'my aisle'.⁴

Much of the floor space in the small church came to be occupied by the proprietary seats of Dowdeswell's gentry families and seating for them and their households sometimes caused tension. It was said that in the mid 16th century all, including the lord of the manor and his visitors, were content to use stone benches or

(copyhold tenants).

⁹¹ Below.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 19.

⁹³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 536.

⁹⁴ Inscr. under window.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 1/3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* L 1/3-4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* D 269a/PA 10.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* L 1/1-20.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* T 7, deed 1649; D 627/12, deed 1814 (citing deed of 1774).

¹ *Ibid.* D 269a/E 45, p. 201.

² *Ibid.* L 1/20.

³ Inscr. on mons.

⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/E 45, pp. 201-2.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/E 45, mem. at front; A 2; D 2850, corres. about land in Foxcote meadow. For Baker's character, cf. *ibid.* EL 565, notes on '3rd attic bdle.' (nos. 8, 10, 14).

⁸³ Hockaday Abs. clxxxii, 1821, 1825.

⁸⁴ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 29.

⁸⁵ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), ii. 1941.

⁸⁶ *G.D.R.*, A 17/1/71; *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 3/7.

⁸⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4084/22/8.

⁸⁸ *G.D.R.* vol. 381a, f. 57.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 19; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xiv. 212.

⁹⁰ It names Wm. Rogers (lessee of the manor), Ric. Abington (of Upper Dowdeswell), Thos. Child (the rector), Ric., John, and Robert Rogers (probably brothers of Wm. Rogers, the first of Upper Ho. and the third of Sandywell), and John Rogers, Wm. Okey, and Ric. Hibberd

wooden 'plank' seats,⁵ but c. 1590 Edmund Abington built himself a more substantial seat, and c. 1610 Robert Rogers of Sandywell built one in the south chapel. After the rebuilding of that chapel in 1632 William Rogers, lord of the manor, built two seats there for his household, aggravating the dispute over ownership.⁶ A seat for the Sandywell estate was built in the body of the church by Henry Brett in the early 18th century and, after some objections by other parishioners, was confirmed to Thomas Tracy in 1752.⁷ Later in the 18th century Tracy's widow ejected the parish clerk from a seat in the south chapel in favour of her female servants, and the chapel then contained a large pew of the Pole family, its owners. Edward Rogers owned more than seven seats in the church in 1804, when seating was among matters in dispute between him and the rector William Baker.⁸ All or most of the proprietary seats were removed in 1837 and a matching set of pews, which survived in 1998, was installed.⁹ A gallery built at the west end of the nave by Hester Rogers in 1822¹⁰ and a smaller one of similar type and date against the north wall of the north chapel survive; both were reached by external stairs.

The font, which has quatrefoil panels on the bowl, dates from the 15th century. Set in an 18th-century ledger stone in the centre of the chancel is a late-medieval brass of a priest in processional robes;¹¹ the inscription is lost and the grounds for identifying the priest as an abbot of Hailes, as was done c. 1710, are unknown.¹² The large number of wall monuments still in situ is a feature of the church, the great majority for members of the Rogers and Coxwell-Rogers families. On the north wall of the chancel is a large and ornate monument by Christopher Horsnaile the elder¹³ incorporating a portrait bust to William Rogers (d. 1734), Chancery Master and lord of the manor. In the south chapel there are monuments to William Rogers (d. 1664) of Sandywell, his wife Elizabeth (d. 1670), Edward Rich (d. 1681), owner of Upper Dowdeswell, and Baily Rich (d. 1723), son of Lionel Rich. A hatchment for one of the Riches is fixed to the chapel's south wall, and there are others for members of the Rogers family above the galleries at the west end of the nave and in the north chapel. An early 19th-century royal arms¹⁴ surmounts the chancel arch.

A chalice, paten cover, and plate were said c. 1700 to have been given to the church by Martha (d. 1684), widow of Edward Rich,¹⁵ but of the set later in use only a plate of 1671, inscribed with the initials 'MR', apparently derived from the gift; a chalice of 1662 has an inscription

recording its acquisition in 1664. There is also a tankard flagon, given in 1766 by John Rogers, rector and lord of the manor.¹⁶ Edward Rogers (d. 1810) left the church a large silver christening bowl of a type known as a 'monteith', made in 1690 and an heirloom of his family.¹⁷ It was used for christenings in the church until some time in the late 19th century when the bishop objected to the practice on liturgical grounds and ordered the font to be used. The christening bowl was later sold to one of the Coxwell-Rogerses for a sum of money assigned to church maintenance.¹⁸ The three bells, which hang in a medieval frame, are a treble of the early 17th century, a second of the 15th century, and a tenor cast by Edward Neale in 1658.¹⁹ The iron railings enclosing the churchyard, which have two sets of gates with the Rogers arms and motto, were given in 1828 by Ann Coxwell.²⁰ The parish registers survive from 1575.²¹

NONCONFORMITY. There were apparently no early dissenting meetings in Dowdeswell parish.²² Wesleyan Methodists of the Cheltenham circuit who were established at Whittington and Shipton by the mid 1860s later held services at Andoversford, which, as a convenient central site for the district, became the focus of the meeting.²³ The Andoversford meeting was well established by 1874 when a single Primitive Methodist living in the hamlet was recommended by his quarterly meeting to join the Wesleyans.²⁴ In 1882 the Cheltenham circuit bought two cottages on the Gloucester road south-west of the Royal Oak inn and adapted one as a chapel, which opened for services in 1885. Then and until the early 20th century the meeting was led by William Harvey, a station-master at Andoversford. The chapel was refurbished and redecorated in 1957 using funds raised earlier in an abortive scheme to buy a site for a new chapel.²⁵ There were only a few members by 1993 when the chapel was run by a combined church council for Andoversford, Shipton, and Hawling,²⁶ and it closed before 1998 and was reconverted to a dwelling.

EDUCATION. By 1818 Dowdeswell had a day school teaching 13 children, some at the cost of a lady of the parish;²⁷ she was probably the lady of the manor, Hester Rogers, or possibly Rebecca Lightbourne of Sandywell Park, who at her death in 1823 left an endowment for a Sunday school at Whittington. Rebecca Lightbourne's bequest was used in 1830 to set

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 1/8, 20.

⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* clxxxii.

⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/E 45, pp. 201–3.

⁹ *Ibid.* F 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* P 117/IN 1/6, mem. at front.

¹¹ Davis, *Glos. Brasses*, 124–5.

¹² *Bodl. MS. Rawl. B.* 323, f. 221.

¹³ *Gunnis, Dict. of Brit. Sculptors*, 210.

¹⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lv. 120.

¹⁵ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. B.* 323, f. 221.

¹⁶ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 69.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 69–70, plate facing p. 208.

⁶ *Ibid.* L 1/3.

¹⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* li. 361–2.

¹⁹ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 261.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 117/IN 1/6, mem at front.

²¹ *Ibid.* IN 1/1–5.

²² Cf. *G.D.R.* vols. 285b(1), f. 23; 383, no. ccxcvi.

²³ G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Methodism in Chelt. and District* (1912), 70.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2698/3/1/2.

²⁵ Judge, *Methodism in Chelt. and District*, 71–2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 3418/2/2/1.

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3418/2/2/1.

²⁷ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 297.

up a day school at Whittington, which some Dowdeswell children attended.²⁸ Dowdeswell parish had its own day and Sunday schools in 1833 supported by private contributions; the former taught 10 children.²⁹

In 1843 a small, single-storeyed schoolroom was built at Upper Dowdeswell³⁰ at the joint expense of Hester Rogers and the rector Charles Coxwell.³¹ In 1858 the lord of the manor Richard Coxwell-Rogers was meeting an annual deficit in the funding, most of which was supplied by other contributors and school pence. The school had an average attendance of 49 children in 1858,³² and it was apparently by then affiliated to the National Society. In 1885 the average attendance, in one mixed class under a mistress, was 45,³³ and it had fallen to 31 by 1904, when the school was called Dowdeswell C. of E. school.³⁴ Average attendance increased to 53 by 1922,³⁵ but the school was closed in 1928 when a new school for the district opened at Andoversford.³⁶ The building at Upper Dowdeswell was a private house in 1998.

The school at Andoversford, called Dowdeswell Andoversford Council school, opened in 1928 at a site on the north side of the Gloucester road. Accommodation was provided for 160 children and in 1932 it had an average attendance of 113 children from the surrounding villages in mixed and infants' departments.³⁷ Later called Andoversford Primary school, it assumed grant-maintained status in 1993 and had 85 children on its roll in 1998.³⁸

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Robert Rogers (d. 1628) of Sandywell left £5 to the

poor of Dowdeswell,³⁹ and another £5 was left by Anthony Abington (d. 1631) of Upper Dowdeswell.⁴⁰ The £10 from the two gifts was later put out at interest, but no record of the charities has been found after 1683.⁴¹

In 1793 following an assault on Edward Rogers, the lord of the manor, by William Baker, the rector, a court awarded the former £159 7s. 3d. in damages. In 1795 Rogers assigned the interest on that sum to provide gowns and shoes for poor women of the parish, designating the bequest the Martyrdom charity and stipulating that Baker and his successors should be excluded from any part in its management. Later he used it to provide gowns and small cash doles and it was continued in that form by his heir, Hester Rogers,⁴² until 1830 or later.⁴³ The bequest apparently remained in existence as a private charity until 1941 when a member of the Beale-Browne family, a descendant of the Rogerses, was responsible for the principal sum, then invested in stock. In that year the bequest was regulated by a Scheme of the Charity Commission under which trustees were appointed and the proceeds applied to help poor women of the parish in clothes, boots, linen, fuel, or other necessities;⁴⁴ £4 a year was being distributed in 1970.⁴⁵

Charles Rogers Coxwell (d. 1892), a son of the lord of the manor,⁴⁶ left £300, the income to be distributed at Christmas to the poor at the discretion of the rector of Dowdeswell. The charity's income was c. £7 from stock in 1970 when it was merged with the Edward Rogers charity under the style of the Coxwell and Rogers charity; the income was to be applied in cash or kind to the poor of Dowdeswell civil parish as constituted from 1956.⁴⁷

FARMINGTON

FARMINGTON is a small rural parish situated on the high Cotswolds close to Northleach and 20 km. ESE. of Cheltenham. Its medieval name was Thormarton (or Thormerton); the form Farmington, thought to be the same name modified by dialect changes,⁴⁸ was in use by the mid 16th century alongside the old form,⁴⁹ which it gradually ousted in the course of the next 200 years.⁵⁰

The parish, comprising 915 ha. (2,261 a.),⁵¹ is

long and narrow, a shape governed partly by its creation out of the large manor of Northleach,⁵² with which parish (called in 1999 Northleach with Eastington) it shares a long boundary on the west. The north-west boundary is on the Foss way, the north boundary follows a stream flowing in the valley called Broadwater bottom⁵³ (presumably from regular flooding of its level floor), and the southern tip of Farmington touches the river Leach. The high wolds at c. 170–90 m.

²⁸ Below, Whittington, educ.

²⁹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 313.

³⁰ Date on bldg.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/F 19.

³² *P.R.O.*, ED 7/34/106.

³³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 442.

³⁴ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 184.

³⁵ *Bd. of Educ.*, *List* 21, 1922 (H.M.S.O.), 103.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 1932, 114.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Schs. and Establishments Dir.* 1998–9 (*Glos. co. educ. dept.*), 9.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 19.

⁴⁰ *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/161 (P.C.C. 21 Audley), ff. 167–8.

⁴¹ *G.D.R.*, V 5/108t 3.

⁴² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/A 2.

⁴³ *Ibid.* D 269a/PA 15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* D 3469/5/54.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* CH 21, Northleach rural district.

⁴⁶ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), ii. 1941.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/54; *ibid.* CH 21, Northleach rural district.

⁴⁸ *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 172–3. This account was written in 1999.

⁴⁹ e.g. *P.R.O.*, REQ 2/61/15; Hockaday Abs. cxcv, 1569.

⁵⁰ e.g. Lumley MSS. (in possession of the earl of Scarborough, Sandbeck Park, Maltby, Yorks.), MTD/A 58/5, 9, 12–14, 19; A 60/19, 22–3; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Farmington leases 1710–99.

⁵¹ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884).

⁵² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁵³ *G.D.R.*, V 5/132t 1; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

constitute much of the parish and are broken into by the valleys of small streams, which combine near the east boundary as the Sherborne brook. The valley bottoms are formed of the Inferior Oolite, the valley sides of the fuller's earth, and the higher land of the Great Oolite.⁵⁴

Until inclosure by Act of Parliament in 1714 Farmington parish comprised mainly two large open fields, and in its north-east corner was a tract of common downland⁵⁵ and a wood called Farmington grove. The grove was apparently held in severalty by the lord of the manor in 1629 when he leased it to the neighbouring landowner, John Dutton of Sherborne.⁵⁶ It covered 54 a. in 1707.⁵⁷ The rest of the parish was evidently sparsely timbered in the 17th century when its lords almost invariably reserved to their own use any trees growing on tenants' lands,⁵⁸ and c. 1770 Farmington was described as almost devoid of trees.⁵⁹ By 1825, however, a smaller wood called Furzehill had been established on part of the former downland north of Farmington grove,⁶⁰ and small copses and plantations formed later in other parts of the parish gave it a total of 120 a. of woodland in 1900.⁶¹

The south end of the parish, lying on the east side of the valley of the river Leach, was included, with land from three adjoining parishes, in New park (later Lodge park), a park and deer-coursing paddock of the Duttons of Sherborne.⁶² In 1624 John Dutton bought 33 a., including some open-field land, from the lord of Farmington⁶³ and inclosed it in the park with the agreement of the freeholders and the rector. He was said, however, to have taken more than was conveyed to him⁶⁴ and the Farmington land within the park was estimated to be c. 60 a. in 1662.⁶⁵ A further 12½ a. was added by Sir John Dutton in 1726,⁶⁶ and c. 1820 the part of Lodge park in the parish was surveyed as 86 a.⁶⁷

Part of the west boundary of the parish follows the defences of a large rectangular fortification called Norbury lying within Northleach with Eastington parish. Another ancient fortification is indicated by the name Berry hill used in 1714 for a field north-east of Farmington village⁶⁸ and by the name Camp (or Undercamp) Farm adopted later for a house near by. Part of the high ground to the north of the later Lodge park was known by 1600 as Stoneborrow (or

Stoneberry) hill,⁶⁹ perhaps from a long barrow on the land taken into the park. At Clearcupboard, in the valley north of Norbury camp, the remains of a Roman villa were discovered and excavated in the 1960s.⁷⁰

Thirty people were assessed for subsidy at Farmington in 1327⁷¹ and 49 for the poll tax in 1381.⁷² In 1551 c. 60 communicants were recorded⁷³ and in 1563 13 households.⁷⁴ There were said to be 27 families in 1650,⁷⁵ c. 100 inhabitants in 25 houses c. 1710,⁷⁶ and (apparently by careful enumeration) 195 people in 38 houses c. 1775.⁷⁷ In 1801 216 people in 39 houses were enumerated. The population rose to 359 by 1841, before falling to 269 by 1881 and to 182 by 1901. The downward trend continued during the 20th century, the population standing at 155 in 1951 and 100 in 1991.⁷⁸

The south part of the parish was traversed from west to east by a route from Gloucester to Burford and Oxford. It was recorded in 1600 and 1714 as the 'ridgeway',⁷⁹ though at the western edge of the parish that description evidently referred not to what later became the main road, climbing to the ridge from Northleach town, but to a wide green lane which forms part of the parish boundary before joining the road from Northleach at a place called Short Cross in 1707.⁸⁰ That green lane was called later the old London road and was apparently once used as much or more as the road through Northleach; both roads were turnpiked under an Act of 1751, but the road through Northleach later developed as the main coaching route from Gloucester and Cheltenham to London.⁸¹ In 1824 there was a turnpike at the junction of the Northleach road and the old London road.⁸² Later in the 1820s it was moved eastwards along the road to near the New Barn inn,⁸³ a coaching inn established in the mid 18th century, and it remained there until the road was disturnpiked in 1870.⁸⁴ A new Northleach bypass, opened in 1984,⁸⁵ re-joined the road from the town near the west boundary of Farmington. The Foss way, on the north-west boundary, was a turnpike between 1755 and 1877.⁸⁶

Farmington village occupies the eastern end of a spur of land between the valleys of the streams which flow into the Sherborne brook. As depicted on a map of 1707,⁸⁷ a few years

⁵⁴ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn., revised to 1879).

⁵⁵ Below, econ. hist.

⁵⁶ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 60/8; A 61/3.

⁵⁷ Glos. R.O., photocopies 247-8.

⁵⁸ e.g. Lumley MSS., MTD/A 58/13, 19; A 60/17, 19, 22.

⁵⁹ Rudder, *Glos.* 447.

⁶⁰ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 3, no. 26.

⁶¹ Ibid. SL 8, no. 83.

⁶² Cf. below, Northleach, intro.

⁶³ Glos. R.O., D 678/misc./111.

⁶⁴ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 61/3.

⁶⁵ G.D.R., V 5/1321 1.

⁶⁶ Glos. R.O., D 678/misc./102.

⁶⁷ Ibid. D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map H).

⁶⁸ Ibid. photocopy 248.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 247; D 678/misc./111; *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 118.

⁷⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxviii, 34-67; R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i. 55.

⁷¹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁷² *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, 290, 313.

⁷³ *E.H.R.* xix. 112.

⁷⁴ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 23v.

⁷⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁷⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* 435.

⁷⁷ Rudder, *Glos.* 448.

⁷⁸ *Census*, 1801-1991.

⁷⁹ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 117-18; Lumley MSS., MTD/A 60/26.

⁸⁰ Glos. R.O., photocopy 247.

⁸¹ Below, Northleach, intro.

⁸² Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁸³ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁸⁴ Glos. R.O., D 6148/1/2; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

⁸⁵ Plaque at E. end of bypass.

⁸⁶ Glos. and Warws. Road Act, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁸⁷ Glos. R.O., photocopy 247.

before the inclosure of the parish, the village comprised small tenant farmhouses and a few cottages on no clear plan but with a focus provided by a triangular green, where lanes leading from the Foss way, the Oxford road, and neighbouring villages met. There were then three groups of buildings: the largest was based around the green, another, including the church, the manor house (later called Farmington Lodge), and the rectory, was to the south-east on the lane leading towards Sherborne and the Oxford road, and a more distant group, called Wales End, stood south of the road leading westwards to the Foss way. The pattern of closes shown in 1707 and earthworks which survive⁸⁸ indicate that the medieval village was larger, and possibly had a more ordered plan, based on the road leading from the green towards the Foss; the green itself, on which an old boundary bank is visible, may have been formed after the shrinking of the village.⁸⁹

The most coherent group of earthworks is to the north of the road leading to the Foss in a field that was called Lords Courthay in 1707.⁹⁰ The foundations of at least seven buildings can be seen ranged around a rectangular courtyard with a circular foundation, almost certainly of a dovecot, protruding at the south-west corner. Apparently a complex of manorial buildings, it may represent the centre of a sub-manor called Muttones Court which was absorbed by the chief manor of Farmington in 1327.⁹¹ Other extensive earthworks, more difficult to interpret, lie in closes further north, by a track leading from the green to Clearcupboard farm, and the boundaries of several small closes can be seen east and south-east of Wales End.

The village has been again altered since the inclosure of 1714, most of the houses existing then being either removed or rebuilt. The few buildings remaining near the green include Manor Farm on the west side, which was rebuilt in the mid 18th century,⁹² and a former blacksmith's cottage and smithy at the north end which dates partly from the mid 1740s.⁹³ In the centre of the green stands a small open-sided wooden structure built over the village pump as a memorial to the lord of the manor Edmund Waller (d. 1898); its thatched roof was replaced with stone tiles in 1935 by the inhabitants of Farmington, in Connecticut, to mark the tercentenary of the foundation of their state.⁹⁴ A large sycamore tree was the most prominent feature of the green in 1999. Of the group of buildings

further south-east, near the church and manor house, the rectory was rebuilt on a different site in the late 18th century⁹⁵ and two small farmhouses near by were removed, the site of one being occupied by a more substantial dwelling in the late 18th century and the early 19th and by a modern house in the late 20th.⁹⁶

The name Wales End,⁹⁷ applied to the group of dwellings west of the main village on the road to the Foss way, was possibly a corruption of 'Walls End', referring to the adjoining rampart of Norbury camp. In 1707 there were three tenant houses there on a short lane leading south from the road. One, standing on the east side of the lane, was then occupied by Thomas Bedwell and became the farmhouse of a freehold farm that he acquired at the inclosure in 1714.⁹⁸ Part of a wall on the lane incorporates a 17th-century window and may survive from his house, but the farmhouse was rebuilt shortly before 1799⁹⁹ further back from the lane. It was still called Bedwells in 1872 but by that time had been replaced as the farmhouse by a new one built in the fields south of the village.¹ During the 18th and 19th centuries Wales End became the site of most of the labourers' cottages of the Farmington estate, including a row of four called Bunkershill built on the valley side at its south end.² Others added in the mid 19th century included estate cottages in pairs; two pairs at the north end are plain in style, and two pairs further south have Tudor-style detail. The village school was built at Wales End at the same period.

The outlying farmsteads of Farmington all date from after the inclosure in 1714.³ Camp Farm, called Undercamp Farm in 1825,⁴ in the valley below Farmington grove, may have been built soon after 1721 when a lease of former downland in that part of the parish provided for the building of a farmhouse.⁵ In the mid 19th century⁶ a large new farmhouse in brick was built some way to the north-west of the old house and its buildings. Probably it was built for Hugh Sydney Waller, a cousin of the lord of the manor;⁷ he was lessee of the farm from 1860⁸ until his death in 1924.⁹ The old farmhouse was being used as labourers' cottages in 1900¹⁰ and was demolished c. 1975.¹¹ Another farmhouse in the same part of the parish was called by 1801 Starveall (or Starvehall) Farm,¹² a name which, like those of two other houses in the parish, Clearcupboard and Folly Farm, reflects a wry humour on the part of the farmers cultivating the stony, upland soil. In the late 19th and earlier

⁸⁸ Aerial photog. in *Arch. in Glos.* ed. A. Saville (Chelt. 1984), 278.

⁸⁹ Suggestions on the earthworks and on the village plan from Professor C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ.

⁹⁰ Glos. R.O., photocopy 247.

⁹¹ Below, manor.

⁹² Ibid. (Smith fam. est.).

⁹³ Below, econ. hist.

⁹⁴ Inscr. on pump ho.; Glos. R.O., P 143/MI 3.

⁹⁵ Below, church.

⁹⁶ Below, manor.

⁹⁷ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); Glos. R.O., D 1455, Farmington leases 1710-99, lease 1787.

⁹⁸ Glos. R.O., photocopies 247-8; below, manor.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1445, deed 3 Oct. 1804.

¹ Ibid. D 6418/5/2; cf. *ibid.* D 1388/SL 3, no. 26, which

helps to distinguish the two farmhouses.

² O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 7 (1884 edn.); Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 8, no. 83.

³ For the farmsteads, below, Fig. 9.

⁴ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.); Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 3, no. 26.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1445, Farmington leases 1710-99.

⁶ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXVI. NE. (1884 edn.).

⁷ Glos. R.O., P 55/IN 1/3, bapt. 1841; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii. 1532.

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 6148/2/3, lease 1870; 2/2/1-2.

⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 169; inscr. in church.

¹⁰ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 8, no. 83.

¹¹ Inf. from Capt. J. J. D. Barrow, of Farmington.

¹² Glos. R.O., D 1445, deed 3 Oct. 1804; O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

20th centuries it was called Grove Farm¹³ but by 1999 it had reverted to its old name (then spelt Starvall). It is a two-storeyed stone farmhouse of the mid 18th century with late 20th-century alterations and additions. At Clearcupboard, in the valley to the north-west of the village, there was a farmhouse and buildings by 1870.¹⁴

Empshill Farm, south-east of the village, is a mid 18th-century farmhouse, established before 1777.¹⁵ Folly Farm, south of the village, was probably the new farmhouse that Charles Miller, owner of that part of the parish, is recorded as building shortly before 1765;¹⁶ it is a rubble-built house of two storeys and attics and has plain mullioned windows. At the site of Bedwell House, further west, an outlying barn and yard (then called Hill barn) belonged to Bedwell farm, based at Wales End, in 1825.¹⁷ About 1830, presumably at the cost of the landowner H. E. Waller,¹⁸ a new farmhouse was built beside the barn and replaced the house at Wales End as the home of the farmer. The new house, of three storeys with a hipped roof, is built of rubble with ashlar dressings and has a symmetrical, sash-windowed front facing south-west to the Cheltenham–London road. It was known as New House (or New Farm) in the mid 19th century and the early 20th, but the name Bedwell Farm was used in the late 19th century and again in the mid 20th¹⁹ and it became Bedwell House after 1971 when sold away from its farmland. A range of barns adjoining the house, the earliest part (at the west end) dating from the mid 18th century, was converted to form a separate dwelling in the early 1990s.²⁰

New Barn Farm, on the main London road near the east boundary of the parish, was presumably another site originally occupied by a barn after 1714, though it was fairly soon followed by a dwelling. By 1777 the New Barn inn had opened there²¹ and possibly it was already established in 1755 when an innkeeper was recorded in the parish.²² By 1799 the innkeeper was also lessee of one of the main farms on the manor estate,²³ and New Barn continued to be both inn and farmhouse until 1897 when the inn was leased to the Northleach brewery and the farmland was leased separately.²⁴ The inn remained open until the 1930s when it was called the New Barn Road House.²⁵ The south-west wing of New Barn Farm is the visible part of an early 18th-century T-plan house, the north-east part of which, together with part of a separate

structure, has been incorporated in a larger, early 19th-century house. The 18th-century house, from which some two-light mullioned windows survive, was of two storeys with attics and vaulted cellars and had three rooms on each floor. Its south-western compartment, with part of its wall pierced by pigeon holes, was presumably not used for domestic purposes. To the north-east of the house, on the main road, stood another building of similar construction. One of those structures possibly represents the original barn at the site. The north-east gable wall of the original house and the south-west gable wall of the building adjoining the road are visible in the roof space of the larger early 19th-century house. That house presents symmetrical, classical fronts to the road on the north-east and to the stable yard on the north-west, the latter front having two full-height canted bays, a familiar feature of coaching inns of the period. The inn and farm were provided with extensive outbuildings, which in 1825 included a smithy and stabling for 60 horses.²⁶ Some of the buildings were demolished during the 20th century,²⁷ and the main surviving structure, a high and long barn at the north-west of the site, housed the stock of the owner's antiques business in 1999.

A piped water supply was laid from a spring to houses in the village by W. N. Waller, lord of the manor, in 1901.²⁸

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1086 land which had formed part of the manor of Northleach before the Conquest was held by Walter son of Pons as a separate manor of *FARMINGTON* ('Tormentone'), comprising 12 hides.²⁹ No rights as overlord exercised by the lords of Northleach are recorded later, however, and in 1278 Farmington was held from the king in chief by the service of 1 knight or two esquires for 40 days in wartime.³⁰

Farmington passed with the manor of Eaton Hastings (Berks.) to a family whose members were surnamed either 'of Eaton' or 'of Hastings',³¹ and it was presumably one of the 3 knights' fees that Ralph of Hastings held in Gloucestershire in 1160.³² Farmington belonged in 1182 to William of Eaton,³³ who died before 1189, when his heir was his brother John of Hastings.³⁴ John was lord of Farmington in 1209³⁵ and his widow Muriel had the whole or part of the manor in dower in 1221.³⁶

¹³ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXVI. NE. (1884 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906 and later edns.).

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 6148/2/3.

¹⁵ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 469, letter 23 Mar. 1765; cf. below, manor.

¹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 3, no. 26; cf. *ibid.* D 6148/5/2.

¹⁸ Dating is on architectural grounds, though in 1827 the farm, still based on its old house, was leased for 14 years with no mention of any planned new one: *ibid.* D 1445, Farmington leases 1800–34.

¹⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870 and later edns.); Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 8, no. 83; D 6148/2/2/1–2; O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 11 (1949 edn.); its tenancy by the Stephens fam. from 1826 until the early 20th cent. helps to confirm the identification.

²⁰ Inf. from the owner, Professor H. Brown.

²¹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 10 Feb. 1777; cf. Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

²² Glos. R.O., Q/AV 2, rot. 3.

²³ *Ibid.* D 1445, deed 3 Oct. 1804.

²⁴ *Ibid.* D 6148/2/2/1–2.

²⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 169.

²⁶ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 3, no. 26.

²⁷ Cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 12 (1882 edn.).

²⁸ Glos. R.O., D 6148/2/7.

²⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

³⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 153.

³¹ *V.C.H. Berks.* iv. 528–9.

³² *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 24.

³³ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 196–7.

³⁴ *Pipe R.* 1189 (Rec. Com.), 182.

³⁵ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/3, no. 60; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 50.

³⁶ *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, p. 46.

Farmington apparently passed to William of Hastings (d. c. 1224), custody of whose land and heir was given to Osbert Giffard;³⁷ c. 1235 Osbert's wife was said to hold Farmington manor under another William of Hastings.³⁸ About 1271 William of Hastings gave Farmington to his daughter Joan on her marriage to Benet of Blakenham; they later regranted it to William for life and became owners again on his death c. 1278.³⁹ Benet, son of Benet of Blakenham, who was a minor in royal wardship in 1285 and 1289,⁴⁰ granted the manor in 1297 to his sister Alice and her husband Hugh of St. Philibert.⁴¹ Hugh died c. 1305⁴² and John of Drogenesford, who presented to Farmington church in 1306 and 1309,⁴³ was presumably a trustee or the guardian of an heir. By 1317 the manor had passed to John of St. Philibert,⁴⁴ who in 1331 made an accommodation about dower rights in Farmington with Gillian, wife of Roger de Asperle, perhaps his mother.⁴⁵ John died c. 1333⁴⁶ when his widow Ada was awarded land in Farmington and the advowson of the church as part of her dowry.⁴⁷ Another John of St. Philibert sold the manor in 1351 to William of Edington, bishop of Winchester,⁴⁸ who had a quitclaim of rights from John's widow Margaret in 1359.⁴⁹ The bishop gave Farmington in 1361 to his foundation, the monastery of the Bonhommes at Edington (Wilts.).⁵⁰

Edington monastery retained the manor until its dissolution in 1539, and in 1540 the Crown sold the manor to Michael Ashfield.⁵¹ Michael died later the same year, having settled the manor on his wife Joan,⁵² later the wife of Thomas Parker (d. 1558).⁵³ Michael's son Robert Ashfield, an infant at his father's death, had succeeded to Farmington by 1571.⁵⁴ He died in 1616, having settled the manor on his wife Mary (fl. 1621), with reversion to his son John, who held part of the estate from 1600.⁵⁵ John Ashfield's failure to observe the procedure for securing livery on his father's death led to the Crown taking possession of the manor in 1631 and leasing it to Giles Cripps of Clapton and Anthony Powell of Northleach,⁵⁶ but in 1632 Ashfield sold his right in the manor to Rice Jones of Asthall (Oxon.), who bought out the interest of Cripps and Powell the following

year.⁵⁷ Jones died before 1648, when his widow Jane was in possession of Farmington,⁵⁸ and it had passed by 1654 to his son Henry, who was later knighted.⁵⁹ Sir Henry died in 1673, leaving as his heir his daughter Frances;⁶⁰ she married in 1685 Richard Lumley, Lord Lumley, who was created earl of Scarbrough in 1690. The earl conveyed the manor in 1717 to his second son Thomas Lumley, who lived at Farmington for the next few years. Following other dealings between the earl (d. 1721), Thomas, and the earl's eldest son, Richard, Lord Lumley, who succeeded to the title,⁶¹ the two brothers sold Farmington in 1724 to Edmund Waller of Beaconsfield (Bucks.).⁶²

Edmund Waller died in 1771⁶³ and Farmington manor passed in turn to his son Edmund (d. 1788) and his grandson Edmund⁶⁴ (d. 1810). The last Edmund was succeeded by his brother the Revd. Henry (Harry) Waller (d. 1824), rector of Farmington, and from the Revd. Harry the manor passed in turn to his son Harry Edmund Waller⁶⁵ (d. 1869) and grandson Edmund Waller⁶⁶ (d. 1898). The last Edmund was succeeded by his brother Maj.-Gen. William Noel Waller (d. 1909).⁶⁷ From c. 1830⁶⁸ the Wallers, whose estate also included farms in Turkdean, Hazleton, Bourton-on-the-Water, and Clapton, owned the whole of Farmington parish except for the land at its southern end in Lord Sherborne's Lodge park.⁶⁹

The Farmington land of the estate was bought c. 1910 by C. D. Barrow,⁷⁰ who sold part of it, New Barn farm with 400 a., before 1939.⁷¹ He died in 1944⁷² and was succeeded by his son Lt.-Col. R. C. Barrow, who sold off other parts, including Starveall farm c. 1947 and the manor house, Farmington Lodge, and its grounds in 1952. Lt.-Col. Barrow (d. 1968) was succeeded by his son Capt. J. J. D. Barrow who, following the sale of a further part, Empshill farm, remained owner of c. 600 a. in Farmington in 1999. The purchaser of Farmington Lodge in 1952 was the Hon. E. R. H. Wills,⁷³ who also bought the farmland in the south of the parish. He retained the house and land in 1999 as part of an estate which also included much of Northleach with Eastington parish.⁷⁴

³⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 618.

³⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 438.

³⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 153.

⁴⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239; *Reg. Giffard*, 330.

⁴¹ *Edington Cart.* (Wilts. Rec. Soc. xlii), p. 159.

⁴² *Feud. Aids*, ii. 246; *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 307.

⁴³ *Reg. Gimsborough*, 173; *Reg. Reynolds*, 149.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1300-26, 335.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., CP 25/1/286/36, no. 92.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vii, pp. 366-7.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, 42, 57.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., CP 25/1/287/44, no. 457.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1354-60, 619.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 1360-4, 281-2; *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 320-1.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 324; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 348.

⁵² P.R.O., C 142/64, no. 123.

⁵³ *Ibid.* STAC 3/5/16; below, Northleach, manor.

⁵⁴ Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

⁵⁵ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 115-19.

⁵⁶ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 58/8; A 61/3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* A 60/8, 10, 12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* A 58/19.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* A 60/17, 19; A 64.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/343 (P.C.C. 125 Pye), ff. 55v.-56.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/4; D 1445, Farmington leases 1710-99, leases 1718, 1721; *Complete Peerage*, xi. 508-10.

⁶² *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/1, sched. of deeds 1826.

⁶³ *Ibid.* notes from burial regs.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* D 1445, Farmington leases 1710-99; for the Waller fam., Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii. 1532.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Farmington leases 1800-34.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* D 6148/2/4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 1/5; insers. in church.

⁶⁸ Cf. below, this section.

⁶⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/5/2; D 1388/SL 8, no. 83; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 546.

⁷⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1914), 169.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* (1939), 169.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, p. 329.

⁷³ Inf. from Capt. Barrow.

⁷⁴ Inf. from Ms V. Ravenscroft, est. sec. to Mr. Wills.

The manor house, on or close to the site of Farmington Lodge at the east side of the village, was recorded from the 1630s.⁷⁵ It was rebuilt by Edmund Waller (d. 1771),⁷⁶ and remained the Gloucestershire residence of the Wallers during their ownership. In the 20th century it was the home of the Barrows until c. 1947 when they moved to Camp Farm, which they occupied until 1991 when Capt. Barrow moved to Clearcupboard Farm. Farmington Lodge became the home of Mr. Wills in the early 1950s⁷⁷ and remained so in 1999.

Farmington Lodge⁷⁸ is a classical house of two storeys and attics in a hipped roof and has a double-pile, 15-bayed plan, from which sections of both long main fronts — five bays in the centre of the north-east, garden front and three bays at each end of the south-west, road front — break forward slightly. The house is mainly of dressed rubble, but parts of both main fronts are ashlar-faced. The central nine bays were built as part of Edmund Waller's house in the mid 18th century and the south-west elevation retains small sash windows of 18th-century shape but in an irregular arrangement⁷⁹ that reflects alterations to the rooms behind. The three bays at each end of the south-west front and the parapet on the central part were probably added before 1825 when the accommodation included an entrance hall, three reception rooms, two staircases, and nine bedrooms on the first floor.⁸⁰ The centre of the house was extensively reconstructed to the designs of David Brandon in the mid 1850s.⁸¹ The projecting section of the north-east front was added or rebuilt in Italian baroque style and the 18th-century staircase was moved (from a position immediately to the north-west) to a newly created staircase hall in the centre of the south-west front. Apparently at the same time, a heavy Greek Doric temple portico was attached to the five central bays of the south-west front; it was apparently modified from an earlier feature or even imported from another building.⁸² The services may then have been at the south-east end of the house where in 1883 there were buildings forming a narrow yard.⁸³ Alterations made by Mr. Wills after 1952 included the insertion of new windows into the blank bays at the centre of the south-west front, the removal of the service buildings at the south-east (the other end of the house becoming the service end), and the

partitioning of the entrance hall and other rooms.⁸⁴ Other 20th-century changes included the insertion of dormers in the south-east end of the roof and, probably, the Adam-style decoration in the dining room.

On the other side of the road, north of the parish church, a demesne close called Lord's Dowses Hay contained a circular, ashlar-faced dovecot by 1714, and to the south of it, opposite the house, farm buildings.⁸⁵ By the mid 1820s a large stable block, comprising three ranges around a courtyard, had replaced the farm buildings⁸⁶ and by 1883 the rest of the close was occupied by a walled kitchen garden.⁸⁷

One among a number of freehold estates at Farmington in the Middle Ages was held c. 1180 by Nicholas of Mitton (Mutone).⁸⁸ In 1243 Christine of Mitton held ½ knight's fee from the lord of the manor, William of Hastings,⁸⁹ and c. 1255 the owner was evidently Philip of Mitton.⁹⁰ In 1285 Peter of Staunton held the ½ fee from Nicholas of Mitton, who held from the lord.⁹¹ Peter, who was lord of Staunton (Worcs., later Glos.), died c. 1288 when his son and heir Robert of Staunton was a minor;⁹² Robert was the tenant-in-demesne of the estate until 1311 or later.⁹³ In 1327 John Pachat of Farmington, a cleric and perhaps acting as trustee, granted the estate, comprising a house called Muttones Court, 3¼ yardlands, and some tenanted lands, to the lord of the manor John of St. Philibert and his wife Ada;⁹⁴ she held it as part of her dower in 1333.⁹⁵ Presumably it was then absorbed in the manor estate, and the house may have been at a site in a field in the north-west part of the village, called Lord's Courthay.⁹⁶

Another estate of ½ fee at Farmington was held by William of Ramsden from Benet of Blakenham in 1285 and was retained by another William in 1346. In 1303 and 1346 Henry of Corse held another ½ fee at Farmington.⁹⁷ Also, at some time before 1398, a house with ¾ yardland there was given to Polesworth abbey (Warws.) by Joan de Salceta.⁹⁸ It was retained by the abbey to the Dissolution,⁹⁹ and was recorded again in 1636 when, described as a messuage and 1 yardland, it formed part of Thomas Fyfield's estate, mentioned below.¹ About 1180 Godstow abbey (Oxon.) had a gift of 2s. of rent in Farmington from Nicholas of Mitton, whose descendant Philip of Mitton

⁷⁵ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 58/7; A 60/9; Glos. R.O., photocopy 247.

⁷⁶ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 576.

⁷⁷ Inf. from Capt. Barrow.

⁷⁸ Plate 10.

⁷⁹ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 8, no. 83, including a photog. showing the SW. front in 1900, before later minor alterations.

⁸⁰ Ibid. SL 3, no. 26.

⁸¹ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 376; date 1854 on NE. doorcase.

⁸² Local tradition says they were from a ho. which stood S. of the churchyard: inf. from Mrs. A. Brazington, of Farmington; cf. below, this section.

⁸³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 7 (1884 edn.).

⁸⁴ Inf. from Mr. Wills.

⁸⁵ Glos. R.O., photocopies 247-8.

⁸⁶ Ibid. D 1388/SL 3, no. 26; O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁸⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 7 (1884 edn.).

⁸⁸ *Reg. of Godstow Nunnery*, ed. A. Clark, i (E.E.T.S. cxxix), p. 158.

⁸⁹ *Bk. of Fees*, ii. 819.

⁹⁰ *Godstow Reg.* i. 158-9.

⁹¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239.

⁹² *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, pp. 410-11.

⁹³ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 256; *Edington Cart.* p. 162.

⁹⁴ *Edington Cart.* p. 161.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, 42.

⁹⁶ Above, intro.

⁹⁷ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239, 246, 279.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, 287-8.

⁹⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii. 77.

¹ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, ii. 152.

confirmed it to the abbey *c.* 1255.² Godstow may later have alienated the rent to Eynsham abbey (Oxon.), to which 2s. annual rent was rendered by Farmington manor (which had absorbed the Mittons' estate) in 1506.³

In 1432, apart from the Polesworth estate, the freeholds under the manor were two estates of 2 yardlands each, held by Thomas Lovering and Richard Spencer, and, possibly representing the Ramsden and Corse estates, ½ yardland held by Richard Fifhyde, chaplain, and a large estate of 11¼ yardlands (664 a.) held by John Culmer. Culmer was probably a relative of Thomas Culmer, rector of Edington and lord of Farmington manor *c.* 1406–31,⁴ and his estate appears to have been a fairly recent creation including former customary land.⁵

John Culmer's estate of 1432 was probably represented by the substantial estate owned by Thomas Bush, a Northleach wool-merchant, at his death in 1525.⁶ In 1564 Thomas's son and heir William was challenged for possession of an estate at Farmington by Roger Fishpool of Cirencester on the grounds that Thomas had bought it from John Fyfield while Fyfield was a minor and therefore not legally empowered.⁷ Whether Fishpool or another heir of the Fyfield family recovered the estate is not known, but a Thomas Fyfield owned a large estate, including a house called Fyfield's Place and 7 yardlands, at his death in 1636; he devised it to his grandson Thomas Standard,⁸ who remained owner in 1662.⁹ Thomas Standard was succeeded by his daughter Alice, who married Thomas Smith,¹⁰ son of the rector of Farmington, Humphrey Smith.¹¹ Thomas and Alice, who both died in 1708, apparently left the estate to a younger son, Thomas (d. by 1713); the younger Thomas devised it to his infant nephew, also Thomas, whose father, Humphrey Smith of Kidlington (Oxon.), managed it for him. In 1714 under the inclosure of Farmington 494 a., mostly in the south-west part of the parish, was awarded for the estate.¹² The Smiths sold part of that land the same year to Thomas Bedwell, who also received a smaller freehold under the inclosure, and part to John Grayhurst of Cirencester.¹³

Most of the Bedwell family's land at Farmington, comprising Bedwell farm south-west of the village, was bought by Edmund Waller in 1765 and descended with his manor estate.¹⁴ Other land, however, belonged to Thomas Bedwell of Ampney St. Peter at his death *c.* 1776 and was sold by his widow Hannah¹⁵ in 1792 to Edmund's grandson Edmund Waller.¹⁶ The other part of the Smiths' former estate, bought at the inclosure by John Grayhurst, was settled on the marriage of William Grayhurst in 1723.¹⁷ It later passed to another John Grayhurst who sold it in 1762 to Charles Miller. Miller died in 1778, leaving his estate in trust for his wife Elizabeth Miller (fl. 1784).¹⁸ In 1796 it was sold to Edmund Waller but in 1799, having incurred large debts, he conveyed it, together with the land bought from Hannah Bedwell in 1792 (the whole comprising Folly and Clearcupboard farms), to Thomas Willan¹⁹ of London. Willan, who also acquired some of Waller's land in Turkdean at the same time, died in 1828,²⁰ and Folly and Clearcupboard farms returned to the manor estate in 1830 when his trustees sold them to Harry Waller.²¹

In 1707 the Smith family's estate was based on a house standing at the west side of the village green. At the inclosure in 1714 the house was awarded to the manor estate²² and it was rebuilt later on a different alignment as the farmhouse of the estate's Manor (or Green) farm. In 1777 Charles Miller owned, and apparently occupied, a house standing south of the churchyard,²³ on or near the site of a tenant farmhouse that had been awarded to the Smiths at inclosure.²⁴ That was presumably the seat of Thomas Willan at Farmington, recorded in 1811,²⁵ and his 'mansion house', which in 1827 was occupied by the widow and some of the children of the Revd. Harry Waller.²⁶ The house south of the churchyard was demolished before 1883, leaving only a stable block,²⁷ incorporating a cross-gabled dovecot, to the west of the site. A modern dwelling house was built at the site *c.* 1970 and the stable block was adapted to form a garage.²⁸ Farmhouses connected with the former Bedwell and Miller estates are mentioned above.²⁹

² *Godstow Reg.* i, pp. 158–60.

³ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VII/1477.

⁴ *Edington Cart.* p. 164; for Thos. Culmer, *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 324.

⁵ Cf. below, econ. hist.

⁶ P.R.O., E 150/360, no. 1.

⁷ Ibid. REQ 2/61/15.

⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, ii. 152–3.

⁹ G.D.R., V 5/132t 1.

¹⁰ Ibid. 3; for the Smiths, *V.C.H. Oxon.* xii. 189, 477.

¹¹ Cf. P.R.O., PROB 11/390 (P.C.C. 390 Exton), ff. 309v–310v.

¹² Glos. R.O., D 1445, Farmington incl. Act; photocopy 248.

¹³ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 60/26.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 469, letters 19 Mar., 11 Oct. 1765; cf. *ibid.* D 6148/1/1, sched. of deeds 1826; 3/2, will of Edm. Waller 1784.

¹⁵ G.D.R. wills 1776/213.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 6148/1/1, sched. of deeds 1833.

¹⁷ Ibid. D 678/misc./102.

¹⁸ Ibid. D 6148/1/1, sched. of deeds 1833; P.R.O., PROB 11/1048 (P.C.C. 501 Hay), ff. 221–4.

¹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 6148/1/1, sched. of deeds 1833; *ibid.* 5/2; Q/REL 1; for Waller's indebtedness, *ibid.* D 1445, deed 3 Oct. 1804.

²⁰ Below, Turkdean, manors.

²¹ Glos. R.O., D 6148/1/1, sched. of deeds 1833.

²² Ibid. photocopies 247–8; D 1445, Farmington incl. Act.

²³ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

²⁴ Glos. R.O., photocopy 247; D 1445, Farmington incl. Act.

²⁵ E. Moncrieff with S. and I. Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (1996), p. 154 (a painting of an incident involving a horse-slaughterer, where the setting and the ho. depicted in the background are likely to be imagined).

²⁶ *Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (Glouc. 1979), 72; cf. Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii. 1532.

²⁷ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXVI. SE. (1884 edn.); cf. Glos. R.O., D 6148/5/2.

²⁸ N.M.R., Glos. par. files, Farmington, sale parties. Sept. 1981; cf. *ibid.* AA 66/5511. The ho. was called New Place in 1981 and Aunt's Garden in 1999.

²⁹ Above, intro.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 Farmington manor had 2 ploughs in demesne and 4 *servi*.³⁰ In 1432, when the owner of the manor, Edington monastery, apparently still had the demesne in hand, it included 708 a. of arable with pasture rights for 29 horses, 14 oxen, 14 cows, and 696 sheep.³¹ In 1534 Edington leased the demesne to Richard Barton and members of his family, delivering to them farm stock which included a flock of 300 sheep; among the farm buildings included in the lease was a long sheephouse of 13 bays (*spatia*).³² The demesne estate of Robert Ashfield in 1600 included an extensive holding of open-field land with pasture rights for 500 sheep and 20 cattle.³³

The tenants on the manor in 1086 were 25 *villani*, working a total of 12 ploughs.³⁴ In 1432 13½ yardlands were held by customary tenants (a yardland comprising 48 a.). That was a relatively small area of the total arable on the manor, which was then extended at 45¼ yardlands (2,212 a.), and some former customary land had presumably been absorbed in the large demesne estate and the large freehold (11¾ yardlands) then owned by John Culmer; in addition four smaller freeholds comprised a total of 5¼ yardlands. The total acreage given shows the acre being used was a good deal smaller than the statute acre, as the modern acreage of the parish is only 2,261 and the extent of 1432 does not include home closes, common downland, and woodland.³⁵ The estate formerly of the Mitton family had a few tenants in 1329, the year it was absorbed by the manor: two, with 1½ yardland and ½ yardland, were held for life and another, with 2 yardlands, was held in villeinage.³⁶

By the early 17th century most, possibly all, of the customary tenancies on the manor were held on leases for three lives or 99 years.³⁷ In 1673 there were 14 leaseholds. The three largest, two of which still owed heriots, were that of the Bedwell family, based on a farmhouse at Wales End and comprising some land in closes and 4¾ yardlands in the open fields, that of the Barton family with a farmhouse south of the church, 5 closes, a plot of meadow, and 4 yardlands, and that of the Spencer family with a farmhouse in the north-west part of the village, 2 closes, a plot of meadow, and 3 yardlands. The other holdings in 1673 ranged in size from 4 a. to 1 yardland.³⁸

Most of the parish comprised two great open fields, a north and a south field, divided by the village and its home closes. They were managed on a two-course rotation of a corn crop and a fallow until inclosure in the early 18th century, though by then it was the custom to reserve a 'hitching' from the fallow field and sow it with a crop of peas. The two fields covered a total of 1,730 a. in 1707. The north field was bordered

on the east by a tract of common downland, which covered 167 a. in 1707 when it was apparently used mainly for pasturing cows and draught animals, and there were small parcels of common and waste islanded within the open fields, used mainly for horse pasture. The only farmland in the parish held in severalty in 1707 was 118 a., comprising home closes in the village and inclosed meadow land at Broadwater bottom at the north boundary.³⁹ Farmington grove, the 54-acre wood between the downs and the east boundary, was apparently several to the lord of the manor, while c. 60 a. at the south end of the parish was by then included in Lodge park.⁴⁰

Pasture for sheep in the open fields was stinted at 40 to the yardland in 1432, the lord, the freeholders, and the tenants having rights to a total of 1,810; each yardland also had a right to pasture 2 horses, an ox, and a cow.⁴¹ By the late 17th century the stint for sheep was 50 to the yardland, that for horses and cattle remaining unchanged.⁴²

Inclosure of Farmington was contemplated as early as the 1630s,⁴³ and when carried out under an Act of parliament of 1713 it was the earliest parliamentary inclosure in Gloucestershire to cover more than a small area of a parish.⁴⁴ The Act, which itself incorporated the award, was put into effect in 1714. In preparation for the inclosure the lord of the manor, the earl of Scarbrough, secured in his hands all the leaseholds except for the 181-acre estate of Thomas Bedwell.⁴⁵ He then, in 1711, re-granted several of the houses and their home closes on new leases for lives.⁴⁶ Some farmhouses and old inclosures were, however, re-allotted by the Act. The earl received 87 a. of old inclosures and 1,455 a. of the open fields and downs, 494 a. was allotted for the large freehold belonging to the Smith family, and Thomas Bedwell, who had presumably made some separate arrangement with the earl, was awarded a freehold estate of 65 a. in place of his leasehold. The rector of Farmington surrendered his tithes and glebe in return for rent charges payable from the three estates.⁴⁷

The inclosure effectively divided the parish into two sections by creating a long diagonal boundary, which the owners of the new estates made an agreement to maintain in 1714;⁴⁸ it ran from the Foss way near Foss quarry to the north side of the village and continued south of the village as far as the wall of Lodge park. The greater part of the parish, lying north-east of that boundary, formed the manor estate while the bulk of the land south-west of it (later included in the farms called Bedwell, Folly, and Clearcupboard) was awarded for the other estates. Later, by purchases in 1766 and 1830,

³⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

³¹ *Edington Cart.* (Wilts. Rec. Soc. xlii), p. 164.

³² P.R.O., SC 6/Hen VIII/3985, m. 45.

³³ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 115-19.

³⁴ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

³⁵ *Edington Cart.* p. 164.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 161.

³⁷ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 58/12, 13, 16; A 60/5, 8.

³⁸ *Ibid.* A 60/23; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 247.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, photocopies 247-8; *ibid.* D 1445,

Farmington incl. Act; Lumley MSS., EE/8.

⁴⁰ Above, intro.

⁴¹ *Edington Cart.* p. 164.

⁴² Lumley MSS., EE/8; MTD/A 60/23.

⁴³ *Ibid.* MTD/A 58/12-13; cf. *ibid.* A 57/2; A 60/19.

⁴⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxiv. 36, 48.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Farmington incl. Act.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Farmington leases 1710-99.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Farmington incl. Act.

⁴⁸ Lumley MSS., MTD/A 60/26.

all the land south-west of the boundary was added to the manor estate, which remained the sole landowner (except for Lord Sherborne's Lodge park) until the early 20th century. On the manor estate the pattern of new fields was largely laid out in 1714,⁴⁹ though a lease of 1719 provided for at least one further hedge to be planted by the landowner. That lease, granted for 12 years, was for a farm of 194 a. based on one of the old farmhouses in the village, but another made in 1721, of the whole of the former common downs for 11 years, provided for a new farmhouse to be built by the landlord.⁵⁰

Two parts of the former open fields on the manor estate, 124 a. adjoining the Foss way and 140 a. south of the Gloucester–Oxford road, were described as sheep walks following the inclosure in 1714⁵¹ and were presumably then being laid down as permanent grassland. Another field, of 57 a. near the Foss quarry, was planned to grow sainfoin under the terms of a lease of 1719. Sainfoin had also been planted on a part of the former downs by 1721, when the lease of that area provided for the ploughing of the whole of the remainder, half for corn and half for grass seeds.⁵² In the 1770s the land of the parish was used mainly for corn and sheep, with sheep of high quality being raised on it.⁵³ Turnips had been introduced as a course in the rotation on the farms by 1801.⁵⁴

By 1804 the manor estate included five farms, which were then held on leases for 12, 14, or 21 years. Manor (or Green) farm, based on a farmhouse in the village on the west side of the green, comprised 299 a.; Bedwell farm (the land purchased in 1766), based on a farmhouse at Wales End, had 209 a.; and three were based on outlying farmsteads established since the inclosure, Starveall with 381 a., Empshill with c. 290 a., and New Barn with 260 a. A sixth farm, Camp farm, was perhaps in hand in 1804, and in 1825, when it comprised 167 a., was held with Empshill.⁵⁵ By 1825 three of the six farms were on annual tenancies.⁵⁶ Another farm, Folly farm, was added to the estate in 1830,⁵⁷ but the estate still comprised six farms in the later 19th century, for Manor farm was divided up before 1876 between Starveall farm and Camp farm; the latter then also included land and buildings at Clearcupboard.⁵⁸ In 1900 Starveall (then called Grove farm) had 470 a. and Camp 451 a.; Folly farm had 210 a. and the other three remained at approximately their 1804 acreages.⁵⁹

In 1827 leases of three farms of the Wallers' estate in the south of the parish, New Barn, Empshill, and Bedwell, all then predominantly arable, provided that $\frac{1}{7}$ of the land was to be

kept in sainfoin and the remainder cropped on what was described as the usual six-field rotation of the neighbourhood. It comprised new grass seeds; grass seeds to be fed off; wheat; oats, peas, vetches, or other pulses; turnips; and barley.⁶⁰ On New Barn farm the stock of the previous tenant had included 80 ewes and 80 two-year old sheep⁶¹ and all the farms presumably then had flocks, raised on the fodder crops in the rotation. Folly farm was tenanted at that period by successive owners of the King's Head inn at Northleach, James Heath (d. 1810) and Charles Day⁶² who in 1835 was using it partly to breed horses.⁶³

A similar régime to that laid down in the leases of 1827 evidently continued on the farms of the parish later in the century, as is indicated by the acreages of the different crops returned in 1866 and 1896. In 1866 a total of 1,571 a. was returned as under crops and 364 a. as permanent grassland,⁶⁴ but by 1896, with the general depression in corn prices, c. 300 a. had been taken out of cultivation and most of it turned to rough grazing. The sheep flocks, a total of 962 with 481 lambs in 1866, and the cattle, a total of 156 in 1866, had also fallen by 1896.⁶⁵ The depression reduced drastically the rents from the farms on the manor estate: they totalled £1,386 in 1856⁶⁶ but only £622 in 1900 when the owner offered the estate for sale, stressing its potential as a base for hunting and shooting.⁶⁷

By 1926 there had been a further, though smaller loss of arable land, then returned at 1,161 a. compared with 765 a. of permanent grass, but livestock enterprises, both sheep and beef cattle, had revived.⁶⁸ In 1956 (when the total figures suggest that at least one farm included a large acreage outside the parish) the five farms based in the parish returned a total of 1,804 a. of arable; hardly any roots were then grown and most was used for rotated grass and cereals, particularly barley which had become the dominant crop in the area by the late 1960s. A large stock of cattle numbering 818 animals and including one or more dairy herds was returned in 1956, but the number of cattle had fallen again by the late 1960s.⁶⁹ In the 1980s and 1990s the land was used mainly for growing cereals and raising sheep, though crops of oil-seed rape and linseed were also planted, depending on the current subsidies from the European Union. The Barrows farmed part of their estate until 1991 but in 1999 it was all let. Most of the rest of the parish, belonging to the estate of E. R. H. Wills, was farmed for that estate with land in Northleach with Eastington parish.⁷⁰

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., photocopy 248; above, manor.

⁵⁰ Glos. R.O., D 1445, Farmington leases 1710–99.

⁵¹ Ibid. photocopy 248.

⁵² Ibid. D 1445, Farmington leases 1710–99.

⁵³ Rudder, *Glos.* 447.

⁵⁴ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 172.

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1445, deed 3 Oct. 1804; cf. *ibid.* D 1388/SL 3, no. 26; D 6148/5/2.

⁵⁶ Ibid. D 1388/SL 3, no. 26.

⁵⁷ Above, intro.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., D 6148/2/2/1.

⁵⁹ Ibid. D 1388/SL 8, no. 83.

⁶⁰ Ibid. D 1444, Farmington leases 1800–34.

⁶¹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 24 Feb. 1827.

⁶² Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1; D 2058.

⁶³ Ibid. D 398/26, agreement for sale 1835.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

⁶⁵ Ibid. MAF 68/1609/2; MAF 68/25/23.

⁶⁶ Glos. R.O., D 6148/2/1.

⁶⁷ Ibid. D 1388/SL 8, no. 83.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁶⁹ Ibid. MAF 68/4533/256/196; MAF 68/5029/14196; MAF 68/5080/14196.

⁷⁰ Inf. from Capt. Barrow; below, Northleach, econ. hist.

By an agreement in the late 12th century the lord of the manor, William of Eaton, allowed Winchcombe abbey, lord of Sherborne, to raise the height of its millpond, evidently on the Sherborne brook within Sherborne, and undertook that neither he nor his heirs would build a mill on a pond further upstream, within Farmington.⁷¹ Some years later Winchcombe granted a mill in Sherborne near Farmington, probably the same one, to William's successor John of Hastings in fee, and the lords of Farmington still owned that mill, called Stagges mill, in 1355.⁷² That suggests that there was no mill within Farmington itself in the Middle Ages, and no record of one has been found later. The name Mill path, recorded in 1600 for the lane leading south from the village toward Eastington⁷³ suggests that the inhabitants once carried their corn to a mill there.

A woolman John Taylor lived in Farmington in 1505 when he was dealing at Gloucester;⁷⁴ he died in 1509 and was buried in Northleach church, commemorated by a brass with symbols of his trade.⁷⁵ From the mid 17th century to the end of the 19th the usual complement of tradesmen at Farmington was a blacksmith, a cordwainer, and a wheelwright or carpenter. In the mid 19th century there were also several stonemasons.⁷⁶ A weaver was recorded in 1657,⁷⁷ and there were maltsters in 1711 and 1726.⁷⁸ A newly built cottage and smithy in Farmington was mentioned in 1633,⁷⁹ and another was built on a plot of land at the north end of the green⁸⁰ by the smith Thomas Wheeler *c.* 1746⁸¹ and worked by his family until *c.* 1906.⁸² In 1851 among heads of household in Farmington the non-agricultural tradesmen were 5 stonemasons, 2 smiths, a carpenter, a cordwainer, a tea dealer, and a grocer; the others included 30 farm labourers and various estate and domestic workers employed by the resident owner.⁸³ A carpenter, employed on the estate, worked in the parish until the First World War,⁸⁴ and the village had a shop until 1939 or later.⁸⁵

The lord of the manor leased a stone quarry on the common downs at Farmington to two Northleach masons in 1634,⁸⁶ and a quarry or 'mine' was recorded on the Fyfield family's estate in 1639.⁸⁷ The principal quarry in the

parish was later the Foss quarry, which was opened before 1707 beside the Foss way at the north-west boundary. It was probably an area where stone had long been dug in many small pits, for the part of the open fields adjoining the quarry on the south was known as the Diggings.⁸⁸ The Foss quarry, where the old extensive workings had been closed and replaced by new ones to the south before 1882,⁸⁹ was leased to a Farmington mason Caleb Joynes from the mid 19th century.⁹⁰ He was succeeded there before 1876⁹¹ by Stephen Joynes who worked as a mason in Farmington until the early 1930s,⁹² presumably still leasing the quarry. The owners of the estate, the Barrow family, took the quarry in hand before the Second World War and worked it subsequently on its own account. From 1991 Capt. J. J. D. Barrow made it his principal enterprise, modernizing the equipment and expanding the business. In 1999, when 70 people were employed there, including 15 qualified stonemasons, the business had two main branches, the supply of building stone, including ashlar and rubble walling stone, flagstones, and architectural dressings, and the production of a range of fireplaces in traditional styles.⁹³

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The Farmington manor court was exercising leet jurisdiction by the early 15th century.⁹⁴ It was evidently still being held at the end of the 17th century,⁹⁵ though the leet sessions at least had become intermittent by 1674, when the county magistrates appointed a constable for Farmington to hold office until another leet was held.⁹⁶ Court rolls survive for the years 1438–40⁹⁷ and a record of a court of survey for 1673.⁹⁸

Two churchwardens were being elected for the parish by 1498⁹⁹ but none of their records or other parish records are known to survive. Farmington suffered a particularly severe burden of poor relief for a small rural parish during part of the early 19th century. In 1803, when 21 people received relief regularly and 14 occasionally, the annual cost, £287, was the highest in the hundred after Northleach and Withington,¹ and in 1815 the cost reached

⁷¹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 196.

⁷² *Ibid.* 185; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 125.

⁷³ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 118; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 247.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, GBR 1437, p. 246.

⁷⁵ *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/16 (P.C.C. 21 Bennett), f. 158 and v.; *Davis, Glos. Brasses*, 80–91.

⁷⁶ *Lumley MSS.*, MTD/A 58/12, 19; A 60/5; *Glos. R.O.*; D 1445, Farmington leases 1710–99, leases 1711, 1731, 1746, 1772, 1787; Farmington leases 1800–34, leases 1800, 1811; P 143/IN 1/4; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁷⁷ *Lumley MSS.*, MTD/A 60/18.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Farmington leases 1710–99.

⁷⁹ *Lumley MSS.*, MTD/A 58/12.

⁸⁰ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 8, no. 83.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* D 1445, Farmington leases 1710–99, lease 1746; cf. *ibid.* Farmington leases 1800–34, lease 1800.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, P 143/IN 1/4, baptisms 1825, 1839; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁸³ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁸⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1914), 169.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* (1939), 169.

⁸⁶ *Lumley MSS.*, MTD/A 60/13.

⁸⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, ii. 152.

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 247; for the Diggings, cf. *G.D.R.*, V 5/132t 1.

⁸⁹ *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. NE.* (1884 edn.).

⁹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/2/1; *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/2/2/1.

⁹² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870 and later edns.).

⁹³ Inf. from Capt. Barrow.

⁹⁴ *P.R.O.*, SC 2/154/3; SC 6/Hen. VIII/3985, m. 45.

⁹⁵ *Lumley MSS.*, MTD/A 58/16; *Bodl. MS. Rawl. B.* 323, f. 54v.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 1, f. 55.

⁹⁷ *P.R.O.*, SC 2/154/3; SC 2/208/40.

⁹⁸ *Lumley MSS.*, MTD/A 60/23.

⁹⁹ *Hockaday Abs.* xxii, 1498 visit. f. 33; xxviii, 1540 visit. f. 56.

¹ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

£424, with 38 people on permanent relief.² Farmington parish became part of the Northleach poor-law union in 1836,³ and was in the Northleach rural district from 1895⁴ until that was absorbed by the new Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCH. The church at Farmington had, on architectural evidence, been built by the 12th century. The living was a rectory in the 1280s when the first presentations are found recorded,⁵ and it has remained one. In the late 14th century, however, burial rights over the parish belonged to the church of Northleach, of which manor Farmington had once been a part, and mortuaries were paid to the vicar of Northleach;⁶ he was receiving a small annual cash payment from the rector of Farmington in 1535.⁷ The right to bury at Farmington was possibly not secured until after the mid 16th century.⁸ In 1974 the living was united with Northleach and Hampnett,⁹ and in 1999 Farmington was one of a group of parishes served by a priest-in-charge based at Northleach.

The advowson of the church descended with the manor¹⁰ until c. 1950 when the Barrow family transferred it to the bishop of Gloucester.¹¹ Queen Eleanor presented in 1289 when the manor was in the Crown's hands during a minority.¹² Richard Yate of Longworth (Berks.) presented in 1569 under a grant for one turn,¹³ and the Crown presented in 1621 and 1636.¹⁴

The rectory was endowed with all the tithes of the parish and with glebe, which was described in 1535 as a close and 2 yardlands¹⁵ and in 1662 comprised c. 7½ a. in closes and 78 a. in the open fields.¹⁶ At the inclosure in 1714 the rector surrendered his tithes and glebe in return for rent charges totalling £120, apportioned among the freehold estates awarded to the lord of the manor, the Smith family, and Thomas Bedwell.¹⁷ The living was valued at £10 in 1291,¹⁸ £17 2s. 4d. in 1535,¹⁹ and £90 in 1650.²⁰ In 1856, no augmentation having been made since the inclosure, the fixed value remained at £120.²¹ In 1918 the patron, C. D. Barrow, gave £500 to augment the living, which

the Ecclesiastical Commissioners met with a like sum; the annual income was as a result increased by £40.²²

In 1707 the rectory house stood just to the west of the church.²³ It was rebuilt by the rector Harry Waller c. 1788²⁴ on a site further to the north-west. The house, of ashlar, is of two storeys and attics with a hipped roof and has a symmetrical, sashed main front to the south. After 1974 the incumbent of the united benefice lived at Northleach²⁵ and the rectory was sold.

John Lawrence, rector of Farmington from 1541 until his death in 1568, held the living with Withington rectory;²⁶ his curate at Farmington was found only moderately satisfactory in his knowledge of doctrine in 1551.²⁷ Nicholas Jones, rector 1571–9,²⁸ was accused of acquiring the benefice by simony, and in 1576 his failings included not preaching and not perambulating the parish bounds. His wife was then described as 'a breeder of discord between man and wife'.²⁹ The lord of the manor Robert Ashfield presented a relation, William Ashfield, in 1607. From 1642 the rector was Humphrey Smith,³⁰ who was described as a preaching minister in 1650;³¹ he subscribed at the Restoration and served until his death in 1688.³² Thomas Beynon, rector 1773–86,³³ was residing at Haverfordwest (Pemb.) in 1784, when Farmington was served by a curate who lived at Cold Aston.³⁴ Harry Waller was instituted in 1786 on the presentation of his father, the lord of the manor. From 1789 he was also vicar of Winslow (Bucks.) and from 1793 rector of Hazleton, but he served Farmington in person for most of his incumbency, during which in 1810 he became owner of the manor.³⁵ In his last years, however, his debts forced him to live abroad, at Boulogne. At his death his son, Harry Edmund Waller, presented his own former tutor, John Boudier.³⁶ Boudier was also vicar of St. Mary's, Warwick, and from c. 1831 until his resignation in 1858 the living was served by curates.³⁷

The church of *ST. PETER*³⁸ comprises chancel with north vestry, nave with north aisle and south porch, and west tower. The nave was built in the early or mid 12th century, probably with only a small chancel attached and without a

² Ibid. 1818, 146–7.

³ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 3.

⁵ *Reg. Giffard*, 120, 330, 339.

⁶ Below, Northleach, church.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

⁸ Several parishioners of the earlier 16th cent. are recorded as buried at Northleach: Hockaday Abs. cxcv, 1509, 1547; *P.R.O.*, REQ 2/61/15, deposition of John Joyes.

⁹ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1976), 68.

¹⁰ *Reg. Giffard*, 120; *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 228, 339, 426; Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

¹¹ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1949–50), 57; (1950–1), 57.

¹² *Reg. Giffard*, 330.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. cxcv; *P.R.O.*, C 3/201/69.

¹⁴ Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

¹⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

¹⁶ *G.D.R.*, V 5/132t 1.

¹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Farmington incl. Act.

¹⁸ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

¹⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

²⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

²¹ *G.D.R.* vol. 384, f. 94.

²² *Glos. R.O.*, P 143/IN 3/1.

²³ Ibid. photocopy 247.

²⁴ Hockaday Abs. cxcv, 1788.

²⁵ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1976), 69, 87.

²⁶ Hockaday Abs. cxcv; below, Withington, church.

²⁷ *E.H.R.* xix. 112.

²⁸ Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

²⁹ *G.D.R.* vol. 40, f. 151v.

³⁰ Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

³¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

³² Bigland, *Glos.* i. 577.

³³ Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

³⁴ *G.D.R.* vol. 320.

³⁵ Hockaday Abs. cxcv; *Glos. R.O.*, P 143/IN 1/3–4.

³⁶ *Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (Glouc. 1979), 72.

³⁷ Hockaday Abs. cxcv; *Glos. R.O.*, P 143/IN 1/4, 6.

³⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 448.

tower. It has north and south corbel tables with animal heads and pellet ornament and the south doorway and the chancel arch have similar ornament. The chancel was rebuilt near the end of the 12th century, when the north aisle, which has an arcade of wide scalloped capitals on circular piers, was added.³⁹ There is a plain corbel table with pellets along the chancel and the north aisle, and both the aisle arcade and a blocked chancel window have slightly pointed arches. In the late 13th century two windows were inserted in the chancel south wall. The south porch was added in the late 14th century or the early 15th. In the late 15th century or the early 16th a slight and plain tower of three stages was built against the west wall of the nave, which was pierced for a tower arch but retains a blocked 12th-century window above. Two windows were inserted in the nave south wall at the same period. The upper part of the east wall of the chancel was rebuilt in the 16th or 17th century; its square-headed window contains a late version of Perpendicular tracery, its head incorporating patterns which could be intended for the initials 'M Y' (though no connexion with any rector or landowner has been discovered).

The interior was repaired c. 1850,⁴⁰ the work perhaps including the heavy restoration visible on two south windows of the nave. A thorough restoration was carried out in 1890 and 1891 by the firm of Waller & Son of Gloucester, which rebuilt the aisle with a central bay of unusual appearance, having a gable over a domestic-looking window. A north vestry was added then and the church was reroofed and reseated.⁴¹ The roofs were retiled in Cotswold stone in 1998.

A piscina in the chancel bears the initials of Thomas Jackson, rector in 1509 and until 1540 or later.⁴² Jackson's name appears, together with obscure symbolism including a boat's rudder, on a carved fragment, presumably part of a memorial monument, which was set above a window in the 19th-century north aisle; the boat's rudder is represented on another fragment set in a splay of a chancel window. The fittings of the church include a 17th-century communion rail, an early 18th-century pulpit, a Gothick-style font installed in 1784,⁴³ and an Art Nouveau brass lectern by Omar Ramsden and Alwyn Carr, given in memory of W. N. Waller (d. 1909).⁴⁴

There are three bells, a treble of 1650, a second cast by Henry Neale in 1637, and a 15th-century tenor, thought to be by Robert Hendley.

The ring was restored in 1902 in memory of a daughter and grandson of H. E. Waller.⁴⁵ A set of plate, comprising a chalice and two patens, was given to the church in 1718 by the lord of the manor, the earl of Scarbrough, and a silver almsdish of 1805 was given by the rector John Boudier in 1850.⁴⁶ In the churchyard, raised on a plinth against the west side of the tower, is a large chest tomb for the Waller family, with inscriptions for family members who died between 1788 and 1944. There are several ornately carved headstones of the mid and late 18th century. The parish registers survive from 1613.⁴⁷

NONCONFORMITY. In 1836 Caleb Joynes, a mason⁴⁸ of Farmington, registered his house there for dissenting worship.⁴⁹ There was a village meeting in connexion with the Northleach Congregational church in 1862;⁵⁰ it probably did not long survive.

EDUCATION. There was no school in Farmington in 1818,⁵¹ but by 1833 a Sunday school and a day school had been established; the day school taught 44 children and was supported partly by charitable contributions and partly by weekly payments of ½d. for each child.⁵² By the mid 1840s the day school had been replaced by two small parish schools, one with 12 children attending and the other with 16; neither had a secured schoolroom and both were apparently financed by payments from the parents. The Sunday school, held in part of the church, continued, supported by subscriptions.⁵³

By 1856 a National school had been opened⁵⁴ in a building at Wales End provided by the Waller family. Edmund Waller supported the school in 1870⁵⁵ and remained owner of the building in 1875 when, to meet government requirements, it was enlarged to provide accommodation for 60 children. In 1876, however, the average attendance was c. 35 children in a single class; it was then supported wholly by subscription,⁵⁶ presumably mainly from Waller and the rector. In 1885 the average attendance was 44⁵⁷ but by 1904, when the school was called Farmington C. of E. school, it was down to 25.⁵⁸ There was some revival to an average attendance of 34 by 1922, but by 1932 it had fallen to only 14.⁵⁹ The school was closed that year or soon afterwards.⁶⁰

³⁹ Plate 37.

⁴⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 286.

⁴¹ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 376.

⁴² P.R.O., PROB 11/16 (P.C.C. 21 Bennett), f. 158 and v.; Hockaday Abs. xxviii, 1540 visit. ff. 15, 56.

⁴³ Glos. R.O., P 143/IN 1/2, baptism 25 Nov. 1784. The bowl of a medieval font, used as a part of the 19th-cent. drainage system, was unearthed in the churchyard in the 1990s: *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cxviii. 223.

⁴⁴ Inscr. on lectern.

⁴⁵ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 302–3.

⁴⁶ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 84–5.

⁴⁷ Glos. R.O., P 143/IN 1/1–6.

⁴⁸ Glos. R.O., P 143/IN 1/4.

⁴⁹ Hockaday Abs. cxcv.

⁵⁰ *Cong. Year Bk.* (1863), 96.

⁵¹ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 299.

⁵² *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 315.

⁵³ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846–7, Glos. 8–9.

⁵⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 286.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* (1870), 546.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* (1885), 457; P.R.O., ED 7/34/140.

⁵⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 457.

⁵⁸ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 184.

⁵⁹ *Bd. of Educ., List 21, 1922* (H.M.S.O.), 104; 1932, 115.

⁶⁰ Cf. Glos. R.O., S 143.

CHARITY FOR THE POOR. Edmund Waller (d. 1810), lord of the manor, left £5,000 stock to provide an income for life for his housekeeper Anna Joynes and then to benefit the poor of Beaconsfield (Bucks.), Upper Turkdean, and Farmington in bread, clothing, and blankets.⁶¹ The charity became active on Anna's death in 1835, by which time the costs of a suit brought

by her against Edmund's trustees had reduced the principal to £3,692 stock.⁶² In 1887 the principal was divided into three, with £1,231 assigned to each place, under separate trustees.⁶³ Farmington was receiving £36 a year as its share of the proceeds in 1889.⁶⁴ About 1970 the income, £29 a year, was being distributed in coal.⁶⁵

HAMPNETT

THE small rural parish of Hampnett lies west of the Foss way 16 km. south-east of Cheltenham and adjoining Northleach. The parish contained 1,431 a.⁶⁶ and, bounded on all sides by ancient roads and tracks, was the shape of a rhomboid with the Foss way on the east side running SE.-NW. in a virtually straight line across the valley of the river Leach.⁶⁷ In 1950 a small area on the Hampnett side of the Foss way, in the valley and containing the former Northleach prison and the other buildings to the west of Northleach town, was transferred to Northleach with Eastington to leave Hampnett with 1,424 a. (576 ha.).⁶⁸ The prison is included in the history of Northleach given below. Stowell was united with Hampnett for ecclesiastical purposes in the mid 17th century⁶⁹ but remained a separate civil parish.

Hampnett's landscape is dominated by the valley of the river Leach, which rises in the parish and flows eastwards towards Northleach. Above the valley the land ascends northwards and southwards to well over 200 m. and in the west it looks southwards across the valley of a tributary stream of the river Coln from a height of 230 m. The river Leach has its source in a number of springs thrown out by a wide band of fuller's earth. Lower down in the east, the valley bottom is on the underlying Inferior Oolite; elsewhere, the higher ground making up most of the parish is on the overlying Great Oolite.⁷⁰ Open fields and commons once covering much of the higher ground had been inclosed by the mid 18th century. In the early 19th century the village green, c. 13 a. in the centre of Hampnett, was known as the Common⁷¹ but its registration as common land in 1968 was

rescinded a few years later.⁷² Little ancient woodland has been recorded in Hampnett⁷³ and in 1842 woodland covering 31 a. included belts of trees alongside some roads crossing or touching the parish.⁷⁴ A small wood by the Northleach road south-east of the village was later enlarged to create Prison copse,⁷⁵ but in 1905 only 36 a. of the parish was woodland.⁷⁶ The area of woodland remained very small in 1999. During the Second World War land in the north-east of the parish towards the Foss way was used as an airfield.⁷⁷

Twenty-five tenants were recorded in Hampnett in 1086.⁷⁸ Ten inhabitants were assessed for the subsidy in 1327⁷⁹ and at least twenty-three for the poll tax in 1381.⁸⁰ The number of communicants in the parish was estimated at 30 in 1551⁸¹ and was given as 24 in 1603,⁸² while the number of households was put at 9 in 1563⁸³ and the number of families at 14 in 1650.⁸⁴ The total population was estimated at 60 c. 1710⁸⁵ and at 78 c. 1775,⁸⁶ and rose from 90 to 121 between 1801 and 1821. The census figures for the rest of the 19th century were much larger because they included the population of Northleach prison, and in 1851, when the figure was at its highest, 211,⁸⁷ the population outside the prison was 143.⁸⁸ Hampnett's population rose from 108 to 126 between 1901 and 1911, after which it fell for much of the 20th century, gradually to 103 in 1961 and more steeply to 44 in 1981. In 1991 it stood at 53.⁸⁹

Archaeological evidence of early settlement on the land above the Leach valley and near ancient routes bypassing Hampnett village has been reported since 1781.⁹⁰ The Foss way, crossing the valley south-east of the village, was a turn-

⁶¹ P.R.O., PROB 11/1514 (P.C.C. 447 Collingwood), ff. 366-368v.

⁶² *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/3/4.

⁶³ *Ibid.* D 3469/5/62.

⁶⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 771.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/62.

⁶⁶ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884); this account was written in 1999.

⁶⁷ *O.S. Maps 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. NW., SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁶⁸ *Census*, 1951.

⁶⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1655-6, 221, 311; Hockaday Abs. clvii; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 1.

⁷⁰ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁷¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 3; D 1388/SL 3/5; *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

⁷² *Reg. of Common Land* (*Glos. co. legal services dept.*), no. CL 113.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 3; D 1388/SL 3/5.

⁷⁴ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

⁷⁵ *O.S. Maps 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. NW., SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁷⁶ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

⁷⁷ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁷⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 168.

⁷⁹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327*, 12.

⁸⁰ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289, 313.

⁸¹ *E.H.R.* xix. 112.

⁸² *Eccl. Misc.* 95.

⁸³ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790*, f. 23v.

⁸⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁸⁵ *Atkyns, Glos.* 451.

⁸⁶ *Rudder, Glos.* 467.

⁸⁷ *Census*, 1801-1901.

⁸⁸ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁸⁹ *Census*, 1901-91.

⁹⁰ *Glouc. Jnl.* 15 Oct. 1781; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxix. 79-80, 115-16; cii. 230; cix. 238.

pike from 1755 until 1877⁹¹ and remained the most important south–north road in the area in 1999. An ancient salt way from Droitwich (Worcs.) to the river Thames at Lechlade, recorded in 1383 as salt street,⁹² ran south-eastwards across the west end of Hampnett, close to the site of several prehistoric barrows on Hampnett Downs,⁹³ and from Hangman's Stone on the southern boundary it continued in the same direction, marking the parish boundary, to the Foss way. A road leading east from Hangman's Stone, presumably a continuation of an ancient route marking the parish boundary west of the junction,⁹⁴ was in 1690 part of a road from Compton Abdale to Northleach town, descending in the east of Hampnett to a junction with the Foss way south-east of the entrance to the town.⁹⁵

Much of an ancient route along Hampnett's northern boundary, beginning in the north-west corner at the place called Fleetgo (*flytgor*) in 1383,⁹⁶ was once used as a Gloucester–Oxford road. Known in 1683 as London way,⁹⁷ that road turned south-eastwards across the north-east corner of the parish and the Foss way on a route running north of Northleach town.⁹⁸ For some years from 1751 a new turnpike trust responsible for the Cotswold section of the Gloucester–Oxford road looked after the London way⁹⁹ but, although in the late 18th century there was a turnpike gate on it at the crossroads formed with the Hampnett–Turkdean road,¹ in 1764 it was described as an old highway.² In 1999 the part along the parish boundary survived as a green lane, marked by a belt of trees, while the stretch across the north-east corner was no longer visible. The main Gloucester–Oxford turnpike as established in 1751 followed the more southerly route along the salt way to Hangman's Stone and the road from Hangman's Stone to Northleach.³ That route, which was diverted c. 1825 to descend more steeply to the Foss way directly opposite the entrance to the town,⁴ was a turnpike until 1870⁵ and remained the main Gloucester–Oxford road until 1984, when a new Northleach bypass crossing the north of Hampnett was opened.⁶

Hampnett village stands near the middle of the parish at the centre of several local routes,

mostly footpaths. Among the last is a way south to Stowell recorded in 1383.⁷ The village shelters high on the north side of the Leach valley in a short tributary valley formed by one of the river's principal sources. The stream rises on a green, through which it descends sharply to the south, and the village comprises scattered groups of houses on or near the green with the 12th-century church a little way to the south-east amid former farm buildings overlooking the main valley. Earthworks indicate that the green was once the site of a larger and more coherent settlement and that several buildings and closes were abandoned there at an early date.⁸ Although in the 19th century many houses and cottages were rebuilt and some new ones were built, the village has remained small.

One group of houses stands at the north end of the green, close to an abandoned well and a stone thought to be the base of an ancient cross.⁹ The Crooked House, north-east of the well, displays a metal plaque dated 1799¹⁰ and comprises a later 17th-century house of two rooms and attics and, set at a right angle, a later range that was once a separate cottage.¹¹ Many of the house's features date from the mid 20th century and a garage added to the later range in the 1930s was incorporated in the house and a room built over it in the late 20th century.¹² To the north is another 17th- or 18th-century cottage and, beyond it, a plain three-bayed, two-storeyed farmhouse with a south front and end stacks has a datestone of 1799.¹³ In the mid 19th century several cottages were built facing south over the green. Two dating probably from the 1860s were designed as a single composition in gabled Cotswold style. A plainer row of three (in 1999 Ballingers House) overlooks the green from the site, west of the Turkdean road,¹⁴ of a small farmhouse that had belonged much earlier to Millard's farm;¹⁵ there are some farm outbuildings immediately to the north.

To the south a close forming an island in the green contains a cottage and a later schoolroom built in the 1860s. Lower down to the south, a pair of cottages (in 1999 a single dwelling) was built in the mid 19th century on the edge of the green¹⁶ at the site of a house and farmstead that had been part of Ballinger's farm.¹⁷ Immediately

⁹¹ *Glos. and Warws. Road Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/T 2.

⁹³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxix, 79–80, 115–16.

⁹⁴ *O.S. Maps 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. NW.*, SW. (1883 edn.).

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/12; D 363/P 3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* D 936a/T 2; cf. *ibid.* D 1388/SL 3/5; *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

⁹⁷ *G.D.R.*, V 5/145t 4.

⁹⁸ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 3.

⁹⁹ Cf. *Glos. and Oxon. Roads Act*, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1433.

¹ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 147.

² Below, Hazleton, intro.

³ *Glos. and Oxon. Roads Act*, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 3.

⁴ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824); *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/23; cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

⁵ *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

⁶ Below, Northleach, intro.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/T 2.

⁸ The earthworks were observed with Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ. Cf. M. Aston and L. Viner, 'Deserted Villages in Glos.', *Arch. in Glos.* (Chelt. Art Gallery and Mus. and B.G.A.S. 1984), 291–2.

⁹ *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. NW.* (1883 edn.).

¹⁰ The plaque also displays the initials 'STE', presumably in part for Steph. Taylor; below, n. 13.

¹¹ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91; *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/2/1, no. 119.

¹² Inf. from Mrs. Cowper, of the Crooked Ho.

¹³ The initials 'STE' on the datestone presumably include a reference to Steph. Taylor, the owner of the ho. in the early 19th cent.: *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 3.

¹⁴ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91; *O.S. Map 1/2,500*, *Glos. XXXVI. 6* (1884 edn.); cf. *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 275.

¹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 3/5; D 363/P 3; for Millard's farm, *ibid.* D 1878, Stowell and Hampnett deeds 1766–9.

¹⁶ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91; *O.S. Map 1/2,500*, *Glos. XXXVI. 6* (1884 edn.).

¹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 3/5; D 363/P 3; for Ballinger's farm, *ibid.* D 1878, Stowell and Hampnett deeds 1766–9.

below to the south, two separate mid 17th-century cottages, each of two gabled bays facing the stream,¹⁸ were linked by an additional two bays in the early 19th century, and three plainer cottages were added lower down to the south at or about the same time to form a terrace of six dwellings¹⁹ known later as Paradise Row. The rectory house, situated south of the lane leading down to Paradise Row from the church, was rebuilt in the early 1870s to the south-west, on the opposite side of the little valley,²⁰ where it was known as Hampnett House in 1999. In the later 20th century a new house was built at the north end of the village but the number of individual dwellings around the green fell as groups of adjoining cottages, including the three at the north end of Paradise Row, were each combined as single houses. The creation of larger houses continued in the later 1990s, when the Crooked House was enlarged and two mid 19th-century cottages by the Turkdean road at the north end of the village were remodelled.²¹

Of the buildings near the church, the Old Manor House, west of the churchyard, possibly incorporates a late-medieval hall. It became a farmhouse and as such was superseded by Hampnett Manor,²² which was built to the north in 1879.²³ A pair of cottages to the north-west, overlooking the green, is of a similar date to Hampnett Manor.²⁴ In the late 1980s and early 1990s Hampnett Manor became a private house and most of the farm buildings near the churchyard, including the former farmhouse and, to the south, stables and an 18th-century barn of eight bays, were converted as houses. A new farmhouse was provided east of the churchyard by remodelling sheds which had retained a thatched roof well into the 20th century.²⁵

In the later 18th century there may have been several cottages at the crossroads on the parish boundary north of the village.²⁶ In the mid 19th century, probably in the 1860s, two pairs of cottages were built outside the village on the Hope family's estate, one at Oldhill barn to the south and the other at Furzenhill barn to the west;²⁷ both were in the same style as the contemporary pair of gabled cottages overlooking the village green. Beginning in the 1920s several houses and bungalows were built on the Hampnett side of the Foss way to the west of Northleach town.²⁸

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. The manor of *HAMPNETT* had its origins in an estate of 10 *cassati* that Eldred, archbishop of York, settled on the monastery at Worcester possibly in 1061 after buying the estate from Earl Godwin, Edward the Confessor's minister.²⁹ Roger d'Ivry, who is said to have seized the estate during Bishop Wulfstan's absence from Worcester in the early 1070s,³⁰ held Hampnett in 1086 when Archbishop Eldred was said to have held two of its ten hides free of geld by the gift of Edward the Confessor.³¹ The manor was, like Roger's Tetbury manor, acquired later by the St. Valery family.³² Bernard of St. Valery, who owned both manors in 1176,³³ died c. 1191. His son Thomas forfeited his estates before 1197 and Hampnett and Tetbury manors were granted to William de Breuse, husband of Maud of St. Valery, before 1200.³⁴ William's estates were confiscated in 1208 after his quarrel with King John³⁵ and all or part of Hampnett manor was held c. 1212 by Ilbert of Hereford, presumably by royal grant.³⁶ Later, William de Breuse having died in 1211, the manor was included in various grants to his heirs and claimants to his lands. The Crown granted it together with Tetbury manor in 1213 to William's son Giles de Breuse, bishop of Hereford,³⁷ and in 1215 to Hugh de Mortimer, who had married William's daughter Eleanor.³⁸ Reynold de Breuse, another of William's sons, had seisin of his father's lands in 1216³⁹ and defended estates in Hampnett and Tetbury against a claim for dower by Maud de Clare in 1219.⁴⁰

Hampnett manor, evidently assessed as a knight's fee,⁴¹ was broken up in the 13th century. Reynold de Breuse (d. 1227 or 1228) apparently included part of it and Tetbury manor in his grant of the honor of Bramber to his nephew John de Breuse (d. 1232) in 1226⁴² but he evidently retained land in Hampnett, for descendants of two of his granddaughters, Maud Mortimer and Eleanor de Bohun, had estates there.⁴³ In 1263 John's son and heir William de Breuse was the overlord of an estate in Hampnett held together with the advowson of the church there by Lawrence of Brook⁴⁴ and after William's death in 1290 the overlordship of the knight's fee in Hampnett descended with his Tetbury manor.⁴⁵

¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.* D 363/P 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* D 4858/2/2/1, no. 119; G.D.R., T 1/91; below, Plate 23.

²⁰ Below, church; G.D.R., T 1/91; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 6 (1884 edn.).

²¹ Inf. from Mr. Green.

²² Below, manor.

²³ Date on ho.

²⁴ G.D.R., T 1/91; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 6 (1884 edn.).

²⁵ Inf. from Mr. Green and from Mrs. E. Jenkins, of Hampnett; cf. below, Plate 16; Glos. R.O., SL 702.

²⁶ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

²⁷ G.D.R., T 1/91; P.R.O., RG 10/2651; for Furzenhill barn, below, Plate 22.

²⁸ Glos. R.O., DA 31/516/1/2, p. 27; 2/2, p. 23; O.S. Map 6", SP 11 SW. (1955 edn.).

²⁹ *Cod. Dipl.* ed. Kemble, iv, pp. 172-3; Dugdale, *Mon.* i, p. 609.

³⁰ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 76-7.

³¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 168.

³² For Tetbury man. and the St. Valery fam., *V.C.H. Glos.* xi, 264.

³³ *Pipe R.* 1176 (P.R.S. xxv), 125.

³⁴ Cf. *Rot. Cur. Reg.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 177.

³⁵ For Wm. and his heirs, *Complete Peerage*, i, 22; Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 108.

³⁶ *Bk. of Fees*, i, 151.

³⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 140.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 200; *Rot. Litt. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 137; *Complete Peerage*, ix, 275.

³⁹ *Complete Peerage*, i, 22.

⁴⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 405.

⁴¹ Cf. *Feud. Aids*, ii, 239, 246, 279.

⁴² Cf. *Cur. Reg. R.* xii, 533.

⁴³ Below, this section.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., CP 25/1/74/27, no. 604.

⁴⁵ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 246; P.R.O., C 142/306, no. 150; *V.C.H. Glos.* xi, 264.

In 1263 Lawrence of Brook at William de Breuse's request granted his estate, described as a ploughland and known later as the manor of Hampnett, to Reynold of Thornhill (or Cornhill) for life. Reynold gave it to Llanthony priory and, although both Reynold and the priory quitclaimed it to Lawrence in 1266,⁴⁶ the prior of Llanthony was among the lords of Hampnett named in 1316.⁴⁷ Lawrence's manor passed to Hugh of Brook before 1278⁴⁸ and, as a share of the knight's fee in Hampnett, it evidently belonged in 1285 to Henry of Pinkney and in 1303 to John of Moreton.⁴⁹ The same or another John of Moreton was later patron of the church⁵⁰ and among the lords of Hampnett.⁵¹ In 1317 he settled the reversion of three quarters of the manor and the advowson on his son John of Moreton,⁵² to whom he also granted his lands in Moreton Pinkney (Northants.).⁵³ John of Moreton was the lord of Hampnett in 1322⁵⁴ and perhaps in 1346,⁵⁵ but Edmund of Pinkney was granted free warren on demesne land in Hampnett in 1330.⁵⁶ The manor later passed, probably by 1361, to Roger of Moreton (fl. 1386), also known as Roger Surrey.⁵⁷ Roger was dead by 1391⁵⁸ and Andrew Moreton, described in 1395 as lord of Hampnett,⁵⁹ conveyed the manor in 1396 to James Clifford,⁶⁰ whose right to it was acknowledged by Thomas of Wyford and his wife Eleanor.⁶¹ James, to whom Roger's widow Denise surrendered her dower in Hampnett in return for an annuity,⁶² was dead by 1424 and the manor passed, probably with his estate in Frampton on Severn, to Henry Clifford (d. 1452).⁶³

By 1470 Hampnett manor belonged, with Stowell manor, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Clifford, and her second husband Thomas Limerick (d. 1486).⁶⁴ It passed to Limerick's daughter Agnes, wife successively of William Tame and Sir Robert Harcourt⁶⁵ (d. by 1504),⁶⁶ lord of Stanton Harcourt (Oxon.). Sir Robert's heir Richard Harcourt⁶⁷ also married Agnes and in 1508 feoffees settled the reversion

of Hampnett on her heirs. Agnes died before Richard (d. 1513),⁶⁸ and her son Thomas Tame⁶⁹ owned Hampnett together with Stowell in 1522.⁷⁰ Although John Carpenter and his wife Millicent held Hampnett manor in 1529, when John Hall quitclaimed his reversionary right on Millicent's death to James Bure and his wife Elizabeth,⁷¹ Thomas Tame evidently held it at his death c. 1545 and Edmund Horne, who married Thomas's daughter Elizabeth,⁷² sold it in 1550 to Anthony Bustard of Adderbury (Oxon.).⁷³ In 1587, the year of Anthony's death, his son William⁷⁴ quitclaimed the manor to Robert Atkinson,⁷⁵ re-uniting it with Stowell. Robert (d. 1607) was succeeded by his son Henry⁷⁶ and Henry (fl. 1627)⁷⁷ evidently by his brother John,⁷⁸ who in 1631 quitclaimed Hampnett to his grand-nephew William Wentworth.⁷⁹ John Atkinson, however, apparently remained the owner in 1655, when he was patron of the church,⁸⁰ and, having been knighted, he died in 1662.⁸¹ Wentworth, earl of Strafford from 1641,⁸² was dealing with Hampnett manor in 1667⁸³ and sold it in 1689 to John Grubham Howe.⁸⁴ It then descended with Stowell manor to the trustees of the 4th Lord Chedworth (d. 1804).⁸⁵

In or about 1812 Thomas Hope bought the Hampnett land, apart from the area (c. 140 a.) in the west beyond the salt way which the trustees included with the manorial rights in the sale of Stowell to Sir William Scott in 1812.⁸⁶ Thomas Hope, of Deepdene, in Dorking (Surr.), a connoisseur and patron of the fine arts, was succeeded at his death in 1831 by his son Henry Thomas Hope. Henry, who shared his father's artistic interests⁸⁷ and was elected M.P. for Gloucester several times,⁸⁸ owned 1,173 a. in Hampnett in 1842⁸⁹ and was later described as lord of the manor. After his death in 1862 the estate passed, as did the Deepdene estate, in turn to his widow Anne Adele (d. 1887) and his grandson Lord Henry Francis Hope Pelham-Clinton. The latter, who took the additional

⁴⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/1/74/27, nos. 604 and 609.

⁴⁷ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 271.

⁴⁸ *Cat. Anct. D.* iii, D 183.

⁴⁹ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 239, 246.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Gainsborough*, 143.

⁵¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 271.

⁵² P.R.O., CP 25/1/76/49, no. 193.

⁵³ *Ibid.* E 210/6368.

⁵⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii, p. 360.

⁵⁵ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 279.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 191.

⁵⁷ *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 51; P.R.O., E 210/8268; E 210/4503.

⁵⁸ *Cat. Anct. D.* iii, D 435.

⁵⁹ *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 355.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., CP 25/1/79/83, no. 40.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* CP 25/1/79/83, no. 132.

⁶² *Ibid.* E 210/4503.

⁶³ *V.C.H. Glos.* x, 145, 160; cf. *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Peverell*, f. 18v.; *Reg. Polton*, f. 57.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., CP 25/1/79/93, no. 23; below, Stowell, manor.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., C 1/206, no. 80.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1500-9, pp. 135-6.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.* xii, 275.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., CP 25/1/79/97, no. 75; *Harcourt Papers*, ed. E. W. Harcourt, i, 76.

⁶⁹ P.R.O., C 1/206, no. 80.

⁷⁰ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 120; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*,

Reg. Ghinucci, f. 17v.

⁷¹ P.R.O., CP 25/2/14/81/21 Hen. VIII Trin. no. 1.

⁷² *Ibid.* CP 25/2/52/377/34 Hen. VIII Mich. no. 43; *Hockaday Abs.* ccclvii, Stowell.

⁷³ P.R.O., C 142/100, no. 46.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* PROB 11/76 (P.C.C. 48 Drury), ff. 3v.-6.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* CP 25/2/144/1870/29 & 30 Eliz. I Mich. no. 29.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* C 142/306, no. 150.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* CP 25/2/420/3 Chas. I Mich. no. 46.

⁷⁸ *Visit. Glos.* 1623, 5.

⁷⁹ P.R.O., CP 25/2/421/7 Chas. I Mich. no. 10; *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 324-7.

⁸⁰ *Hockaday Abs.* ccclvii, Stowell.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/IN 1/1.

⁸² *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 327.

⁸³ P.R.O., CP 25/2/657/19 Chas. II Mich. no. 36.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* CP 25/2/831/1 Wm. & Mary Trin. no. 1.

⁸⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deeds 1776-1846, abs. of title of Wm. Dyer; *Rudder, Glos.* 467; *Rudge, Hist. of Glos.* i, 277; below, Stowell, manor.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/REL 1, Bradley hund., 1812-14; D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1814.

⁸⁷ For the Hopes, D. Watkin, *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea* (1968); *D.N.B.* s.v. Hope, Thomas.

⁸⁸ Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Glos.* 215-17; *V.C.H. Glos.* iv, 206.

⁸⁹ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

surname Hope on his inheritance and was sometimes known as Lord Francis Hope (before his succession as duke of Newcastle in 1928),⁹⁰ sold his Gloucestershire estates in 1911 to the Cavendish Land Co. Later in 1911 the company sold the Hampnett estate, comprising nearly all the ancient parish and the putative lordship of the manor, to John Aubrey Handy, the tenant farmer.⁹¹ Handy died in 1928⁹² and his executors sold the estate in the mid 1930s. Part, over 600 a. with Hampnett Manor, was sold in 1934 to the owner of the Notgrove estate, Sir Alan Garrett Anderson,⁹³ and a few years after his death in 1952 his son (Sir) Donald Anderson⁹⁴ sold the Hampnett land to John MacArthur, his farm manager there.⁹⁵ In 1958 MacArthur sold the land to Stephen and Elisabeth Jenkins and in 1987 they sold their estate of 637 a. to Mr. John Oldacre, in whose name a trust retained the land in 1999.⁹⁶

Hampnett Manor was built in 1879⁹⁷ as a farm bailiff's house⁹⁸ to replace a farmhouse to the south. The older house, known in 1999 as the Old Manor House, stands next to the parish church and is a two-storeyed, L-plan house of squared limestone with a stone-slate roof. The oldest part is the five-bayed west range with blocked mullioned windows on the west front. The southern three bays of the range have a roof on raised cruck trusses, with arched braces, cranked collars, and windbraces, and are possibly a hall that formed part of Roger of Moreton's residence at Hampnett in the 1380s.⁹⁹ The hall was probably floored in the 17th century, when the north end of the range was rebuilt, and the range was extended northwards in the 18th century; quoins are inscribed 1686 and 1777. By that time the house was a farmhouse.¹ The east wing was built in the 19th century. After the 1870s the house was used as a store and laundry² and later as the garage block of Hampnett Manor.³ It was restored in 1988.⁴

The land sold with the manorial rights to Sir William Scott in 1812⁵ descended with the Stowell Park estate, whose owner, the Hon. Samuel Vestey,⁶ acquired over 500 a. more in Hampnett at the sale of J. A. Handy's land in the mid 1930s.⁷ The Stowell Park estate

remained the owner of a large part of Hampnett in 1999.

In 1285 John de Muntrith and Reynold de Grandigall were assessed with Henry of Pinkney for the knight's fee in Hampnett.⁸ John continued to be assessed for a share of the fee until 1346.⁹ Reynold's share belonged in 1303 to Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford,¹⁰ whose part presumably derived from his grandmother Eleanor, first wife of Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1265) and daughter of William de Breuse (d. 1230), son of Reynold. Eleanor's son Humphrey de Bohun, who succeeded to the earldom of Hereford in 1275, died in 1298 and his successors as earls¹¹ evidently retained an estate in Hampnett in the mid 14th century.¹²

Land in Hampnett passed to Maud, another daughter of William de Breuse (d. 1230). She married Roger Mortimer of Wigmore in 1247¹³ and he died holding a yardland in Hampnett in her right in 1282. After Maud's death in 1301 her land passed with Charlton manor in Tetbury to her son Edmund¹⁴ and grandson Roger Mortimer, earl of March. Roger was executed in 1330 and his title and estates were forfeited and later restored to his grandson Roger Mortimer (d. 1360).¹⁵ The Hampnett land continued to descend with Charlton manor, which passed into Crown hands on the accession of Edward IV,¹⁶ and it was included in the grant of Charlton to Drew Drury and Edmund Downing in 1574.¹⁷ Its later descent has not been traced.

In the later 13th century John Clerebaud and, in 1287, Adam Clerebaud both acquired land in Hampnett¹⁸ and in the early 14th century Henry Clerebaud, Hampnett's wealthiest resident according to a tax assessment of 1327,¹⁹ had several tenants in the parish. All or some of the land may have passed by 1372 to Robert of the hazel and his wife Alice (both fl. 1383)²⁰ and later to Gloucester abbey, which in 1527 granted a reversionary lease of a holding in Hampnett to William Walter. The holding, which the abbey administered as part of Northleach Foreign manor,²¹ was retained with the manor by the Crown after the Dissolution and has not been traced after 1582.²²

⁹⁰ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), i. 1150; Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 1793; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/2, church rates; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–89 edns.).

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/84; D 5658/7.

⁹² Mon. in Hampnett churchyard.

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/2/1, no. 119; DA 31/516/2/2, pp. 21–2; deed 19 Sept. 1934, in possession of Mr. and Mrs. A. Channing, of the Old Manor Ho., Hampnett.

⁹⁴ Below, Notgrove, manor.

⁹⁵ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁹⁶ Inf. from Mrs. E. Jenkins, of Hampnett; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, SL 702.

⁹⁷ Date on ho.

⁹⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879), 677; cf. *Surr. Hist. Centre*, Woking, 2971/1/32, no. 7.

⁹⁹ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289; *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 51.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Stowell and Hampnett deeds 1766–9; D 1388/SL 3/5; D 363/P 3.

² *Ibid.* D 5658/7.

³ Inf. from Mr. Green.

⁴ Inf. from the owners, Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Channing.

⁵ Above, this section.

⁶ G.D.R., T 1/91; *Glos. R.O.*, D 5658/14; below, Stowell, manor.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/2/1, no. 119; DA 31/516/1/2, pp. 26–7; 2/2, pp. 21–2.

⁸ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239.

⁹ *Ibid.* 246, 279.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 246.

¹¹ *Complete Peerage*, i. 22; and for de Bohuns and earls, *ibid.* vi. 462–72.

¹² *Feud. Aids*, ii. 271, 279.

¹³ *Complete Peerage*, i. 22; and for the Mortimers, *ibid.* ix. 280–5.

¹⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 265; the Hampnett est. was described as ½ yardland in *ibid.* iv, p. 118; cf. *Cal. Close*, 1279–88, 200; *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 266.

¹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* x, p. 534.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* xv, p. 224; *Cal. Pat.* 1364–7, 37–8; *Cal. Close*, 1364–8, 422; 1396–9, 451; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 266.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1572–5, pp. 231–2.

¹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/T 2; P.R.O., CP 25/1/75/34, no. 111.

¹⁹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/T 2.

²¹ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, f. 274 and v.

²² Below, Northleach, manor; P.R.O., E 310/14/53, f. 53.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 Roger d'Ivry's estate in Hampnett was assessed at 10 hides and contained 8 ploughteams. Three teams belonged to the demesne and eight teams to the tenants, namely 10 *villani*, a priest, and a bordar; 11 *servi* were also recorded there. The estate, to which 10 burgages in Winchcombe belonged, had fallen in value from £8 in 1066 to £6.²³ In 1220 nine ploughteams were recorded in Hampnett.²⁴

Traces of ridge and furrow on the sides of the Leach valley in 1999 confirm that much of Hampnett was cultivated in open fields in the Middle Ages; the floor of the valley was possibly left as meadow land. In the later 14th century much of the parish was divided between a south field extending as far as the salt way and the Foss way and a west field extending as far as Fleetgo in the north-west corner.²⁵ The fields were cultivated on a two-field rotation of a crop and a fallow in the early 17th century and, although in 1683 they were described as south-west and north-west fields, they continued to cover much of the parish in the later 17th century. At that time at least nine tenants and the rector, whose glebe was mostly in strips of an acre or a ½ acre, had land and common rights there. Hampnett may have had a number of commons dispersed throughout the parish and including Hampnett Downs beyond the salt way. In the early 17th century a common near the rectory house at the south end of the village was called the Moors²⁶ and in the early 19th century, after inclosure, the village green was known as the Common.²⁷ In the late 17th century there was a several meadow called the Cowleaze on the north side of the Leach valley next to the Foss way.²⁸

In the 16th and 17th centuries, if the rector's glebe is typical, each yardland contained 16 a. of open-field land and carried with it common rights for 3 cows, 1 horse, and 40 sheep.²⁹ Of cereals and sheep, the bases of the Cotswold economy, the former were the more valuable in Hampnett in 1535, when the rector's corn tithes were worth far more than his wool and lamb tithes put together.³⁰ In 1683 the rector claimed a penny at shearing for each sheep that was brought into Hampnett to summer in its fields.³¹

Hampnett was inclosed, presumably by one of the Howes, before 1759 when the bulk of the parish, including former farms called Old (420

a.), Millard's (260 a.), and Ballinger's (200 a.), was occupied by William Lovesey.³² The consolidated farm continued to be occupied by the Lovesey family in 1801, when outlying land in the west, particularly the area beyond the salt way, was farmed from Stowell and one field was attached to a farm in Compton Abdale.³³ Most families in Hampnett depended on agriculture for employment and in 1831, when twenty-two inhabitants were agricultural labourers, two landholders living in the parish employed labour.³⁴ Thomas Wells (d. 1861),³⁵ who farmed most of Hampnett by 1830,³⁶ was the tenant of c. 1,200 a. comprising nearly all the Hope family's land and the rector's glebe³⁷ and in 1851 he employed 65 labourers.³⁸ Henry Bagnall (d. 1871)³⁹ took over the farm in the late 1860s⁴⁰ and his executors retained it until 1878.⁴¹ A farm bailiff hired for Anne Hope in 1878⁴² had overall charge of most of the parish until the mid 1890s.⁴³ In 1896 six agricultural occupiers, all but one of them tenants, were returned for the parish⁴⁴ and in 1899 John Aubrey Handy took over the principal farm, 1,172 a.,⁴⁵ which he continued to work until his death in 1928.⁴⁶ In 1926 one other farm, under 20 a., was returned and at least twenty-three Hampnett men found regular employment in agriculture.⁴⁷ The land beyond the salt way continued to be farmed mostly from Stowell in the 1840s⁴⁸ and was attached to one of the Yanworth farms on the Stowell Park estate in the 1920s.⁴⁹ The sale of J. A. Handy's estate in the mid 1930s led to a reorganization in farming in Hampnett with the Notgrove and Stowell Park estates each owning about half of the parish,⁵⁰ and in 1956 five farms, the largest with over 700 a., 500 a., and 300 a. and the smallest with over 30 a., were returned for Hampnett and provided regular work for thirty-four labourers.⁵¹ The land belonging to the Notgrove estate formed Hampnett Manor farm, which in 1939 was occupied by a tenant⁵² and a few years later was placed under a manager, John MacArthur. He bought the farm (637 a.) in the mid 1950s and it continued to be farmed by its owners until the later 1980s when it was again placed under a manager. The manager was given a tenancy before 1999.⁵³

After inclosure most of Hampnett was devoted to tillage⁵⁴ and, according to a return of 1801, the 428 a. growing arable crops that year comprised equal areas of wheat, barley, oats, and

²³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 168.

²⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 309.

²⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/T 2; for Fleetgo, above, intro.

²⁶ *G.D.R.*, V 5/1451 2, 4; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

²⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 3; *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/12; cf. *ibid.* D 363/P 3.

²⁹ *G.D.R.*, V 5/1451 1-2, 4.

³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

³¹ *G.D.R.*, V 5/1451 4.

³² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Stowell and Hampnett deeds 1766-9.

³³ *Ibid.* deeds 1711-1801, rental 1801; cf. *ibid.* D 1388/SL 3/5; D 363/P 3; *Glos. Colln.* RV 145.1.

³⁴ *Census*, 1811, 1831.

³⁵ Mon. in Hampnett churchyard.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/2.

³⁷ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

³⁸ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

³⁹ Mon. in Hampnett churchyard.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/2; *P.R.O.*, RG 10/2651.

⁴¹ *Cotswold Sheep*, ed. L. V. Gibbins (1995), 14.

⁴² *Surr. Hist. Centre*, Woking, 2971/1/32, no. 7.

⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879-97 edns.); *P.R.O.*, RG 11/2561; RG 12/2036.

⁴⁴ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/1609/2.

⁴⁵ *Surr. Hist. Centre*, 2971/1/1, p. 274.

⁴⁶ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 17 Nov. 1928.

⁴⁷ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴⁸ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91, 173; *Glos. Colln.* RV 145.2.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 5658/14. ⁵⁰ Above, manor.

⁵¹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/4533/197.

⁵² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 223; *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/2/2, p. 21.

⁵³ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach, and Mrs. E. Jenkins, of Hampnett.

⁵⁴ Rudder, *Glos.* 467.

turnips and a much smaller area of peas.⁵⁵ In the early 19th century, when less than a fifth of the land was permanent pasture,⁵⁶ it was reported that one of the two largest flocks of the old breed of Cotswold sheep was to be found in Hampnett⁵⁷ and in the early 1840s three villagers were shepherds.⁵⁸ In 1866 1,072 a. was returned as arable, 28 a. as fallow, and 108 a. as permanent grassland. Of the arable about a fifth grew root crops and a third clover or grass.⁵⁹ The animals returned in 1866 included 1,109 sheep, 114 cattle including 5 milk cows, and 37 pigs,⁶⁰ and a sale of the stock of the principal farm in 1878 included a flock of nearly 1,300 Cotswold sheep, 134 cattle, 86 pigs, and 12 cart-horses.⁶¹ In the later 19th century and the early 20th the area of pasture in Hampnett increased slightly and in 1926 340 a. was returned as permanent grassland and 874 a. as arable, including 362 a. under grass seeds. Fewer sheep were kept in the parish and the livestock returned in 1926 included 244 breeding ewes, 141 cattle, 49 pigs, 19 cart-horses, and 200 chickens.⁶² J. A. Handy was prominent among farmers sending fat sheep and cattle to market at Andoversford.⁶³ Later more land was used to grow cereals and in 1956, when 368 a. was described as permanent grassland and 57 a. as rough grazing, at least 750 a. grew corn and the livestock included 598 ewes, 818 beef and dairy cattle, 14 pigs, and 2,110 chickens.⁶⁴ In the later 20th century most of Hampnett Manor farm was given over to cereal cultivation and in 1986, when the farm had a flock of sheep and a small herd of suckler cows, it employed four tractor drivers, one of whom was also a stockman.⁶⁵ The farm retained 159 ewes and 69 suckler cows in 1999.⁶⁶

In 1327 one Hampnett resident was perhaps either a miller or a millwright.⁶⁷ A mill belonged to the manor in 1508,⁶⁸ its site is not known.

Stone has been quarried in Hampnett in several places until at least the early 20th century.⁶⁹ A large quarry was recorded in the west of the parish in 1383,⁷⁰ and a wooded area on the north side of the Leach valley west of the village was known as the Mine before 1900 and contained disused workings in 1999.⁷¹ Most of the stone was probably quarried for local use

and there were several disused limekilns in the parish in the late 19th century.⁷² The parishioners included one or more slaters in the early 18th century⁷³ and a mason in the mid 19th.⁷⁴

The Hampnett villagers probably relied on the nearby market town of Northleach for many services from an early date. None of the parishioners listed in 1608 followed a trade or craft⁷⁵ and only two or three families depended directly on a trade or craft for a living in the early 19th century.⁷⁶ Residents in 1841 included a builder and a shoemaker,⁷⁷ and the only craftsman recorded at Hampnett in 1881 was a carpenter and wheelwright.⁷⁸ A woman kept a shop in Paradise Row in the early 20th century.⁷⁹ In the 1920s a café and later a garage were opened on the Foss way near the west end of Northleach town just within Hampnett.⁸⁰ A later café, on the Oxford road at the entrance to the town, closed after the Northleach bypass opened in 1984.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The medieval lords of Hampnett had apparently secured the right to hold their own view of frankpledge by the early 15th century when the manor was not represented at the hundred view.⁸¹ No records for manorial government in Hampnett are known to survive. Hangman's Stone, recorded from 1759, possibly marked the site of gallows at the ancient crossroads midway along the parish's southern boundary.⁸²

Hampnett often had two churchwardens, as in 1498,⁸³ but by the later 16th century it sometimes had only one.⁸⁴ The earliest surviving churchwarden's accounts cover the years 1607–20. The wardens chosen in 1610 were elected sidesmen and waywardens at the same time.⁸⁵ For at least part of the 1740s there was no churchwarden⁸⁶ and it was reported *c.* 1775 that a woman had acted as parish clerk for many years.⁸⁷ The cost of poor relief in Hampnett was £16 in 1776 and £39 in 1785. In 1803, when 12 people were being assisted on a regular basis, it was £144⁸⁸ and ten years later, when fewer people were permanently on the parish, it was

⁵⁵ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 173.

⁵⁶ *Glos. Colln.* RV 145.1.

⁵⁷ Rudge, *Agric. of Glos.* 305.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/26/12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

⁶¹ *Cotswold Sheep*, ed. Gibbings, 14.

⁶² P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2; MAF 68/3295/17; cf. *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

⁶³ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 17 Nov. 1928.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/197.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, SL 702.

⁶⁶ *Inf.* from Mr. D. Fisher, of Hampnett.

⁶⁷ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., CP 25/1/79/97, no. 75.

⁶⁹ O.S. Maps 6", *Glos.* XXXVI. NW., SW. (1883–1923 edns.).

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/T 2.

⁷¹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXVI. NW. (1903 edn.); *inf.* from Mr. Fisher.

⁷² O.S. Maps 6", *Glos.* XXXVI. NW., SW. (1883 edn.).

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/IN 1/2.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁷⁵ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 269–70.

⁷⁶ *Census*, 1811, 1831.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1351/7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* RG 11/2561.

⁷⁹ *Inf.* from Mr. Green.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/1/2, p. 28; 2/2, p. 23; 3/2, p. 23.

⁸¹ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, pp. 620–1; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496–502.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Stowell and Hampnett deeds 1766–9, mortgage 1766; O.S. Maps 6", XXXVI. NW., SW. (1883 edn.).

⁸³ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 33; xliii, 1566 visit. f. 28; lxiv, 1642 visit. f. 20.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 108; G.D.R., V 5/145t 3; vols. 319–20.

⁸⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/1; IN 1/1, accts. at end; the early accts. are transcribed in *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 113–16.

⁸⁶ G.D.R. vols 381a, f. 82; 397, f. 82.

⁸⁷ Rudder, *Glos.* 467.

⁸⁸ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

sightly less. In the next few years the cost fell considerably, to £80 in 1815,⁸⁹ and in the late 1820s and the early 1830s it was often even less and exceeded £100 only in 1826.⁹⁰ Hampnett became part of the Northleach poor-law union in 1836⁹¹ and part of Northleach rural district in 1895.⁹² In 1974 it was included in the new Cotswold district.

CHURCH. A priest was among Roger d'Ivry's tenants in Hampnett in 1086.⁹³ The parish church was built in the later 12th century. The living was a rectory in 1305⁹⁴ and remained one. The advowson belonged to Lawrence of Brook in 1263⁹⁵ and descended with the manor.⁹⁶ In 1602 the Queen presented by reason of lapse of time, and in 1606 and 1619, at the next vacancies, the patronage was exercised respectively by Edward Cookes of Tardebigge (Worcs.) and Charles Holt, the latter by the grant of Henry Atkinson.⁹⁷ Holt was also patron for the turn at a vacancy in 1629 and the bishop collated to the living in 1636.⁹⁸

In 1656 Stowell rectory was united with Hampnett on the petition of John Atkinson, who was patron of both, to form a single benefice with Hampnett church as its principal place of worship.⁹⁹ The union was evidently confirmed soon after the Restoration¹ and Hampnett with Stowell was united with Northleach in 1929.² Yanworth became a chapelry of Hampnett in 1938,³ but in 1964 it and Stowell were detached from Hampnett.⁴ In 1974 Farmington was added to the united benefice of Northleach and Hampnett.⁵ The patronage of Hampnett with Stowell descended with Hampnett and Stowell manors, passing with them to Sir William Scott in 1812.⁶ It then descended with the Stowell Park estate to the 3rd earl of Eldon, who sold the estate in 1923⁷ but retained the patronage of the united benefice at his death in 1926.⁸ The advowson was later acquired by W. H. Madge, a Gloucester solicitor, and in 1929, the year of the union with Northleach, it was transferred

from him to the bishop, who had the patronage of Northleach.⁹ In 1938 the Lord Chancellor acquired the right to present at the second of every three turns¹⁰ but in 1964 and 1974 the patronage of the united benefice was vested in the bishop alone.¹¹

In 1291, when the rectory of Hampnett was not valued, evidently because it was too poor, Oseney abbey had a portion worth £1 in the church.¹² The abbey ceased to receive its portion, part of the rector's tithes, before 1535,¹³ when tithes provided nearly all the rector's income of £9 8s. 6d.¹⁴ The rector owned all the Hampnett tithes¹⁵ and they were commuted from 1841 for a rent charge of £328.¹⁶ The rector's glebe comprised 4 yardlands (64 a.), 2 in each of Hampnett's two fields, together with pasture rights and some meadow land in 1535¹⁷ and it covered just over 50 a. in 1842.¹⁸ It was sold after the union of benefices in 1929, most of it in 1934.¹⁹ Hampnett rectory was worth £8 18s. 9d. clear in 1535²⁰ and £54 in 1650.²¹ The united benefice of Hampnett with Stowell, worth perhaps £90 in the later 1730s,²² was valued at £100 in 1750²³ and £458 in 1856.²⁴

The Hampnett rectory house, recorded from the late 16th century,²⁵ contained 8 bays and had several substantial outbuildings, including a barn and stabling, in 1683.²⁶ The house, for which the rector was assessed on 4 hearths in 1672,²⁷ stood on the lane west of the church, and the outbuildings west of the house.²⁸ In the early 19th century the house was deemed unfit for a clergyman's residence but it was frequently occupied by a curate until, on becoming rector in 1871, William Wiggin rebuilt it for his own use on a new site, on the far side of the little valley to the south-west, and converted the barn and stables belonging to the old house to include a coach house and, on an upper floor, a small dwelling.²⁹ The new rectory house, completed in 1873 to plans by A. W. Maberly, was very large and tall with views across and down the Leach valley.³⁰ After the union of benefices in 1929 it was sold³¹ and the rector lived in Northleach.³²

⁸⁹ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1818, 146-7.

⁹⁰ *Poor Law Returns* (1830-1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁹¹ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/300/2.

⁹³ *Dom. Bk. (Rec. Com.)*, i. 168.

⁹⁴ *Reg. Glosborough*, 143.

⁹⁵ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/74/27, no. 604.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* CP 25/1/76/49, no. 193; CP 25/1/79/83, no. 140; CP 25/1/79/93, no. 23; C 142/100, no. 46; above, manor.

⁹⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix.

⁹⁸ *P.R.O.*, E 331/GLOUC/13, no. 3; E 331/GLOUC/14, no. 6.

⁹⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1655-6, 221, 311; *Hockaday Abs.* celvii, Stowell.

¹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 450; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 1.

² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 216; *Lond. Gaz.* 7 Dec. 1926, pp. 7993-5.

³ *Lond. Gaz.* 31 Oct. 1930, pp. 6730-2; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1938-9), 54-5.

⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 404/IN 3/1; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1973), 56.

⁵ *G.D.R.*, V 7/1/66.

⁶ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix; above, manor.

⁷ Below, Stowell, manor.

⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856-1927 edns.); Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 836.

⁹ *Lond. Gaz.* 23 Aug. 1929, pp. 5483-4; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1928-9), 48-9.

¹⁰ *Lond. Gaz.* 31 Oct. 1930, pp. 6730-2; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1938-9), 54-5.

¹¹ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1973), 56; *G.D.R.*, V 7/1/66.

¹² *Tax. Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, 222.

¹³ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, ii. 223.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 448.

¹⁵ *G.D.R.*, V 5/145t 2, 4-6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* T 1/91.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, ii. 448; *G.D.R.*, V 5/145t 2, 4.

¹⁸ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

¹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/84; D 4858/2/2/1, no. 119.

²⁰ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, ii. 448.

²¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

²² *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(3), pp. 55-6.

²³ *Ibid.* vol. 381a, f. 82.

²⁴ *Ibid.* vol. 384, f. 107.

²⁵ *Ibid.* V 5/145t 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 4.

²⁷ *P.R.O.*, E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

²⁸ *G.D.R.*, T 1/91.

²⁹ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1381/80.

³⁰ *G.D.R.*, F 4/1; V 9/4.

³¹ *Cf. Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/4232.

³² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1935), 217.

The earliest known rector of Hampnett, Richard of Moreton (d. by 1305), was possibly related to the lord of the manor.³³ In 1395 the rector, Thomas Bristowe, was licensed to be absent for a year.³⁴ In 1410 Ingram Woderone exchanged the rectory of Stowell for that of Hampnett³⁵ and in 1429, having resigned the living, he was awarded a pension from it as his sole means of support.³⁶ In 1498 a chaplain served in the church.³⁷ Hugh Bennet, rector by 1532,³⁸ could not recite the Ten Commandments in 1551.³⁹ Edward ap David, his successor in 1559,⁴⁰ was resident in 1563⁴¹ and later also had the living of Blunsdon (Wilts.).⁴² John Bicknell, his successor at Hampnett in 1577,⁴³ was neither a graduate nor a preacher and had no other benefice in 1584.⁴⁴ In 1591 Hampnett was united with Stowell for the remainder of the incumbency at Stowell of Edmund Bracegirdle, who was also vicar of Chedworth, and in 1602 Bracegirdle was succeeded at both Hampnett and Stowell by Brian Atkinson,⁴⁵ who in 1603 was also rector of Poole Keynes.⁴⁶ Hampnett and Stowell were again held separately from 1606. Robert Knollys, rector of Hampnett from 1619, was the rector of Wick Rissington; although he had resigned Hampnett by 1629,⁴⁷ it was among the livings in which much later he was alleged to have committed abuses.⁴⁸

From 1629 to 1771 the rectory was held by four successive members of the Hughes family. Thomas Hughes, rector from 1636 and at the union with Stowell in 1656, was also rector of Coln St. Dennis from 1661. In 1675 he was succeeded at Hampnett with Stowell by his son Thomas, at whose death in 1733 his widow Frideswide, as patron for the turn, presented his son Simon (d. 1771).⁴⁹ In the 1720s and 1730s other members of the family served Hampnett with Stowell as curates⁵⁰ and in the 1740s Hampnett church had two Sunday services and Stowell one.⁵¹ From 1771 to 1871 the rectors, including Edward Andrew Daubeney (1818–71), were non-resident, serving churches elsewhere and employing curates at Hampnett with Stowell. The curates lived in or near Hampnett⁵² and in the mid 1820s Hampnett and Stowell each had one Sunday service, alternately in the morning and afternoon.⁵³ John Tordiffe, curate from 1829, was also chaplain of Northleach prison from 1832,⁵⁴ and Richard Rice, curate 1849–66, taught at Northleach grammar school.⁵⁵ William Wiggins, formerly rector of Oddington, was

rector of Hampnett with Stowell from 1871⁵⁶ to 1895 and served in person, taking up residence in Hampnett in 1873.⁵⁷

Hampnett church has a dedication to *ST. GEORGE*, recorded from 1743,⁵⁸ but it once had one to St. Matthew, recorded in 1735 and later.⁵⁹ Built in the later 12th century, it comprises a chancel, a nave with a south porch, and a west tower. The 12th-century chancel is of two bays. The east bay or sanctuary has a rib vault supported on trumpet capitals with stiff-leaf decoration, and the sanctuary arch is of two unchamfered orders, the inner on paired, and the outer on single, keeled shafts with similar trumpet capitals and with waterholding bases. The chancel's shorter west bay has a flat, timber ceiling and originally was probably the base of a low, central tower. The chancel arch, which would have supported such a tower, is simpler than the sanctuary arch; it has a large, plain inner order, an outer order of a roll on heavy detached shafts with carved capitals displaying pairs of birds (one pair drinking from a bowl neck to neck, the other standing back to back), and a dogtooth hoodmould. The chancel east and north-west windows are small and round-headed. The nave, which is of a similar or slightly earlier date, has a north doorway with a diapered tympanum and a small round-headed window high in its north wall.

In the late 14th or early 15th century the chancel south-west window was replaced by a tall, cusped lancet and, probably at the same time, the upper part of a central tower may have been removed and the three-stage west tower was added. The west tower has a high arch of two chamfered orders on polygonal capitals and shafts resting on high chamfered stops. The church was renovated more extensively in the late 15th or early 16th century, when the nave south wall was rebuilt to make the nave wider and the porch was added. The south doorway has a four-centred arch with multiple continuous rolls and hollows surmounted by a hoodmould with whorl stops. The chancel north-east and south-east windows, which are of two cusped lights in square frames, have similar stops on their hoodmoulds. The nave south-east window has similar lights but has straight reticulation in the head and a plainer hoodmould. In the nave south wall are the steps and entrance to the former rood loft, for which, it was recorded in 1548, tapers were provided from funds derived from a flock of sheep.⁶⁰

³³ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 143; above, manor.

³⁴ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Winchcombe*, f. 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.* *Reg. Peverell*, f. 18v.

³⁶ *Ibid.* *Reg. Polton*, f. 57.

³⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* xxii, 1498 visit. f. 33.

³⁸ *Ibid.* xxv, 1532 subsidy, f. 13.

³⁹ *E.H.R.* xix, 112.

⁴⁰ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix.

⁴¹ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C.* 790, f. 23v.

⁴² *Hockaday Abs.* xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 108.

⁴³ *Ibid.* ccxxix.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 25.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ccxxix, ccclvii; *V.C.H. Glos.* vii, 173.

⁴⁶ *Ecl. Misc.* 95.

⁴⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix, ccclvii; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi, 119.

⁴⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1640, 326.

⁴⁹ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix, ccclvii; *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/IN

1/1–3; *V.C.H. Glos.* viii, 32.

⁵⁰ *Hockaday Abs.* ccclvii; *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/IN 1/2; *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(3), pp. 55–6.

⁵¹ *G.D.R.* vol. 397, f. 82.

⁵² *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix; *G.D.R.* vol. 385, p. 112.

⁵³ *G.D.R.* vol. 383, nos. lvi–lvii.

⁵⁴ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix.

⁵⁵ *G.D.R.* vol. 384, f. 107; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/184; *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁵⁶ *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*, iv, 1550.

⁵⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879–97 edns.).

⁵⁸ *G.D.R.* vol. 397, f. 82; 381a, f. 82; *Rudge, Hist. of Glos.* i, 277.

⁵⁹ *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(1), f. 33; *Rudder, Glos.* 467; *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. NW.* (1883 edn.).

⁶⁰ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxix.

In 1610 the churchwardens allocated three seats or pews 'in the higher or outmost room of the church' on a provisional basis pending a final decision on their ownership.⁶¹ The north doorway was closed and the church had a new roof in 1857.⁶² In 1868 the church was restored to designs by G. E. Street, the cost being met primarily by voluntary contributions, principally from the rector, E. A. Daubeney, and the main landowner, Anne Hope. During the restoration, which may have included the insertion of the second small, round-headed window in the nave north wall, the sanctuary arch and vault were rebuilt and the chancel roof was decorated. The decoration, by the London firm of Bell & Almond,⁶³ was painted in reds, blues, and greens on a light background and comprised four angels, one in each of the vault spandrels, and geometric and foliate patterns and stars. After becoming rector in 1871 William Wiggin transformed the appearance of the church interior by having the rest of it painted with simpler if similar patterns and with texts on the walls,⁶⁴ but after the First World War the parishioners whitewashed the nave walls apart from the chancel and tower arches and the window and door splay.⁶⁵ The encaustic tile floor in the chancel was presumably laid in 1868.

The octagonal font has quatrefoil decoration on its bowl and dates perhaps from the late 15th or the early 16th century.⁶⁶ The oldest parts of the south door are of a similar date. Among the fittings introduced in 1868 is the wooden tower screen, and a painting hanging on the nave north wall in 1999 may have come from a reredos erected in 1868. In 1874 the church organ was sold to Taynton parish and a new, larger instrument was installed under the tower; built by John Nicholson of Worcester, it incorporated parts of an organ that the Revd. William Wiggin had owned at Oddington.⁶⁷ The pulpit, built in 1959 as a memorial to the Rice Wiggin family,⁶⁸ displays a carved figure representing St. George and has at its rear early 17th-century wooden panels that had been incorporated in the Victorian pulpit it replaced.⁶⁹ The oldest monuments are the remains of two stones in the chancel, marking the graves of members of the Hughes family in the 1640s.⁷⁰ Several windows contain 19th-century stained glass, some of it fitted before 1868⁷¹ and including memorials to

Thomas Wells (d. 1861) and his wife and, in the chancel, to Edward Hugo Rice Wiggin (d. 1879). The church has three bells including a sanctus; the two larger bells were cast in 1832 at Gloucester by John Rudhall⁷² as replacements for two cracked bells.⁷³ The church also has a chalice and paten cover of 1576 and a pewter flagon dated 1677.⁷⁴ The churchyard contains the base and part of the octagonal shaft of a medieval cross.

The Hampnett registers survive from 1591 and include occasional entries for Stowell from the mid 17th century. From 1690 the number of marriages conducted at Hampnett by members of the Hughes family grew as non-parishioners from an area extending eventually well beyond the county resorted to the church for their weddings; between 1737 and 1754, when the practice ended, Simon Hughes married nearly 700 people in the church.⁷⁵

NONCONFORMITY. One nonconformist was recorded in Hampnett in 1676,⁷⁶ and a man presented in 1679 for not paying his church rate was one of several parishioners not receiving Holy Communion in 1682.⁷⁷ One parishioner was a Roman Catholic c. 1720⁷⁸ and a Roman Catholic family lived in the parish in 1825.⁷⁹ The Congregational church in Northleach supported a mission to Hampnett in 1858.⁸⁰

EDUCATION. A Sunday school recorded from 1818 was supported by the rector E. A. Daubeney,⁸¹ who paid its teacher six guineas a year. The school, which taught 30 children in 1833,⁸² also received a small income from subscriptions and in the mid 1840s it was held in a cottage in the winter and in the church for the rest of the year.⁸³ In 1833 an infants' school taught c. 8 children at their parents' expense⁸⁴ and in 1841 a schoolmistress had 9 pupils boarding with her. A schoolmaster resident in 1841⁸⁵ taught a day school until at least 1861 and presumably also conducted the Sunday school.⁸⁶ Later a dame taught a day school in a new schoolroom next to a cottage on the village green.⁸⁷ The school was described in 1870 as a parish school⁸⁸ and, having been reorganised as a National school for Hampnett and Stowell, it

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/IN 1/1, mem. at back, transcribed in *Glos. N. & Q.* iii. 116.

⁶² *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 100–1.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/2.

⁶⁴ *Northleach Par. Mag.* Apr. 1892: copy in *Glos. Colln.* 13617; for views of the decorated interior, below, Plate 35; D. Viner, *Northleach to Stow on the Wold in Old Photos.* (1987), 59; drawing of 1898 in *Royal Inst. Brit. Architects*, drawings U20/1926.

⁶⁵ Inf. in ch.; the walls evidently remained painted c. 1920: U. Daubeney, *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 105.

⁶⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlii. 74, 80.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/2.

⁶⁸ Plaque on pulpit.

⁶⁹ Daubeney, *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 105; *G.D.R.*, F 1/1/1958/1024.

⁷⁰ Cf. Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 2.

⁷¹ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 101.

⁷² *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 353–4; *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/CW 2/2.

⁷³ *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. lvi.

⁷⁴ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 112.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 159/IN 1/1–7; for marriages in the years 1737–54, *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 550–5, 579–83.

⁷⁶ *Compton Census*, ed. A. Whiteman, 541.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Q/SO 4.

⁷⁹ *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. lvi.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁸¹ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 300; for Daubeney, above, church.

⁸² *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 316.

⁸³ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846–7, *Glos.* 10–11.

⁸⁴ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 316.

⁸⁵ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* HO 107/1969; RG 9/1787.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* ED 7/37, Hampnett cum Stowell Nat. sch.; *G.D.R.*, T 1/91; according to *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 810, the schoolroom was built in 1867.

⁸⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 575.

reopened in 1872 under the management of the rector William Wiggin and others and was dependent on voluntary contributions and pence.⁸⁹ The average attendance, which rarely exceeded 30,⁹⁰ fell below 20 after 1910⁹¹ but was boosted between 1916 and 1919 by the temporary closure of Turkdean school.⁹² Hampnett school closed in 1921 and the children of Hampnett and Stowell were transferred to

Northleach school.⁹³ The Hampnett schoolroom was later occupied with the adjacent cottage, which for a time had served as the schoolhouse,⁹⁴ and was used as a stable before being converted in the late 20th century as an annexe to the cottage.⁹⁵

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. None known.

HAZLETON

HAZLETON (otherwise Haselton)⁹⁶ lies high on the Cotswolds 14 km. south-east of Cheltenham. The variant spellings reflect variations in the local pronunciation of the name.⁹⁷ The ancient parish, which included the chapelry of Yanworth,⁹⁸ comprised 2,829 a. in two parts. Hazleton, the larger part, occupied a compact but irregular area of 1,566 a. (634 ha.) centred on Hazleton village and bounded on the west, south-west, and south by ancient roads and on parts of the east by streams. Yanworth, 4 km. to the south and separated from the rest of the parish by land belonging to Compton Abdale and Hampnett, was a compact and roughly rectangular area of 1,263 a. (511 ha.) bounded on the south by the winding course of the river Coln and on part of the east by a tributary stream.⁹⁹

Hazleton and Yanworth were separate manors in the same ownership before the Conquest, but there may have been a more ancient tenurial connexion between Yanworth and its eastern neighbour, Stowell. In 1457 the lords of Yanworth and Stowell adjusted the boundaries between their two manors and released all claims to intercommoning; the 63¾ a. given to Yanworth may have been in the valley of the tributary of the Coln and the 103 a. given to Stowell in exchange had apparently formed a detached part of Yanworth adjoining the Foss way to the south-east.¹

Yanworth, the name of which was recorded in 1086 as Tenevrde,² was known as Enworth in the 16th century and later.³ Although sometimes regarded as a distinct ecclesiastical parish by the 18th century,⁴ it remained a chapelry of

Hazleton until the 20th century but from 1866 it had the status of a separate civil parish.⁵ In 1935 Hazleton civil parish was enlarged to 2,967 a. by the addition of Salperton, to the north, and Yanworth parish was enlarged to 2,114 a. by the addition of Stowell, to the east,⁶ and in 1987 there was a minor adjustment of Yanworth's boundary with Compton Abdale at its south-western corner adjoining the river Coln.⁷ This account of Hazleton relates to the whole area of the ancient parish, including Yanworth. Salperton and Stowell are the subjects of separate articles in this volume.

On the west side of Hazleton the wolds rise to 260 m. on Pen hill in the north-west and to 256 m. on the Puesdown ridge above Compton Abdale in the south-west. On the east side the land falls sharply to c. 160 m. on the floor of the valley called Turkdean before the Conquest.⁸ Drainage is mostly to the east along streams in three tributary valleys. The higher ground is on the Great Oolite and the lower ground on the Inferior Oolite and the intermediate fuller's earth forms an outcrop between them. The underlying Midford Sand is revealed in the valleys on the east side.⁹ Hazleton is largely open farmland and a few years after inclosure in 1764 Rudder observed that exposure to winds from every quarter retarded vegetation;¹⁰ in the late 19th century several teachers resigned the village school because of the cold.¹¹ Although Hazleton's name derives from hazel bushes,¹² there is little woodland. Hazleton grove, in the north, was a coppice extended at 15 a. in 1542¹³ and it covered 44 a. in 1826, when there were also two woods made since the inclosure in the

⁸⁹ P.R.O., ED 7/37, Hampnett cum Stowell Nat. sch.

⁹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885–1914 edns.); *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 185.

⁹¹ *Bd. of Educ., List 21, 1911* (H.M.S.O.), 162; *Glos. R.O.*, S 159/1, pp. 135–84.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, S 159/1, pp. 194–234; S 341/3, pp. 119–20.

⁹³ *Ibid.* S 159/1, pp. 258–60; *Bd. of Educ., List 21, 1922*, 104 and n.

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, G/NO 159/14/1–2; DA 31/516/1/2, p. 27.

⁹⁵ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁹⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1910 and later edns.); *Glos. R.O.*, D 3867/II/30; D 4858/2/4/1965/23. The following account was written in 1997.

⁹⁷ In the 19th cent. the spelling was often Hasleton: *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 292; *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/SC 1/1.

⁹⁸ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 346–53; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.),

ii. 437; *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. cclxiv.

⁹⁹ *O.S. Area Bk.* Hazleton (1884); Yanworth (1884).

¹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 550–2.

² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437, 457; Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

⁴ *G.D.R.*, V 5/355t 1–2; 158t 4; T 1/206.

⁵ Poor Law Amendment Act, 1866, 29 & 30 Vic. c. 113, s. 18; *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884); *Census*, 1891.

⁶ *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii).

⁷ The Cotswold (Parishes) Order 1986; *Census*, 1991.

⁸ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 178, 180.

⁹ *Geol. Surv. Map 1*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

¹⁰ Rudder, *Glos.* 479.

¹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/SC 1/1.

¹² *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 174.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

east and several other small coppices.¹⁴ The total area of woodland, which in 1905 remained virtually unchanged at 68 a.,¹⁵ was greater in 1997. Coronation copse was one of two small woods planted east of Hazleton grove in the later 20th century.

In Yanworth the land falls from *c.* 230 m. in the far north to *c.* 130 m. at the river Coln in the south. It includes the valley formed by a tributary stream flowing south-eastwards through Oaks bottom and turning south to mark the boundary with Stowell; that stream was presumably the rivulet known as 'the denelake' in 1453.¹⁶ The higher ground is on the Great Oolite and the lower ground on the Inferior Oolite and the intermediate fuller's earth outcrops in a band across the area.¹⁷ Yanworth is also mostly open farmland but the slopes in the west above the Coln are clothed by ancient woods surrounding an area once known as Yanworth common. Those woods, represented in 1086 by a wood measuring 3 by 2 furlongs,¹⁸ contained 82 a. in seven coppices in 1542; the name Stratfield (later Streetfold) given to one of them indicates that at least some of the land had once been cleared for cultivation.¹⁹ In 1841 the Yanworth woods covered 116 a. and included two small plantations on the east side, one at the bottom of Oaks bottom having been formed after 1812.²⁰ The area of woodland remained much the same until the later 20th century²¹ when more trees, including a second wood, were planted in Oaks bottom and a small pond was formed at the source of the stream there. Meadow land in Yanworth is confined to a narrow belt along the bank of the Coln, on the south boundary. Willow trees have long been part of the riverine landscape, the earliest recorded planting, *c.* 1407, being at Long Acre, a stretch of meadow near the south-west corner.²² Organized fox hunting on horseback took place in Yanworth in the early 15th century.²³ Yanworth manor was stocked with game in 1811²⁴ and the Stowell Park estate continued to employ a gamekeeper in the 20th century.²⁵

In 1086 21 people were recorded in Hazleton and 23 in Yanworth.²⁶ Twenty-six villagers in Hazleton and fourteen in Yanworth were assessed for the subsidy of 1327²⁷ and there were ten tenants of Hazleton manor and seventeen of

Yanworth manor in 1355.²⁸ Yanworth presumably remained the more populous part of the parish in 1381 when 43 people there were assessed for the poll tax.²⁹ By 1540 the number of tenants on Hazleton and Yanworth manors had fallen to 6 and 11 respectively³⁰ and in 1563 there were said to be 18 households in the parish.³¹ The number of communicants was given as *c.* 120 in 1551³² and 80 in 1603.³³ Twenty of the twenty-eight families recorded in the parish in 1650 were in Yanworth.³⁴ The parish population, estimated at 100 *c.* 1710,³⁵ had risen to 161 *c.* 1775³⁶ and to 195 in 1801, by which time a bare majority lived in Hazleton. Apart from a small decline after 1831, the population continued to grow, most of the increase being in Hazleton which in 1871 accounted for 208 of the 337 parishioners. After 1871 the population fell and by 1911 Yanworth once again had the greater share, 108 out of 208 parishioners. In 1931, at the last census before the boundary changes of 1935, the population was 165, of which Yanworth accounted for 92.³⁷

In 1931 the combined population of Hazleton and Salperton was 165. It rose to 185 in 1961 but was smaller in the late 20th century and was 158 in 1991. Yanworth and Stowell had a combined population of 166 in 1931, of 830 in 1951, when there was a school in a large hatted camp in Stowell, and of 138 in 1961. It was smaller in the late 20th century and was 124 in 1991.³⁸

The high downland in Hazleton is crossed by a number of local roads and tracks. One was presumably the highway to Northleach recorded in 1313³⁹ and a road in north-west, running south-eastwards from a salt way and passing by the remains of two adjacent long barrows,⁴⁰ was a way to Northleach in the mid 18th century.⁴¹ The salt way, linking Droitwich (Worcs.) with the river Thames at Lechlade, followed the route along Hazleton's western boundary to Puesdown where it turned to follow the route along the south-western boundary.⁴² On the west, where it was recorded in 1615,⁴³ the salt way was a route to Cirencester and Winchcombe in the mid 18th century⁴⁴ and it carried mostly local traffic in the mid 19th century,⁴⁵ but on the south-west it became part of the Gloucester-Oxford road that ran along the Puesdown ridge and was turnpiked from 1751 until 1870.⁴⁶ A

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 1433.

¹⁵ Acreage Returns, 1905.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/62.

¹⁷ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

¹⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

¹⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccxxv; Glos. R.O., D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

²⁰ G.D.R., T 1/206; Glos. R.O., D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

²¹ Cf. Acreage Returns, 1905.

²² Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/101, rot. 1d.; cf. *ibid.* D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

²³ *Ibid.* D 678/rolls/101, rot. 9d.

²⁴ *Ibid.* D 1388/SL 3/5.

²⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1894 and later edns.).

²⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

²⁷ *Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327*, 11.

²⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678/rental 1355.

²⁹ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313-14; only a fragment of the main list for Hazleton has survived.

³⁰ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, ff. 32-33v.

³¹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 16 and v.

³² *E.H.R.* xix. 111.

³³ *Ecl. Misc.* 75.

³⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

³⁵ Atkyns, *Glos.* 462.

³⁶ Rudder, *Glos.* 480.

³⁷ *Census, 1801-1931*.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 1931-1991; for the Stowell camp, below, Stowell, intro.

³⁹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 339.

⁴⁰ O.S. Map 1/50,000, sheet 163 (1974 edn.); *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xcix. 177-8.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., D 1930.

⁴² Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁴³ Glos. R.O., P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* D 1930.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* D 1433.

⁴⁶ Glos. and Oxon. Roads Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

tollgate was erected at the road junction at Puesdown⁴⁷ and there the road was diverted slightly to the south in the later 20th century.

A road which branched from the salt way near a place called Fleetgo⁴⁸ and marked Hazleton's southern boundary⁴⁹ was known in 1615 as the London way.⁵⁰ The turnpike trust established in 1751 took responsibility for the road⁵¹ but by 1764, when the road was described as the old Gloucester–Oxford highway,⁵² most Oxford traffic followed the salt way as far as Hangman's Stone, in Hampnett, and from there took a course through Northleach town.⁵³ The route along Hazleton's south boundary carried local traffic in the 19th century⁵⁴ but it was later abandoned and in 1997 it was a broad green lane closed to vehicles. The route designated a highway to Cirencester at inclosure in 1764 was evidently that running west to the Gloucester–Oxford road from the south end of Hazleton village.⁵⁵

In Yanworth there are traces of ancient terraced routes on the side of the Coln valley west of the village,⁵⁶ and a ridgeway (*rugweie*) was recorded there in the early 13th century.⁵⁷ A green way that in the mid 13th century linked the village with Gothurst,⁵⁸ a hamlet located on the Chedworth side of the river,⁵⁹ may be represented by one of the lanes running south from the village.

The 12th-century parish church stands in the centre of Hazleton and overlooks a shallow valley to the south. The Glebe House, on a terrace immediately below the churchyard, was originally the rectory house and from the 18th century a farmhouse.⁶⁰ Manor Farm, west of the church, was one of Hazleton's principal post-inclosure farmsteads and it presumably occupied the site of an ancient farm. John Humphris, the farmer, rebuilt the farmhouse⁶¹ c. 1840 on a slightly different site and with a three-storeyed south front. Other farm buildings erected in the mid 19th century included a barn and a windmill to the north, on the opposite side of the lane.⁶² Hazleton (formerly Haselton) House, further west, was built in 1861 as a new rectory house.⁶³

The greater part of Hazleton village grew up to the south across the valley from the church. In the mid 14th century a cross may have stood at a road junction there.⁶⁴ Interspersed among

the existing dwellings are several abandoned house sites, some of them used as paddocks. The Priory, the southernmost house, was formerly a farmhouse which, together with building platforms and other earthworks lower down to the south, represents the site of a substantial medieval farm.⁶⁵ A spring to the south-west remained the source of the village water supply in 1997.⁶⁶ The farmhouse was rebuilt in 1883⁶⁷ and stone fragments incorporated in its garden wall to the north seem to include the head of a small two-light window probably of c. 1200 and pieces from a 17th-century house. Among the extensive ranges of outbuildings is one of the late 18th century. On the lane north of the Priory two short rows of cottages, which in the late 19th century had thatched roofs, were restored in the 1950s with tiled roofs and gabled attic windows.⁶⁸ A range to the west was rebuilt as a village institute and reading room in the early 20th century and was a private house in 1997.⁶⁹ Further north, on the hillside opposite the church, a house facing west away from a lane was built in the late 16th century or the early 17th on a lobby-entry plan with a bakehouse range at the north end; additional first-floor windows were inserted in the 17th century.⁷⁰ A barn to the north-west was demolished c. 1884 and replaced by a schoolroom.⁷¹ To the east, and set back from a lane known in 1615 as Town Well Lane,⁷² a one-bayed cottage with a broad upper cruck truss, erected perhaps in the 16th century,⁷³ was extended eastwards by a bay in the 17th century; a north-west bay had been added by 1826, when the cottage was occupied as three dwellings.⁷⁴ Lower down to the east four pairs of estate cottages facing south with drip moulds over their principal doorways were built in the mid 19th century.⁷⁵

In the later 20th century, although some cottages were amalgamated to form larger dwellings, the number of houses in the village almost doubled as a result of new building and the conversion of redundant farm buildings. Most of the new dwellings were in the northern part. There several bungalows were built on the lane north-east of the church in the 1950s and 1960s and outbuildings at Manor Farm were converted as dwellings in the 1980s and 1990s.⁷⁶

Few houses and cottages have been built out-

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1433.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; above, Hampnett, intro.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* D 1433.

⁵² Bill for confirming Haselton incl. award (1766): copy in possession of Mr. D. Tongue, of the Glebe House, Hazleton.

⁵³ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39; D 363/P 3.

⁵⁴ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁵⁵ Haselton incl. award bill.

⁵⁶ R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i. 25, 135.

⁵⁷ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 319–20.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 364–5.

⁵⁹ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 163, 165.

⁶⁰ Below, churches.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 749.

⁶² Cf. *ibid.* D 1433; O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 1 (1884 edn.).

⁶³ *Glos. Colln.* RR 158.1(2); below, churches.

⁶⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rental 1355; cf. *ibid.* rolls/96; *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁶⁵ Inf. from Mr. D. Aldred, of Bishop's Cleeve, and Professor C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ.

⁶⁶ Inf. from Mr. Tongue.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/2/2/1, ff. 69, 74; D 1388/SL 8/83.

⁶⁸ Inf. from Mr. Tongue; one gable has a stone dated 1954 with the initials of Geo. Wood.

⁶⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 1 (1902, 1922 edns.); inf. from Mr. Tongue; for the institute, below, this section.

⁷⁰ Royal Com. Hist. Monuments (Eng.), 'Hist. Building Rep. 92265' (1993): copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PA 172/3.

⁷¹ Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier.

⁷³ Inf. from Prof. Dyer.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1433.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*; O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 1 (1884 edn.).

⁷⁶ Inf. from Mr. Tongue.

side Hazleton village. A water mill operating in the mid 15th century probably stood east of the village near the spot where Lower barn was built after the inclosure of 1764;⁷⁷ the place was known in 1824 as Botany Bay.⁷⁸ In the far south-east at Hill barn, on Cookham hill, a range of two cottages built by 1826⁷⁹ was a single dwelling in 1997; the barn, part of a group of late 18th-century farm buildings to the north-east, is dated 1800.⁸⁰ In the mid 20th century two bungalows were built as outlying farmhouses, one at Lower barn in the 1930s⁸¹ and the other in the south-west at Shipton Downs Farm, near the Gloucester–Oxford road, in the 1950s.⁸² In the north a farmhouse was built east of Hazleton grove in 1994 and 1995; the outbuildings to the north are older and include a barn erected on the rector's glebe in 1794.⁸³

In 1826 the only building on the Hazleton side of the Gloucester–Oxford road was the turnpike keeper's house at the road junction at Puesdown.⁸⁴ By 1841, however, an inn had been built on the road.⁸⁵ It stood some way to the south-east, near the junction of the old London road, and became known as the Puesdown inn.⁸⁶ It was extended in the later 19th century and remained an inn in 1997.

Yanworth village is 2 km. west of the Foss way with its 12th-century church in a secluded position some way above the river Coln on the west side of the tributary valley. Although a cottage in Yanworth was described in 1355 as being at a castle⁸⁷ and a spur north-east of the church overlooking the side valley was known later as Castle hill⁸⁸ there is no direct evidence of a castle being built in Yanworth in historic times. The chaplain's or curate's house recorded next to the churchyard from the 14th century⁸⁹ was perhaps to the west on the site of a small building demolished in the early 20th century.⁹⁰ Other medieval buildings near the church may have included a large farm building which Winchcombe abbey extended by a bay c. 1420⁹¹ and a dwelling used as a church house in 1540.⁹² In 1997 the buildings next to the church comprised a former farmhouse (Church Farmhouse) to the south and two stone barns and a cottage to the east. The former farmhouse, occupied as two dwellings, dates probably from the early 18th century and has been enlarged. The older barn, restored following a fire in 1986,⁹³ possibly dates from the rebuilding

of an earlier barn in the late 17th century or the early 18th century; the fabric includes a pointed arch from a much older building. The other barn dates from the late 18th century. The cottage was described as new in 1923.⁹⁴

The main part of the village stands higher up to the west along a lane running from east to west. The oldest buildings, the earliest dating from the 17th century, are at the east end and there are several house platforms among medieval remains lower down to the south.⁹⁵ In the early 19th century the village's upper part comprised a farmhouse and several cottages and farm buildings on the lane.⁹⁶ The farmhouse, on the south side, was a private house (Yanworth Farmhouse) in 1997; it dates from the late 17th century and was enlarged in the 18th century. Some early cottages have also survived but most dwellings date from the later 19th century, when the village, then part of the 3rd earl of Eldon's Stowell Park estate,⁹⁷ was enlarged. Among new cottages to the west were five pairs in a row north of the lane; the three easternmost pairs were apparently built in 1859 and the others soon afterwards.⁹⁸ A farmhouse built south of the lane and west of the old farmstead in 1870⁹⁹ was known as the Laurels in the early 1880s¹ and as Yanworth House in 1997, when it was a private house. A schoolroom was erected at the east end of the village in 1874 and a reading room towards the west end in 1901. In 1962 a bungalow was built at the west end using stone from an abandoned cottage in Oaks bottom,² and in the mid 1960s two pairs of estate cottages were built at the east end, at the top of the lane down to the church.³

To the south-west below the village, the river Coln passes a house at the site of a mill recorded from 1086.⁴ In the south-west corner of Yanworth a solitary cottage stood on the edge of Yanworth common next to a wood in Compton Abdale in 1811.⁵ In the north a cottage built in Oaks bottom, south-east of Hill barn,⁶ in 1858 was abandoned in the 1950s.⁷ Another outlying cottage of the mid 19th century, in the valley on the eastern boundary adjoining Dean grove,⁸ was evidently abandoned earlier.⁹

For many centuries Hazleton had no resident gentry but in the mid 19th century the Wallers, lords of the manor, made regular payments to support a schoolmaster in the village and to pro-

⁷⁷ Below, econ. hist.

⁷⁸ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁷⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1433; cf. P.R.O., RG 9/1787.

⁸⁰ Dept. of the Environment, 'List of Bldgs. of Special Archit. or Hist. Interest' (1986), p. 33.

⁸¹ Glos. R.O., DA 31/516/2/2, p. 28.

⁸² Ibid. DA 31/115/3, p. 49.

⁸³ Inf. from Mr. Tongue; cf. Glos. R.O., D 1433.

⁸⁴ Glos. R.O., D 1433.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

⁸⁶ Ibid. HO 107/1969; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 579.

⁸⁷ Glos. R.O., D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁸⁸ Ibid. D 678/rental 1355.

⁸⁹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 348–9; Glos. R.O., D 1381/88.

⁹⁰ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 9 (1902, 1922 edns.).

⁹¹ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/101, rot. 15.

⁹² P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, f. 33v.

⁹³ Inscr. on bldg.

⁹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 5658/14

⁹⁵ 'Arch. Review No. 24, 1999', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cxviii. 234.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 3/5; D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁹⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863–1923 edns.); Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 836; cf. below, Stowell, manor.

⁹⁸ Dates with the init. 'E' on some cottages.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 5658/14.

¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 9 (1884 edn.).

² Inf. from Mrs. P. G. Rose, of Yanworth; the bungalow has the 1858 datestone of the Oaks bottom cottage.

³ Cf. Glos. R.O., DA 31/115/3, p. 534.

⁴ Below, econ. hist.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 3/5; D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁶ P.R.O., RG 9/1788; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXVI. SW. (1883 edn.).

⁷ Inf. from Mrs. Rose.

⁸ G.D.R., T 1/206; P.R.O., RG 10/2652.

⁹ Glos. R.O., D 5658/14.

vide coal at Christmas for the poorer inhabitants.¹⁰ In the 1840s a friendly society in Hazleton had an annual celebration¹¹ and in 1879 one was meeting at the Puesdown inn. That society and its branch for younger people were dissolved in the mid 1890s¹² and another society met at the inn in 1910.¹³ In the early 20th century the landowner J. E. McPherson founded an institute and reading room in the village;¹⁴ its premises, in the south part of the village opposite the Priory, remained a reading room in the early 1930s.¹⁵ In 1938 the former schoolroom near by became the parish hall¹⁶ and in 1997 it was the village's principal meeting place. Yanworth also had no resident landowner but the influence of the owners of the Stowell Park estate, notably the 3rd earl of Eldon, was reflected in village life in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁷ An institute and reading room built in 1901¹⁸ and enlarged, by the Hon. Samuel Vestey, in 1938¹⁹ became the village hall after the Second World War. In the late 1930s the former village schoolroom was the village hall.²⁰

Several houses in Yanworth were ransacked during the civil disturbances following Edward IV's coronation in 1461.²¹

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. The manor of *HAZLETON* had its origins in an estate held before the Conquest by Goda (or Godgifu), sister of Edward the Confessor and wife of Eustace, count of Boulogne. Goda died in 1057, and in 1086 the estate, extended at 10 hides, belonged, together with estates in Yanworth and Hawling, to Sgar of Chocques; William the Conqueror had exempted 3 hides in Hazleton from tax.²² In the later 12th century the three estates, together with Sgar's estate at Gayton (Northants.), were held by the lords of Béthune, his descendants, who as hereditary advocates of the church of St. Vedast, Arras (Pas-de-Calais), were often styled advocates of Béthune.²³ Robert of Béthune, who granted the three Gloucestershire estates to his clerk, Walter of Hazleton, for life,²⁴ was assessed at 5 knights' fees for them in 1162.²⁵ He died in 1191 and his

eldest son Robert *c.* 1194,²⁶ and Hazleton and presumably the advocate's other English estates were in the hands of the Crown as escheat.²⁷ William of Béthune, son of the elder Robert, was granted seisin of most of his father's English lands *c.* 1200²⁸ and he granted the three Gloucestershire estates to Winchcombe abbey *c.* 1201 reserving a rent of £20.²⁹ He reduced the rent to £10 in 1208 and his son Daniel of Béthune reduced it to £9 in 1212.³⁰ Daniel's brother Robert of Béthune granted the rent, together with Gayton, to Robert of Guines *c.* 1242 and the latter quitclaimed it to Winchcombe abbey a few years later.³¹ The abbey, to which Walter of Gayton quitclaimed land in Hazleton in the later 13th century,³² was granted free warren on its demesne land in 1251³³ and it retained Hazleton and Yanworth manors, comprising probably the whole parish, until the Dissolution.³⁴

In 1541 Henry VIII granted the two manors to Thomas Culpepper the younger³⁵ but later that year took them in hand again on Culpepper's conviction and execution for adultery with his cousin, Queen Catherine Howard.³⁶ The King granted Hazleton manor to Richard Tracy in 1544³⁷ but Culpepper's elder brother, also called Thomas, who under the grant of 1541 had a residual interest in the estate, recovered it in 1551.³⁸ The elder Thomas, of Bedgebury, in Goudhurst (Kent), was succeeded in 1558 by his son (Sir) Alexander (d. 1599), whose son and heir (Sir) Anthony³⁹ settled the manor *c.* 1614 probably on his son-in-law Henry Crispe (d. 1663) of Quex, in Birchington (Kent).⁴⁰ Under Sir Anthony and his father the manor had been leased to members of the Robins family.⁴¹ By 1633 the manor was held by John Rogers⁴² (d. 1639), presumably under the lease which his widow Sibyl (d. 1643) left to her son William Rogers (d. 1651).⁴³ In 1659 Henry Crispe settled the manor in reversion on Thomas Crispe,⁴⁴ his nephew, and in 1666 Thomas, then of Quex, granted it to his son-in-law Edwin Wyatt of Horton (Kent). In 1683 Edwin sold it to (Sir) William Bannister,⁴⁵ who later inherited a large freehold estate in Hazleton⁴⁶ and a manor in

¹⁰ Ibid. D 6148/2/1; 2/2/1-2.

¹¹ Ibid. D 3616/20.

¹² P.R.O., FS 4/13, *Glos. nos.* 1088, 1092; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, S 404/2, p. 19.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 98/SC 1, p. 182.

¹⁴ Ibid. photocopy 1819.

¹⁵ Ibid. D 2299/5491; inf. from Mr. Tongue.

¹⁶ Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/SC 1/2.

¹⁷ Cf. below, churches; educ.

¹⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902), 209.

¹⁹ Inscr. on bldg.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/2/5, p. 32.

²¹ Ibid. D 678/rolls/95.

²² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xl. 57-8.

²³ W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, i. 22.

²⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 308-9.

²⁵ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 24.

²⁶ Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, i. 23.

²⁷ *Pipe R.* 1194 (P.R.S. N.S. v), 3-4; 1197 (P.R.S. N.S. viii), 127; 1199 (P.R.S. N.S. x), 26.

²⁸ Ibid. 1200 (P.R.S. N.S. xii), 61; Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, i. 23-4.

²⁹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 310-11.

³⁰ Ibid. 311-13.

³¹ Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, i. 26-8; *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 322; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 359-60.

³² *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 368-9.

³³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 360.

³⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 457-8.

³⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 382.

³⁶ P.R.O., C 142/86, no. 84; J. D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1972), 418.

³⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), p. 313.

³⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1550-3, 55-6.

³⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 44; C. Greenwood, *Hist. of Kent* (1838), 23; cf. B.L. Harl. Chart. 77.1.36, H.47, H.49.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/8; P.R.O., C 66/2019, no. 4; cf. Z. Cozens, *A Tour through the Isle of Thanet* (1783), 93, 96.

⁴¹ P.R.O., C 142/268, no. 168; PROB 11/69 (P.C.C. 44 Windsor), f. 344; *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/8.

⁴² *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 174; iii. 15.

⁴³ *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3, 145, 148; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 17.

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/8.

⁴⁵ Ibid. D 2233/1.

⁴⁶ Below, this section.

Turkdean. After Sir William's death in 1721 both manors were sold to Edmund Waller of Beaconsfield (Bucks.),⁴⁷ and after Edmund's death in 1771 Hazleton descended with his Farmington estate in the Waller family until 1900;⁴⁸ Maria, widow of the Revd. Harry Waller (d. 1824), had a life interest in land in Hazleton.⁴⁹ In 1900, when William Noel Waller sold the Hazleton land, Manor farm (608 a.)⁵⁰ was bought by G. L. F. Harter.⁵¹ Harter, who bought the Salperton estate in the same year,⁵² sold his Hazleton farmland in 1914 to the brothers Evan Thomas Hughes (d. 1915) of Ruthin (Denb.) and Samuel Hughes of Northop (Flints.).⁵³ Samuel died in 1961⁵⁴ and his family, headed by Hugh Trevor Hughes,⁵⁵ remained owners of a large part of Hazleton in 1997.

At the sale of 1900 John Ewen McPherson bought Priory farm (742 a.) in Hazleton and Turkdean and a number of cottages.⁵⁶ McPherson, of Newcastle upon Tyne, sold the farm in 1910 to George Wood⁵⁷ (d. 1931), from whom it passed in turn to his wife Marian (d. 1942) and his son George (d. 1971).⁵⁸ After the latter's death about two thirds of the farm was divided between his daughters Marian, wife of David Tongue, and Mary Dun, wife of Leslie Ray (d. 1987). The remaining third, including the land in Turkdean, was acquired a little later by Mrs. Ray (d. 1986) and was sold by her daughter and successor Diana Ray to Mr. S. L. Winwood of Lower Dean Manor, Turkdean.⁵⁹ The glebe (c. 275 a.), owned by the Wood family from 1920,⁶⁰ was given to Mrs. Tongue before her father's death and, together with c. 75 a. acquired by her husband in the adjoining part of Turkdean, was owned in 1997 by her son Richard George Tongue.⁶¹

It does not appear that any owner of Hazleton manor maintained a residence there. Manor Farm, west of the parish church, may represent the site of Winchcombe abbey's farm buildings.⁶²

Holdings by knight service at Hazleton included that of Robert Hall (*de aula*) (fl. 1275),⁶³ who was the tenant of Walter of Gayton until Walter quitclaimed the holding, together with Robert's service of a pair of spurs, to Winchcombe abbey.⁶⁴ Later Richard Hall, who

held 5 yardlands 'of the fee of Gayton' from the abbey, and Walter Freeman of Hazleton, who held 4 yardlands from the abbey, were assessed for scutage.⁶⁵ Richard was succeeded by his son John, a minor,⁶⁶ who was presumably the John Hall holding two messuages, four cottages, and eleven yardlands freely from the abbey for a cash rent and a pair of spurs in 1355.⁶⁷ That estate descended, perhaps through William Hall (fl. 1466),⁶⁸ to Robert Hall, at whose death in 1505 13 yardlands held from the abbey by knight service passed to his son William,⁶⁹ and possibly to Thomas Hall, a landowner in the parish in 1522.⁷⁰ In 1540 the 13 yardlands and 4 messuages were held by Giles Bannister⁷¹ of Apperley, in Deerhurst. Giles (d. 1543) was survived by his sons William, Thomas, and John, to the last of whom he left the reversion after six years of a tenement in Hazleton.⁷² The same or another William Bannister (d. 1604), who bought a manor in Turkdean,⁷³ was succeeded in that manor and in a principal house and 10 yardlands in Hazleton by his son Thomas and left 4 yardlands in Hazleton with a house there called the Nether House to a younger son George.⁷⁴ Thomas (d. 1633) was succeeded by his brother Richard⁷⁵ (d. c. 1640), whose successor was his nephew William Bannister,⁷⁶ son and heir of George (d. 1637).⁷⁷ After William's death in 1685 his estate was evidently merged in Hazleton manor that his eldest surviving son William had bought in 1683.⁷⁸ The Halls' medieval residence was probably on the site of the earthworks on the south side of Hazleton village near the house called the Priory.⁷⁹ The location of the Nether House, apparently also known as Watkins House,⁸⁰ is not known; in 1672 one of the Bannisters was assessed for tax in Hazleton on only a single hearth.⁸¹

The manor of *YANWORTH* also originated as an estate held by Goda before the Conquest and by Sigar of Chocques in 1086, when William the Conqueror was said to have exempted three of its five hides from tax.⁸² In the 1130s Sigar's descendant Reynold of Chocques granted Yanworth to Gloucester abbey and, perhaps slightly later, Ralph of Sudeley granted his manor of Yanworth to the abbey, which also claimed a rent of 20s. from Yanworth and

⁴⁷ Below, Turkdean, manors.

⁴⁸ Above, Farmington, manor; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/3/2; 5/1; Fosbrooke, *Glos.* ii. 422; for the Wallers, *V.C.H. Bucks.* iii. 159; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii. 1532.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 6/1.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 3/5.

⁵² Below, Salperton, manor.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4084/13/31.

⁵⁴ Hazleton burial reg. 1813-1979 (copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PMF 172).

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, pp. 389, 571.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* D 6148/3/5; 6/1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/88.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* D 2299/5491; burial reg. 1813-1979.

⁵⁹ Inf. from Mr. D. Tongue, of Hazleton; for the Rays, above, Cold Aston, manors.

⁶⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/88; G/NO 159/15/2-3.

⁶¹ Inf. from Mr. D. Tongue.

⁶² Above, intro.

⁶³ B.L. Sloane Chart. xxxiii. 14; cf. *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 369-70, 373.

⁶⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 368-9.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* i. 14.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 323-4.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rental 1355.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., E 210/2602.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 268.

⁷⁰ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 124.

⁷¹ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, f. 32.

⁷² G.D.R. wills 1543/10.

⁷³ Below, Turkdean, manors.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., C 142/286, no. 168; G.D.R. wills 1605/220.

⁷⁵ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i. 174-5.

⁷⁶ Below, Turkdean, manors.

⁷⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, iii. 15.

⁷⁸ *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3 (priv. print. 1884), 8; above, this section.

⁷⁹ Above, intro.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., C 142/286, no. 168; *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, iii. 15.

⁸¹ P.R.O., E 179/247/13, rot. 32.

⁸² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

Chedworth by the gift of Robert of Béthune.⁸³ As indicated above, the advocates of Béthune held Yanworth in the later 12th century and William of Béthune granted it, together with Hazleton and Hawling, to Winchcombe abbey c. 1201. William's grant reserved a rent of 20s. to Gloucester abbey⁸⁴ and it was paid out of Yanworth manor until 1320 when, as part of an exchange, Gloucester abbey quitclaimed it to Winchcombe abbey.⁸⁵ Winchcombe abbey received a number of other grants of land in Yanworth from the later 12th century, including land which Robert of Béthune had granted to John of Hazleton, the brother of Walter of Hazleton, and land held in the mid 13th century by Robert of Gayton.⁸⁶ The manor descended with Hazleton until 1544.⁸⁷ In that year the Crown granted Yanworth to Walter Earl, James Paget, and Thomas Stroud and, following Stroud's death, Earl and Paget sold it to William Bush of Northleach.⁸⁸ After Thomas Culpepper of Bedgebury recovered it from Bush in 1554,⁸⁹ Yanworth again descended with Hazleton⁹⁰ until Sir Anthony Culpepper sold it in 1609 to Thomas Lawrence of Cricklade (Wilts.).⁹¹ In 1612 Thomas, together with his father William and brothers Robert and William, sold the manor to Sir Richard Grobham of Great Wishford (Wilts.).⁹² From Sir Richard (d. 1629) it passed with Compton Abdale and Chedworth manors to his wife Margaret with reversion to a nephew George Grobham.⁹³ The manors descended to Sir Richard Howe (d. 1730), Bt., from whom they passed in turn to his wife Mary (d. 1735) and his kinsman John Howe, later Lord Chedworth, becoming part of the Stowell Park estate with which Yanworth then descended.⁹⁴ Lord Vestey of Stowell was virtually sole landowner in Yanworth in 1997.

There is little evidence that any owner of Yanworth manor had a manor house there. The site of the manor, granted under lease to a tenant in 1521,⁹⁵ may have included the house occupied in 1554 by William Bush's son Thomas.⁹⁶ From 1558 a branch of the Lawrence family lived in Yanworth as lessees of the manor place and demesne⁹⁷ and in 1672 one of its members was assessed for tax on three hearths there.⁹⁸

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Ten hides at Hazleton, in the home part of the parish, supported 13 ploughs in 1086. Three of the ploughs were on Sigar of Chocques's demesne, where there were also six *servi*, and the other ploughs were shared between a priest and 14 *villani*. A drop in the value of the land suggests that there had been a decline in agriculture over the previous twenty years.⁹⁹ In 1291 Winchcombe abbey had two ploughlands in demesne at Hazleton¹ and in 1535 its demesne was let at farm for £5.² From 1538 the farmer rented Hazleton grove for an additional 13s. 4d.³

The abbey's rental at Hazleton was 13s. 9d. in 1291⁴ and £2 16s. 2d. in 1355.⁵ The figures suggest that part of the estate had been acquired after 1291 and added to the tenanted land. A free tenant surrendered his land to the abbey for a number of years in 1253⁶ and the Hall family's estate, one of two held by knight service from the abbey's manor in the late 13th century, had been formerly held from Walter of Gayton.⁷ By 1355 the number of tenants and agricultural occupiers on the manor had declined. Of the 17 tenant estates several, having lapsed into the abbot's hands, had been granted, either in full or in part, to existing tenants. Of the ten tenants John Hall, apparently the sole freeholder, had an estate including 11 yardlands. The other estates were much smaller and were held for cash rents bearing little relationship to the size of the holdings; they comprised one estate with 3½ yardlands, seven with 2 yardlands, four with 1 yardland, and four cottage holdings.⁸ In 1466 an estate with 3½ yardlands in Hazleton was held by William Nottingham,⁹ a lawyer who acquired many estates in the county.¹⁰ In 1540 the manor included, in addition to the estate formerly held by the Hall family, four copyholds comprising 7, 4, 4, and 3 yardlands respectively and owing cash rents and heriots in kind or cash. The total rent from the five tenants was £4 9s.¹¹ A yardland in Hazleton was reckoned in 1615 to comprise c. 40 a. in the open fields.¹²

Robert of Béthune included several plough-teams and corn stored at Hazleton in his grant of his Gloucestershire estates to Walter of Hazleton in the mid 12th century.¹³ The corrody Winchcombe abbey awarded its bailiff at Hazleton in 1317 was based on corn and sheep

⁸³ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 90; ii. 179–81; Farrer, *Honors and Knights Fees*, i. 22.

⁸⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 310–11.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1317–21, 516–17.

⁸⁶ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 319–21, 323–6, 328–30, 332–6, 361–5, 373.

⁸⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 457–8; P.R.O., C 142/86, no. 84.

⁸⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (2), pp. 178–9; P.R.O., E 210/9925.

⁸⁹ B.L. Harl. Chart. 76.I.16, I.22.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Harl. Chart. 111.E.58; 77.H.47, H.49; Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270, 272.

⁹¹ B.L. Harl. Chart. 77.C.49.

⁹² Wilts. R.O., 753/1, ff. 152v–153, 154–157v.

⁹³ P.R.O., C 142/466, no. 53.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 167; Glos. R.O., D 1878, abs. of title of Thos. Penrice; deeds 1776–1846, abs. of title of Wm. Dyer; below, Stowell, manor. Cf. *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923),

221; (1927), 231.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, f. 33v.

⁹⁶ B.L. Harl. Chart. 76.I.16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* Harl. Chart. 76.I.36; 77.A.8, A.16–18.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., E 170/247/13, rot. 31d.

⁹⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

¹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 234.

² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 458.

³ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rot. 101d.

⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 234.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 678/rental 1355.

⁶ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 376–7.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 14; ii. 368–9.

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678/rental 1355.

⁹ *Ibid.* rolls/95.

¹⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* l. 185–99.

¹¹ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, f. 32.

¹² Glos. R.O., P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier at end of vol.

¹³ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 308–9.

husbandry¹⁴ and the rector at that time had a sheephouse next to his manse.¹⁵ Although several large flocks were kept in Hazleton in the mid 15th century,¹⁶ sheep farming was perhaps not of prime importance in the parish in the late Middle Ages. In 1535 well over half of the rector's income came from tithes of corn and hay and only a small part from tithes of wool and lambs.¹⁷ In the mid 1580s Richard Robins of Upton St. Leonards, the farmer of the manor, kept a flock in Hazleton during the winter.¹⁸ In 1587 one Hazleton farmer's livestock included eight colonies of bees.¹⁹

Medieval open-field land in Hazleton presumably survived as part of the north and south fields which contained almost equal amounts of the rector's glebe in 1615. Those fields were on opposite sides of the village and the south field perhaps covered a larger area than the north field, which was further away from the village towards Salperton and Hampen.²⁰ Later field names indicate that the principal commons were on the downs in the far east of the parish.²¹ After harvest the open fields served as common pastures for sheep and in the mid 15th century several tenants and other men, including in 1452 two from Turkdean, were presented for overburdening the fields with their flocks.²² The open fields and downs were inclosed in 1764. The award, which also commuted the Hazleton tithes, was confirmed later by Act of Parliament and dealt with c. 1,211 a. of commonable land and c. 4 a. in two meadow closes. The bulk of the land went to Edmund Waller, with the rector receiving c. 275 a. and the parish clerk, the only other beneficiary, c. 1½ a. for land held *ex officio*.²³

Following inclosure the greater part of the land, belonging to the Waller family, was divided between two farms held by the Minchin and Humphris families respectively. In 1810 those farms comprised c. 710 a. (later Priory farm), partly in Turkdean, and c. 540 a. (later Manor farm).²⁴ The other resident farmer employing labour in 1831²⁵ occupied the glebe, just under 300 a., which in 1806 had been occupied by a member of the Humphris family.²⁶ In 1871 the sizes of the three farms remained virtually unchanged²⁷ but in 1881 Manor farm, which had passed recently to a member of the Minchin family,²⁸ comprised 830 a. and Priory farm 731 a.²⁹ The glebe was taken in hand in

1883³⁰ and much of the rest of Hazleton was divided between three tenant farms in 1896.³¹ In 1926, when 17 labourers were employed full-time on the land, there were two large freehold farms, a tenant farm with less than 100 a., and two freehold farms with less than 20 a. each.³² In the later 20th century Hazleton remained divided between several farms and in 1986 the two largest, both of them worked by their owners, each had over 247 a. (100 ha.) and two others over 99 a. (40 ha.).³³

By the mid 1770s recent innovations in agriculture enabled Hazleton's farmers to gather good harvests from the exposed wolds and to keep large flocks as well as a few dairy and other cattle.³⁴ Land was devoted to growing corn and to cultivating roots for animal fodder³⁵ and in 1866, when the animals returned included 864 sheep, 156 cattle, and 22 pigs,³⁶ about half of the 1,295 a. under rotated crops was down to clover and grass, another 71 a. was fallow, and 78 a. was permanent pasture.³⁷ In the later 19th century and the early 20th the area of grassland increased at the expense of the arable and in 1926 881 a. and 239 a. in Hazleton were returned as permanent grassland and rough grazing respectively and only 107 a. as growing corn. Among the animals grazed in 1926 were 810 ewes and 285 cattle. The numbers of both beef and dairy cattle were greater than in 1896 but the number of pigs was much smaller than in 1896. In 1926 there was also small-scale commercial chicken farming in Hazleton.³⁸ Although much more land was devoted to cereal cultivation in the later 20th century, the rearing of sheep and of beef and dairy cattle remained important.³⁹

In Yanworth in 1086 there were three ploughs, together with seven *servi*, on Sigar of Chocques's demesne and five hides also supported seven ploughs shared between 14 *villani* and two bordars. The value of Sigar's estate was less than it had been twenty years earlier.⁴⁰ Winchcombe abbey's demesne in Yanworth included two ploughlands in 1291⁴¹ and was farmed in the mid 1480s⁴² and perhaps much earlier.⁴³ Under a lease of 1521, which reserved the Yanworth woods, the rent was increased from £6 13s. 4d. to £7 6s. 8d. and the farmer, William Simpson, was employed as keeper of the woods and warren.⁴⁴ In the 1550s William

¹⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 279–80.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 339.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/94–5.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437.

¹⁸ *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/69 (P.C.C. 44 Windsor), ff. 343v.–345.

¹⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier.

²¹ *Ibid.* D 1433.

²² *Ibid.* D 678/rolls/94–5.

²³ Bill for confirming Haselton incl. award (1766): copy in possession of Mr. David Tongue, of the Glebe House, Hazleton; Haselton Incl. Act, 6 Geo. III, c. 6 (Priv. Act); cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 469.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Hazleton and Turkdean leases 1700–1827; D 749; D 5845/2/1, p. 91.

²⁵ *Census*, 1831.

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Hazleton and Turkdean leases 1700–1827.

²⁷ *P.R.O.*, RG 10/2651.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/2/1; D 5845/2/1, p. 91.

²⁹ *P.R.O.*, RG 11/2560.

³⁰ Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton.

³¹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/1609/2.

³² *Ibid.* MAF 68/3295/17.

³³ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/198; MAF 68/6005/14/198.

³⁴ Rudder, *Glos.* 479.

³⁵ Cf. 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 173.

³⁶ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/25/23.

³⁷ *Ibid.* MAF 68/26/12.

³⁸ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2; MAF 68/3295/17.

³⁹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/198; MAF 68/6005/14/198.

⁴⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

⁴¹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 234.

⁴² Fosbrooke, *Glos.* ii. 421–2.

⁴³ Below, this section.

⁴⁴ *P.R.O.*, SC 2/175/1, f. 33v.; SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rott. 100d.–101.

Lawrence of Minety (Wilts.) acquired a lease of the demesne at the increased rent⁴⁵ and later he and his successors also rented the Yanworth woods and Hazleton grove⁴⁶ and acquired copyhold land in Yanworth.⁴⁷ The Lawrences probably remained the principal farming family in Yanworth until the early 18th century.⁴⁸

In 1291 the abbey's total rental in Yanworth was given as only 8s. 4d.⁴⁹ but at least one tenant held two yardlands at 12s. rent.⁵⁰ In 1355, when the rental was £10 5s. 11d., there were 17 tenants on the manor but their number had clearly declined for between them they held 29 estates. Among tenants holding more than one estate was John the knight and the free tenants included a priest who had a messuage and 8 a. for a rent of 2s. The customary estates held for cash rents and bedrips comprised one with 3 yardlands, seven with 2 yardlands, three with 1 yardland, and three with ½ yardland; the 2-yardland estates owed 12s. rent and six bedrips and one ½ yardland was held with a mill for 12s. rent and eight bedrips. Of the other estates two had 3 yardlands (of which one was held with 4 cottages) and four 2 yardlands; three of those with 2 yardlands owed 6s. 8d. rent. The smaller holdings included several cottages. Three tenants paid 2d. each for 'foreland', presumably the land most recently brought into cultivation. The customary tenants were expected to make hay in a meadow called Church mead.⁵¹ The total rent from the Yanworth tenants, including 2s. from one in commutation of his bedrips, was £10 14s. 1d. in 1408.⁵² In 1540 there were ten copyholders, of whom one had 8 yardlands, three had 6 yardlands each, and one had 5 yardlands. Together they owed cash rents totalling £9 10s. 1d. and one yardlander also paid 10s. a year for a quarry he farmed as a tenant at will.⁵³ A yardland in Yanworth may have been half the size of that in Hazleton.⁵⁴

The name Yanworth, in use probably before 1066, might indicate a lambing enclosure.⁵⁵ A sheep farmer from Bourton-on-the-Water had land there in 1220⁵⁶ and a shepherd lived there in 1381.⁵⁷ In the early 15th century the greater part of Winchcombe abbey's income from Yanworth derived from rents, court profits, and wood sales. The abbey clearly had little direct involvement in farming for it received a substantial amount of corn as a fixed payment or rent and in 1421 it had receipts from grants, presumably leases, of four meadows, namely Church,

West, and Edric's meads and Long Acre. The few sheep taken as heriots or strays were sent to the abbey's master shepherd, sometimes to Sherborne.⁵⁸ In 1400 the Yanworth manor court ordered the rebuilding of a sheephouse that had been pulled down and in 1466 a tenant was presented for having failed to repair his sheephouse.⁵⁹ In the early 16th century corn provided the bulk of the rector's income from tithes in Yanworth.⁶⁰

Yanworth had a two-field system in 1222 with north and south fields; the latter touched or crossed a ridgeway, which presumably ran on the high wolds near the village.⁶¹ In 1457, in an agreement between the lords of Yanworth and Stowell, Winchcombe abbey gave up 103 a. of arable and meadow (part of its manor of Yanworth) by the Foss way in a field called Southfield Neville in exchange for 63¼ a. of more fertile land in Stowell's north field. The agreement also suggests the termination of shared commoning arrangements as the parties mutually released their claims to intercommoning rights in the two manors.⁶² In the early 15th century the abbey's tenants sometimes ran strangers' sheep with their own and overburdened the commons.⁶³ In the 16th and 17th centuries there was open-field land in the north-eastern corner of Yanworth and south of the village and it served after the harvest as common pasture for sheep.⁶⁴ In 1705 the open fields were described as north and west fields, and Yanworth common, in the south-western corner above the Coln, was a cow common.⁶⁵ A later field name indicates that there was a horse common in Oaks bottom.⁶⁶ Yanworth retained c. 600 a. of open-field and common land in the mid 18th century⁶⁷ and its inclosure by the early 19th century was presumably a private undertaking for one of the Lords Chedworth.⁶⁸

By the early 19th century most of Yanworth belonged to one or other of two of the farms on the Stowell Park estate.⁶⁹ Known in 1811 as Lower (later Church) farm and Upper (later Yanworth) farm,⁷⁰ they comprised 700 a. and 500 a. in Yanworth and adjoining parishes in 1851 when they were occupied respectively by Thomas Walker and Joseph Powell.⁷¹ A third resident farmer employing labour in 1831⁷² presumably was one of the Brunsdon family, who farmed over 150 a. from Yanworth mill in the mid 19th century.⁷³ In 1881 the miller farmed

⁴⁵ Ibid. C 1/1447, no. 9; B.L. Harl. Chart. 76.I.36; 77.A.18.

⁴⁶ B.L. Harl. Chart. 77.A.8, A.16-17, B.57.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., C 3/451/61.

⁴⁸ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270; G.D.R. wills 1625/166; 1689/244; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cxiii. 142.

⁴⁹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 234.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 129-30.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rental 1355.

⁵² Ibid. rolls/101.

⁵³ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, f. 33 and v.; SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rot. 100d.

⁵⁴ G.D.R., V 5/158t 2.

⁵⁵ *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 190-1.

⁵⁶ *Cur. Reg. R.* ix. 126-7.

⁵⁷ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/101.

⁵⁹ Ibid. rolls/66a, 95.

⁶⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437.

⁶¹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 319-21.

⁶² Ibid. 550-2.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/94.

⁶⁴ G.D.R., V 5/158t 1; 355t 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 355t 2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 3/5; D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 3/5; G.D.R., T 1/206.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6577/3.

⁶⁸ Ibid. D 1388/SL 3/5.

⁶⁹ Ibid. D 1878, deeds 1711-1801, rental 1801; cf. G.D.R., T 1/206.

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 3/5.

⁷¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁷² *Census*, 1831.

⁷³ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; RG 9/1788; RG 10/2652.

250 a.⁷⁴ By the end of the century all the farmland in Yanworth had been taken in hand and was managed as part of two separate farms.⁷⁵ The Stowell Park estate, which in 1926 employed 39 men from Yanworth as farmworkers,⁷⁶ continued to work the land as part of two farms throughout the 1930s,⁷⁷ but from the mid 20th century it included the land in a single large unit, which at the end of the century was managed from an office in Yanworth village and farmed from buildings in Stowell.⁷⁸

In the early 19th century the Yanworth farms grew barley, wheat, and oats and cultivated roots for animal fodder.⁷⁹ In 1866 858 a. was planted with crops, less than half of it with corn, and 125 a. was permanent pasture⁸⁰ and at that time there were enough sheep to employ several shepherds.⁸¹ In the later 19th century and the early 20th the area of grassland increased at the expense of the arable and in 1926 754 a. was returned as permanent grassland and 305 a. as growing corn. Among the animals returned in 1926 were 462 ewes and 100 cattle.⁸²

Hazleton manor once had a water mill, which a Yanworth miller held for life from 1453.⁸³ The mill, in disrepair in 1466,⁸⁴ was presumably east of the village, near the site of the later Lower barn, where the remains of channels and a pond were visible in 1997. A windmill was built on the north side of the village as part of Manor farm after 1826⁸⁵ and several millers were recorded in Hazleton in the 1840s and 1850s.⁸⁶ The windmill went out of use before 1883⁸⁷ but the farmer retained a water mill, the location of which is unknown, in the later 1880s.⁸⁸

In Yanworth the mill attached to Sigar of Chocques's estate in 1086⁸⁹ and the mill recorded there from 1222⁹⁰ were presumably south-west of the village beside the road to Chedworth where a mill operated next to the river Coln in later centuries.⁹¹ In 1355 the miller, John Stockslade, probably derived his living mainly from farming, for his estate included two yardlands, besides a customary half yardland annexed to the mill and another half yardland added for its improvement;⁹² the holding of two

yardlands was granted to another tenant in 1367.⁹³ In 1540 the mill and an adjoining close formed a copyhold estate, the reversion of which belonged to William Simpson,⁹⁴ and in 1608 the miller was Richard Simpson.⁹⁵ Presumably always a corn mill, it remained part of the manor and by 1802 and until the 1870s it was worked by the Brunsdon family, who were also farmers.⁹⁶ Milling finally ceased there in the early 20th century.⁹⁷ The mill, which remained standing in 1997, was apparently rebuilt in the early 19th century and the adjoining house was enlarged in the later 19th century.

Stone has been quarried at various places in Hazleton.⁹⁸ In 1615 parts of the south field were called quar furlong and mortar pit furlong⁹⁹ and in 1883 a farmhouse was rebuilt with stone quarried on its land.¹ In the later 20th century there was an open quarry on the north side of the village; it closed several years before 1997. None of Hazleton's residents listed in 1608 was identified as a tradesman or craftsman² and in the early 19th century only one or two families depended chiefly on trade or crafts for a livelihood.³ In the 1820s residents included a corn dealer, two masons, and a baker⁴ and in the mid 19th century several other village trades, including that of blacksmith, were practised.⁵ The Puesdown inn, the keeper of which traded also as a carpenter in 1851,⁶ had by 1856 been taken over by the village blacksmith, William Cove, and his family were in business there as carriers and coal merchants in the late 19th century and the early 20th.⁷ George Wheeler was village blacksmith in 1871⁸ and his family operated the smithy until the early 20th century;⁹ it had closed by the early 1930s.¹⁰ There was a village shop in 1835¹¹ and the Wheeler family ran it by the end of the century. The village had a post office in 1870 and until at least the Second World War.¹² In the later 20th century Cleanacres, an Andoversford firm dealing in agricultural sprays, built a small factory in the south-west of Hazleton, next to Shipton Downs Farm, for the production of spraying machinery. The factory employed people from outside Hazleton in 1997.¹³

⁷⁴ P.R.O., RG 11/2561.

⁷⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–1902 edns.); P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2.

⁷⁶ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁷⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1914–1939 edns.); Glos. R.O., D 5658/14.

⁷⁸ Below, Stowell, econ. hist.

⁷⁹ *1801 Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 180.

⁸⁰ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/13.

⁸¹ Ibid. RG 9/1788; RG 10/2652.

⁸² Ibid. MAF 68/1609/2; MAF 68/3295/17.

⁸³ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/62.

⁸⁴ Ibid. rolls/95.

⁸⁵ Ibid. D 1433; D 6148/3/5, deed 6 July 1859.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/351; Hazleton baptism reg. 1813–1979 (copy in Glos. R.O., PMF 172); cf. *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 310.

⁸⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 1 (1884 edn.).

⁸⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 502; (1889), 816.

⁸⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

⁹⁰ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 320–1; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 234; *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁹¹ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁹² Glos. R.O., D 678/rental 1355.

⁹³ Ibid. rolls/99a.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, f. 33v.

⁹⁵ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 1878, deeds 1802–18; G.D.R., T 1/206; P.R.O., HO 107/1969; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–79 edns.).

⁹⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 13 (1902, 1922 edns.).

⁹⁸ Ibid. Maps 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW.; XXXV. NE.; XXXVI. NW. (1883 edns.); Glos. R.O., D 6148/6/1.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier.

¹ Ibid. D 1388/SL 8/83.

² Smith, *Men and Armour*, 272.

³ *Census*, 1811.

⁴ Hazleton bapt. reg. 1813–1979.

⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/351; HO 107/1969.

⁶ Ibid. HO 107/1969.

⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.); Hazleton bapt. reg. 1813–1979.

⁸ P.R.O., RG 10/2651.

⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1894–1910 edns.).

¹⁰ Glos. R.O., DA 31/516/1/2, p. 33.

¹¹ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

¹² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

¹³ Inf. from Mr. D. Tongue, of Hazleton.

In the mid 13th century one resident landowner in Yanworth was named Nicholas Merchant.¹⁴ None of the Yanworth residents named in 1608 was, with the exception of the miller, identified as a tradesman or craftsman¹⁵ and in the early 19th century only one or two families depended chiefly on trade or crafts for a livelihood.¹⁶ A carter and a carpenter were recorded in the later 1820s.¹⁷ A malthouse established in the village before 1811¹⁸ was perhaps in operation in 1863. In 1878 one resident was a watchmaker.¹⁹ Yanworth had a village shop in 1863 and a post office in 1870; it retained both until at least the Second World War.²⁰

Buildings erected in Yanworth by Winchcombe abbey in the early 15th century evidently used roofing slates produced elsewhere on the Cotswolds.²¹ A quarry rented for 10s. on the eve of the Dissolution²² and in the mid 1540s²³ was presumably on Yanworth common,²⁴ where there were abandoned as well as newer workings in the late 19th century²⁵ and where quarrying continued after the First World War.²⁶ West of the village a field was known as the clay pits in the early 19th century²⁷ and there was an old limekiln near by in the late 19th century.²⁸ The woods near Yanworth gave employment to several men in the later 19th century²⁹ and a head forester was among Stowell Park estate employees at Yanworth in the later 20th century.³⁰ An estate yard established by the mid 19th century on the west side of Yanworth next to the woods and the river³¹ included a joinery.³² Saw mills operated there after the Second World War³³ and timber for fencing and firewood and Christmas trees were sold there in 1997.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By an agreement made with Winchcombe abbey in 1249 Cirencester abbey, as lord of Bradley hundred, held view of frankpledge once a year in Hazleton and Yanworth and had jurisdiction over thieves apprehended in both places. The view, the profits of which belonged to Winchcombe abbey,³⁴ was held at Martinmas and in the later 14th century and the early 15th perhaps only at

Yanworth, where Cirencester abbey's steward was given overnight hospitality.³⁵ By the same agreement all other pleas in Hazleton and Yanworth, including bloodshed and hue and cry but excepting Crown pleas, belonged to Winchcombe abbey.³⁶ A few court rolls covering the period 1341–1466 show that Winchcombe abbey held courts in Hazleton and Yanworth generally on the same day but sometimes in one and not the other, and usually once or twice a year but not at any regular time. Although the rector was impleaded in the Hazleton court in 1358 for a variety of causes, the courts' business was usually confined to tenurial and agrarian matters and perhaps the enforcement of the assize of ale.³⁷ A book recording courts of survey held for Hazleton and Yanworth manors on consecutive days in 1540 also survives.³⁸

In 1358 Hazleton had three churchwardens (*procuratores ecclesie*).³⁹ Later two churchwardens were appointed for Hazleton⁴⁰ and, by 1540, two for Yanworth,⁴¹ but by the late 17th century the two churches each had only one warden.⁴² Yanworth, which was regarded as a separate parish for poor-law purposes in 1676,⁴³ had its own constable in 1715.⁴⁴ No records of parish government are known to have survived but it was because Hazleton and Yanworth each had its own overseers of the poor and poor rates that they eventually became separate civil parishes.⁴⁵ Between 1776 and 1803 expenditure on poor relief in Yanworth more than quadrupled to £182, while in Hazleton, where less was spent, the rate of increase was even greater. In Yanworth 27 people received regular relief and 23 occasional relief in 1803. In Hazleton 12 received regular relief and 2 occasional relief.⁴⁶ In 1813, although fewer people were receiving regular help, the cost of relief was greater but in the next two years it fell, in Yanworth from £231 to £123 and in Hazleton from £154 to £118.⁴⁷ In 1825 expenditure on relief in Yanworth was £148 and in Hazleton £72 and the greater cost continued to be in Yanworth until 1834 when there it was £91 and in Hazleton £106.⁴⁸ Hazleton and Yanworth were both included in Northleach poor-law union in 1836⁴⁹ and they were part of Northleach rural

¹⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 318–19.

¹⁵ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 270.

¹⁶ *Census*, 1811.

¹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 404/IN 1/8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* D 1388/SL 3/5; D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* P 404/IN 1/8.

²⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/101, rot. 15.

²² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 457.

²³ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

²⁴ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

²⁵ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXV. SE. (1883 edn.).

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 5658/14.

²⁷ *Ibid.* D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812; G.D.R., T 1/206.

²⁸ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXVI. SW. (1883 edn.).

²⁹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; RG 12/2036.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 404/IN 1/8.

³¹ Cf. P.R.O., HO 107/1969, s.v. Yanworth, Yanworth Common; O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXV. 12 (1884 edn.).

³² P.R.O., RG 12/2036; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 5658/14.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/2/5, p. 32; 5/2, p. 255.

³⁴ *Ciren. Cart.* i, pp. 222–3.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ii, p. 922; *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/98, 98a, 101.

³⁶ *Ciren. Cart.* i, pp. 222–3.

³⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/61a, 61c, 62, 65–6, 66a, 94–6, 98, 98a, 98c, 99, 99a; cf. *ibid.* rolls/101.

³⁸ P.R.O., SC 2/175/1, ff. 32–4.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/65.

⁴⁰ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 42; xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 20.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* xxviii, 1540 visit. f. 64; xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 21; xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 55.

⁴² G.D.R., V 5/158t 3; V 5/355t 2; F 1/4, Hazleton faculty papers; vol. 319.

⁴³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 1, f. 113.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* SO 4.

⁴⁵ Poor Law Amendment Act, 1866, 29 & 30 Vic. c. 113, s. 18; *O.S. Area Bks.* (1884); *Census*, 1891.

⁴⁶ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1818, 146–7.

⁴⁸ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66, where the figure for the cost in Hazleton in 1828, identical to that given for Yanworth, is presumably an error; (1835), 65.

⁴⁹ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 533.

district from 1895⁵⁰ and of Cotswold district from 1974.

CHURCHES. Hazleton had a priest in 1086⁵¹ and the fabric of the parish church dates from the 12th century. The advowson was part of the estate acquired by the advocates of Béthune and was retained by them until 1217 or 1218 when Daniel of Béthune granted it to Winchcombe abbey.⁵² The living, recorded as a rectory from 1291,⁵³ remained in the gift of the abbey,⁵⁴ and in 1546 the first vacancy following the abbey's dissolution was filled by patrons under a grant for one turn by the abbey.⁵⁵ The Crown, which resumed the advowson after granting it to Thomas Seymour, Lord Seymour, in 1547,⁵⁶ filled later vacancies and the Lord Chancellor acted on its behalf in the mid 18th century and later.⁵⁷ From 1938, when Hazleton was united with Compton Abdale, the Lord Chancellor and the dean and chapter of Bristol cathedral had alternate rights of presentation⁵⁸ and 1952 the Lord Chancellor became sole patron of the united benefice.⁵⁹ As a result of later reorganizations Hazleton was united with Compton and Salperton from 1953,⁶⁰ with Salperton and Shipton Oliffe with Shipton Solers from 1962,⁶¹ and with Compton and Withington from 1975.⁶² In 1997, when a priest-in-charge served Hazleton from Withington, the Lord Chancellor had the right to present at one in every three vacancies in the united benefice and the bishop had the other turns.⁶³

Yanworth church was built in the 12th century presumably as a chapel to Hazleton church for it was not a separate living in 1217⁶⁴ and it was dependent on Hazleton in 1299.⁶⁵ In the early 14th century it had its own chaplain,⁶⁶ one of a succession of clergy whom, according to a judgement of 1366, the rectors of Hazleton had long appointed to perform all services except burials at Yanworth.⁶⁷ Although its church acquired burial rights before 1546⁶⁸ and a man was described as the parish priest of Yanworth in 1413,⁶⁹ Yanworth remained a chapelry of Hazleton⁷⁰ until 1938 when it became a chapelry of Hampnett.⁷¹ In 1964 Yanworth, together with

Stowell, was made an ecclesiastical parish in a united benefice including Chedworth.⁷² In 1975 Coln Rogers and Coln St. Dennis were added to the united benefice with the Lord Chancellor sharing its advowson in alternation with the dean and chapter of Gloucester and Queen's College, Oxford.⁷³ By 1997, when a priest-in-charge served Yanworth from Chedworth, the Lord Chancellor had acquired the dean and chapter's turn.⁷⁴

In 1291 Hazleton church was valued at £5 13s. 4d.⁷⁵ A judgement of 1299, given papal sanction in 1301, required the rector to cede the demesne tithes of Hazleton and Yanworth, together with tithes of cattle bred there and of newly broken land, to Winchcombe abbey.⁷⁶ In 1313 the bishop, acting as arbiter between rector and abbey, confirmed to the rector most of his land (of which a ploughland was said to have been held only on sufferance from the abbey), the houses occupied by himself and the Yanworth chaplain, the same common rights in the parish as other landholders, and payments arising from his duties in the church and its chapel, and awarded him some of the tenants' tithes, including those of wool, lambs, and hay. The abbey, which under the bishop's award had the remainder of the rector's land and the tenants' corn tithes,⁷⁷ was later confirmed in possession of the demesne tithes several times.⁷⁸

The rector's glebe included 3 yardlands in the Hazleton open fields and c. 12 a. in the Yanworth fields in the late 16th century;⁷⁹ his share of the Hazleton fields was measured at 119 a. in 1615⁸⁰ and at 82 a. on the eve of inclosure in 1764.⁸¹ In 1615 a farm in Hazleton and another in Yanworth were exempt from corn, hay, and wood tithes⁸² and later they paid yearly moduses of £4 and £2 2s. 6d. respectively for their small tithes.⁸³ The Hazleton tithes were commuted for land at inclosure in 1764, after which the glebe had 289 a. in Hazleton and 12 a. in Yanworth. The rector in the late 18th century and the early 19th repeatedly refused to accept the Yanworth modus for small tithes and he greatly increased the living's value.⁸⁴ The Yanworth tithes were commuted for a corn rent charge of £254 in 1840.⁸⁵ The benefice, which was farmed for £15

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/300/2.

⁵¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 170.

⁵² *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 310–11, 314.

⁵³ *Reg. Giffard*, 398; *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 337, 342; *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 29.

⁵⁴ *Reg. Giffard*, 512; *Reg. Orleton*, pp. 76–7; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 31.

⁵⁵ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxxv.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 29.

⁵⁷ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxxv; *G.D.R.* vol. 384, f. 113.

⁵⁸ *Lond. Gaz.* 31 Oct. 1930, pp. 6730–2; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1938–9), 54–5.

⁵⁹ *Lond. Gaz.* 1 Aug. 1952, pp. 4127–8.

⁶⁰ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1953–4), 56–7; *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 167.

⁶¹ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1970), 56–7.

⁶² *G.D.R.*, V 7/1/69.

⁶³ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1996–7), 13, 111.

⁶⁴ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 314.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 342–6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 337–40.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 346–53.

⁶⁸ *Hockaday Abs.* ccxxxv. ⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1413–16, 83.

⁷⁰ *Eccl. Misc.* 75; *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. cclxiv.

⁷¹ *Lond. Gaz.* 31 Oct. 1930, pp. 6730–2; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1938–9), 54–5.

⁷² *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1973), 56; *Glos. R.O.*, P 404/IN 3/1. *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1956–7), 50–1 and (1957–8), 50–1, suggest that the union with Chedworth took place several years earlier.

⁷³ *G.D.R.*, V 7/1/71; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1978), 31.

⁷⁴ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1996–7), 17, 107.

⁷⁵ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

⁷⁶ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 342–6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 337–40.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 12, 14.

⁷⁹ *G.D.R.*, V 5/158t 1–2.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier at end of vol.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* D 6577/3; Bill for confirming Haselton incl. award (1766): copy in possession of Mr. David Tongue, of the Glebe House, Hazleton.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/IN 1/1, glebe terrier.

⁸³ Bill for confirming Haselton incl. award; *G.D.R.*, V 5/355t 2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 6577/3.

⁸⁴ *G.D.R.*, V 5/158t 4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* T 1/206.

6s. 8d. in the early 16th century,⁸⁶ was valued at £19 5s. 4d. clear in 1535,⁸⁷ £76 in 1650,⁸⁸ and £100 in the early 18th century⁸⁹ and was said to be worth c. £500 in 1856.⁹⁰

The rector's dwelling in 1313⁹¹ presumably stood south of Hazleton churchyard on the site of the later rectory house,⁹² a two- and three-storeyed rubble building with a stone-slate roof and a three-gabled, ashlar-faced south front of several dates. In 1615 the house was described as having eight bays,⁹³ about four of which may survive as the north range of the present rectangular main block; the north-west room has a moulded bridging beam and a north stair-tower. Of the two gabled bays forming the main block's south range, the western may be contemporary with the north range and the eastern, which is larger and has mullioned and transomed windows, may have been added in the later 17th century, perhaps after 1672 when the rector was assessed on four hearths.⁹⁴ The west service wing, of one and a half storeys, probably dates from the 18th century, when the house became a farmhouse;⁹⁵ plain mullions were inserted in some windows and a new barn was built to the west. In the early 1840s the rector H. P. Jones added a bay in 17th-century style on the east as accommodation for his curate.⁹⁶ Later the curate's door, on the east, became the principal entrance to the farmhouse, a through passage was made and a new staircase inserted, and the south door in the central bay was blocked.

In 1861 the rector W. H. Stanton built himself a much larger residence, in a Tudor style to designs by Medland and Maberly, on the west side of Hazleton village.⁹⁷ That house was sold in 1938 following the union of Hazleton with Compton Abdale. The old rectory house had been sold in 1920 together with most of the glebe.⁹⁸

A house occupied by the Yanworth chaplain in 1313⁹⁹ had been built by the rector of Hazleton and stood next to Yanworth churchyard.¹ It was represented by two bays of building on the glebe in the late 16th century² and a small cottage for which the rector was exempted from hearth tax in 1672.³ The cottage, called the par-

sonage house in 1705,⁴ remained part of the glebe in the 19th century.⁵

In 1332 John of Aston acquired the rectory and he was dispensed to be non-resident for two years;⁶ in 1337 he was licensed for a year to study letters in England.⁷ Henry Benn, rector in 1357, became embroiled in several disputes,⁸ including one with Winchcombe abbey over his duty to appoint the Yanworth chaplain and maintain the chancel at Yanworth, obligations that were confirmed by the bishop's official in 1366.⁹ In 1425 John Walcote, a lay pastor of Hazleton, was accused of Lollardism but, after lengthy interrogation in Winchcombe church, he abjured heretical beliefs.¹⁰

Walter Turbot, rector of Hazleton from 1546,¹¹ was a former monk of Winchcombe abbey;¹² he later also served Stowell and in 1564 was dispensed to hold two benefices. In 1572 he was failing to preach quarterly sermons at Hazleton,¹³ where his successor, another pluralist,¹⁴ also neglected to preach and was ordered early in 1577 to give a sermon before Lady Day.¹⁵ The next rector was entirely unlearned and was said in 1584 to be guilty of simony;¹⁶ his successor was a graduate and a preacher.¹⁷ The chaplains or curates paid by the rectors to serve Yanworth¹⁸ presumably included the minister who exhibited indifferent knowledge on matters of doctrine and Scripture in 1551.¹⁹ In 1576 the curate, who also served Compton Abdale,²⁰ was presented for failing to hold services at proper times and for not reading the homilies and teaching the catechism.²¹ The curate in 1593 was a sufficient scholar but not a preacher.²²

Thomas Whittington, rector of Hazleton from 1604,²³ was also rector of Great Rissington²⁴ and he employed curates at Hazleton and Yanworth.²⁵ In the 1640s both rectories were sequestered for Whittington's support of the royalist cause²⁶ and in 1650 Bartholomew Dobson, a preaching minister, served Hazleton.²⁷ Dobson had been ejected by 1654, when John Duncce or Wolgrave was presented by the Lord Protector,²⁸ but he regained the living after the Restoration.²⁹ The minister serv-

⁸⁶ P.R.O., C 1/320, no. 65.

⁸⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437.

⁸⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁸⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 462; cf. G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 72.

⁹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 310.

⁹¹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 339.

⁹² O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/1N 1/1, glebe terrier.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., E 179/247/13, rot. 32.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Hazleton and Turkdean leases 1700-1827.

⁹⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

⁹⁷ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 412-13.

⁹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/88; D 4858/2/4/1920/1; 1965/23.

⁹⁹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 340. ¹ *Ibid.* 348-9.

² G.D.R., V 5/158t 2.

³ P.R.O., E 179/247/13, rot. 31d.

⁴ G.D.R., V 5/355t 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* V 5/158t 4; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1381/88.

⁶ *Reg. Orleton*, pp. 78, 115.

⁷ *Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Hemenhale*, f. 12.

⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/65, 99a.

⁹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 346-53.

¹⁰ *Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Morgan*, ii, ff. 46v.-47v.

¹¹ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

¹² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 87.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

¹⁴ *Alum. Oxon. 1500-1714*, i. 242, s.v. Carrington, Gervais.

¹⁵ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 89v.

¹⁶ Hockaday Abs. xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* xxv, 1532 subsidy, f. 7; xxviii, 1540 stipendiaries, f. 23.

¹⁹ *E.H.R.* xix. 111.

²⁰ Hockaday Abs. xlvii, 1576 visit. ff. 55, 112.

²¹ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 92v.

²² Hockaday Abs. lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 10.

²³ *Ibid.* ccxxxv.

²⁴ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 104.

²⁵ G.D.R., V 1/124, 281.

²⁶ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 178.

²⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

²⁸ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv; *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, 172.

²⁹ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 363.

ing Yanworth had been ejected probably along with Duncce.³⁰ Under Charles Seward, rector 1675–1716, Hazleton and Yanworth were served in succession by father and son Thomas and Stephen Brice,³¹ assistant masters of Northleach grammar school;³² Thomas was also rector of Church Lench (Worcs.) and Stephen was later stripped of his teaching post for neglect of his duties and constant drunkenness.³³ Successive non-resident rectors from 1727 usually employed one curate for both churches³⁴ and in the 1740s the Sunday service at Hazleton, and presumably Yanworth, was alternately in the morning and the afternoon.³⁵ Between 1750 and 1784 the rector was John Rawlins, a schoolmaster in Evesham (Worcs.).³⁶ James Preedy, rector 1785–93, was living at St. Albans (Herts.) in 1786.³⁷ His successor Harry Waller, the rector of Farmington,³⁸ served Hazleton church in person in the early 19th century³⁹ and became the principal landowner there. After his death in 1824⁴⁰ Hazleton rectory went to his last curate at Yanworth, who continued to serve Yanworth in person from Chedworth and later from Rendcomb.⁴¹ Henry Prowse Jones held Hazleton in plurality with Edgeworth from 1840. William Henry Stanton, his successor at Hazleton in 1860, was resident⁴² and remained rector until 1910.⁴³

Hazleton parish church, which is dedicated to *ST. ANDREW*,⁴⁴ has a chancel, a nave with north aisle and south porch, and a west tower. The chancel and nave survive from the 12th-century church and are divided by an arch of two orders with chevron ornament on responds with scallop capitals. Twelfth-century shafts with scallop capitals in the eastern corners of the chancel may have once supported a vault. A 12th-century corbel head has been reset outside on the chancel north wall. The south doorway also has chevron ornament and scallop capitals. The porch was added in the 14th century. The tower was added in the 15th century and has a blocked west doorway with casement and roll mouldings and carved spandrels. Its Gothic-style tracery probably dates from c. 1670 when, ten years after two of its four bells had been taken down to prevent its collapse, the tower was rebuilt. In 1722 surplus funds were assigned for paving the church and making new doors, pews, and wainscoting.⁴⁵ Poor lighting was a matter of concern in 1807.⁴⁶

In 1866 the church was extensively restored

and enlarged by the addition of the two-bayed aisle, all to designs by the firm of Medland, Maberly, and Medland.⁴⁷ The north windows of the aisle have deep gables which penetrate its lean-to roof internally and its end walls both contain re-used cusped lancets, possibly from the former north wall. The chancel fenestration was evidently renewed at the same time.

New fittings introduced in 1866 included wooden pews and a circular pulpit of Painswick stone.⁴⁸ Among the older fittings retained is a large 13th-century octagonal font with blind arcading. The sill of the porch's east window (now blocked) is formed of part of a slab decorated with a foliated cross. There are few monuments inside the church, that to the Revd. Bartholomew Dobson (d. 1670) having been reset outside on the chancel south wall.⁴⁹ Several windows contain memorial glass, the earliest installed during the restoration of 1866.⁵⁰ Two bells, including the sanctus, were rehung in the tower c. 1670 and the other two remained in the church in 1721 when a faculty was obtained for replacing those in the tower.⁵¹ One bell in the tower in the late 20th century was cast by Abraham Rudhall in 1721 and the other, the sanctus, was cast by Thomas Mears in 1840.⁵² In 1576 the church's chalice was replaced by a new cup and cover. In 1708 the cup and cover were refashioned⁵³ and in 1866 they were converted as a chalice and paten.⁵⁴ A small lead chalice possibly of the 11th or 12th century was found in a grave in the churchyard before 1914.⁵⁵ In the churchyard, south of the tower are the remains of a medieval stone coffin and to the west are small groups of richly carved tombchests and headstones, most of them of the 17th and 18th centuries; an earlier tomb is capped by a thick stone displaying a cross on a stepped base. The parish registers survive from 1597 but are incomplete before the 18th century.⁵⁶

Yanworth church bore a dedication to *ST. MICHAEL* in 1743;⁵⁷ it, or a chantry in it, may have been dedicated to St. Mary in 1355.⁵⁸ The church is built of finely jointed ashlar and comprises a chancel and a nave with north transept or chapel, south porch, and small west tower. A continuous moulded plinth confirms that the transept was part of the original late 12th-century plan and the north walls of the chancel, transept, and nave retain round-headed windows. The 12th-century south doorway has chevron mould-

³⁰ *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, 198.

³¹ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv; G.D.R., V 1/124, 281.

³² Glos. R.O., P 231/IN 1/2; Hockaday Abs. ccc.

³³ *Alum. Oxon. 1500–1714*, i. 178; Queen's Coll. Archives, Oxf., 4T 46–50.

³⁴ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv; G.D.R. vol. 285b(3), pp. 45–6.

³⁵ G.D.R. vols. 397, f. 72; 381a, f. 72.

³⁶ Ibid. vols. 319; 381a, f. 72; *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*, iii. 1178.

³⁷ G.D.R. vol. 382, f. 38.

³⁸ Hockaday Abs. cxcv, ccxxxv.

³⁹ G.D.R., V 1/124.

⁴⁰ Above, manors; Farmington, manor.

⁴¹ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv; Glos. R.O., P 404/IN 1/8.

⁴² Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv, cxci; G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 113.

⁴³ Memorial in ch.

⁴⁴ G.D.R. vol. 285b(1), f. 30.

⁴⁵ Ibid. vol. 279a, f. 24 and v.; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 44 n.

⁴⁶ Ibid. V 5/158t 4.

⁴⁷ *Builder*, 2 Feb. 1867; memorial in ch. to the Revd. W. H. Stanton (d. 1910) dates the restoration to 1864; cf. U. Daubeny, *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 11, 108–9.

⁴⁸ *Builder*, 2 Feb. 1867.

⁴⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 45.

⁵⁰ *Builder*, 2 Feb. 1867.

⁵¹ G.D.R. vol. 279a, f. 24 and v.

⁵² *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 365–6.

⁵³ Glos. R.O., P 172/IN 1/1; Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv, 1572.

⁵⁴ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 115–16.

⁵⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxiii. 222; Glos. R.O., P 172/CW 3/1.

⁵⁶ Glos. R.O., P 172/IN 1/1; *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 167.

⁵⁷ G.D.R. vol. 307, f. 72.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678/rental 1355.

ing, keeled shafts, and carved capitals. The simple chamfered doorway in the north wall of the nave has been blocked, as has a priests' doorway in the south wall of the chancel. The chancel arch, which has a billeted hoodmould, is in a 12th-century style but is largely late 19th-century work. The transept arch was rebuilt in the 14th century or perhaps in the 15th century when several alterations were undertaken. As parts of that work the nave and transept were reroofed, a parapet was erected, the tower was remodelled, or perhaps inserted in the west end of the nave, and new windows were placed in the nave west wall and the transept east and west walls. The upper part of the tower and windows on the south side of the nave appear to have been altered in the early 18th century.

In 1899 the 3rd earl of Eldon had the church restored at his own expense to designs by C. Hodgson Fowler of Durham. During that work, carried out by the earl's workmen and using stone from his estate, the church was reroofed and the east window replaced. Part of the transept was screened off to form a vestry and the chancel screen and other wooden fittings, including a new pulpit and pews, were installed.⁵⁹

The church retains its 12th-century font, which has cable moulding around the rim and stands on a 19th-century base. The communion rails date from the early 17th century. The walls at the west end of the nave display traces of post-Reformation decoration revealed during the restoration of 1899.⁶⁰ Most of the windows in the eastern half of the church contain patterns formed by fragments of coloured glass, some of it medieval. The head of an early medieval cross is kept in the church (on a window sill in the transept in 1997). The only wall monument in the church dates from the later 19th century. Outside, the chancel south wall displays two small memorial plaques of the mid 18th century. The two bells were cast by Abraham Rudhall in 1713⁶¹ and the plate includes a chalice and paten made, and acquired by the church, in 1721.⁶² The surviving church registers begin in 1695.⁶³

NONCONFORMITY. A single nonconformist was recorded in Hazleton and Yanworth in 1676.⁶⁴ No other mention of nonconformity in either village has been found before 1835 when

a group led by James Smith, a Baptist minister in Cheltenham,⁶⁵ registered a house in Hazleton as its place of worship.⁶⁶ That meeting was evidently short lived and missions to Hazleton by Wesleyan Methodists in the mid 1840s and by the Northleach Congregational church in the late 1850s failed to take root.⁶⁷

EDUCATION. A Sunday school had been established in Hazleton by 1818 with the support of the principal residents.⁶⁸ In 1833, when it taught 40 children, Hazleton also had a day school which taught c. 11 children at their parents' expense.⁶⁹ The Sunday school, which affiliated to the National Society c. 1837,⁷⁰ received a subscription from the non-resident rector in 1841.⁷¹ In 1847, when it was held in the church, it taught 31 children and a dame school supported partly by subscriptions taught 10 children on Sundays as well as weekdays.⁷² In 1851 the wife of an agricultural labourer was a schoolmistress and in 1861 the wife of a gardener had the same occupation.⁷³ From 1862 W. H. Stanton, the rector, ran a day school and the Sunday school with the help of voluntary contributions and occasional grants from the National Society, and in 1864 H. E. Waller provided a schoolroom. The day school had an average attendance of 17 in 1875,⁷⁴ and mixed and infants classes were held in the schoolroom, the loft of a coach house at Manor Farm, in the late 1870s and early 1880s.⁷⁵ A larger schoolroom, designed by James Medland in partnership with his son⁷⁶ and built on land in the south of the village given by Edmund Waller,⁷⁷ opened in 1885. Known as Hazleton National (later C. of E.) school, the day school had an average attendance of 30 in 1885 but it remained small and its teacher rarely remained in post for more than two or three years.⁷⁸ Attendance averaged 16 in 1904⁷⁹ and 25 in 1910⁸⁰ and there were only 9 children on the roll in 1914.⁸¹ The school closed in 1916.⁸² The schoolroom reopened in 1938 as a Sunday schoolroom and parish hall and in 1954 the parochial church council bought it.⁸³

Yanworth had a Sunday school in 1825.⁸⁴ It taught 31 children in 1833, when the teacher's salary was paid by the lord of the manor, Lord Stowell, and books were supplied by the rector,⁸⁵ and 15 children in 1847.⁸⁶ There was probably a dame school in the village in 1851.⁸⁷ A day

⁵⁹ G.D.R., F 1/1/1899/5; Glos. R.O., D 2666/2.

⁶⁰ W. Hobart Bird, *Mural Paintings in Glos. Churches*, 33-4.

⁶¹ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 676-7.

⁶² *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 116.

⁶³ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 300.

⁶⁴ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 540.

⁶⁵ *New Guide to Chelt.* [1837], 149.

⁶⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxv.

⁶⁷ G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Methodism in Chelt. and District* (1912), 78.

⁶⁸ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 301.

⁶⁹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 317.

⁷⁰ Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton.

⁷¹ Glos. R.O., D 3616/20.

⁷² Nat. Soc. *Inquiry*, 1846-7, Glos. 10-11.

⁷³ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; RG 9/1787.

⁷⁴ Ibid. ED 7/37, Hasleton Nat. sch.; Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton.

⁷⁵ Glos. R.O., P 172/SC 1/1; P.R.O., RG 11/2560; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 1 (1884 edn.).

⁷⁶ *Glouc. Jnl.* 23 June 1894.

⁷⁷ Glos. R.O., D 6148/1/6; Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton.

⁷⁸ Glos. R.O., P 172/SC 1/1; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 502.

⁷⁹ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 185.

⁸⁰ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1911 (H.M.S.O.), 162.

⁸¹ Glos. R.O., P 98/SC 1.

⁸² P.R.O., ED 7/37, Hasleton Nat. sch.

⁸³ Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton; G.D.R., A 17/10/115.

⁸⁴ G.D.R. vol. 383, no. cclxiv.

⁸⁵ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 317.

⁸⁶ Nat. Soc. *Inquiry*, 1846-7, Glos. 10-11.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

school recorded from 1863⁸⁸ was run together with the Sunday school by the Revd. W. H. Stanton.⁸⁹ Re-established in 1875⁹⁰ in a new schoolroom built behind a schoolhouse⁹¹ by the 3rd earl of Eldon, the day school was known as Yanworth National school and was supported principally by voluntary contributions. The pupils, of whom there were *c.* 20 on the roll in 1876,⁹² included children from Stowell.⁹³ The

average attendance was 30 in 1885⁹⁴ and almost the same in 1904⁹⁵ and fell from 41 in 1910 to 27 in 1922.⁹⁶ The school closed in 1928⁹⁷ and the schoolroom served for a few years as a village hall.⁹⁸

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. None known.

NORTHLEACH WITH EASTINGTON

THE PARISH, comprising the small town of Northleach and a rural area called Eastington, lies in the central Cotswolds 18 km. ESE. of Cheltenham and 16 km. NE. of Cirencester. A manor based there by the late 8th century was called Leach⁹⁹ from the small river that rises close by in Hampnett parish, but from 1100 or earlier the place was called Northleach to distinguish it from other Gloucestershire settlements further downstream that took their names from the river.¹ Settlement at Northleach comprised a series of small hamlets lying along the river valley, at the highest of which the owner of the manor, Gloucester abbey, founded a borough and market town *c.* 1220. In the late Middle Ages, when the town served as a distribution centre for the Cotswold wool trade, it enjoyed prosperity and a significance out of proportion to its size. That trade also stimulated a small clothmaking industry, and the town developed a fairly sophisticated system of borough government. After the loss of its trade and manufacture in the early modern period Northleach had only a minor place among Gloucestershire towns, though its importance was enhanced by coaching in the early 19th century and by a role in local administration.

The ancient parish was bounded on the west by the Roman Foss way, which was recorded there as the 'Fos' *c.* 1220.² From the Foss the north-east boundary follows field boundaries and, west of Farmington village, the ramparts of a hill fort called Norbury, before joining the river Leach below Eastington; the river forms the east boundary. The south boundary follows

field boundaries from the Leach westwards to the site of a long barrow called Crickley barrow on part of a medieval salt way which led from the Thames at Lechlade to Droitwich (Worcs.). The salt way, recorded by that name in 1652³ and giving to an isolated farm building the name Saltway barn, provides the parish boundary as far as the Foss way, at a crossroads that was probably the meeting place of Bradley hundred.⁴

By the establishment of Northleach borough 43 a. (17.5 ha.) was separated from the ancient parish for administrative purposes, leaving 3,955 a. (1,601 ha.) as a rural manor⁵ called Northleach Foreign or Eastington.⁶ Eastington (the name more commonly used by the modern period) became a separate civil parish in the mid 19th century,⁷ but it was joined with the town again in 1950 to form the parish of Northleach with Eastington; a small part of Hampnett on the west side of the Foss way, including a former prison, was then added to the new parish.⁸ Until the early 19th century a hamlet in Coberley called Upper (or Little) Coberley or Pinswell, which had been an outlying member of Northleach manor in the 11th century, remained attached to Northleach Foreign for some administrative purposes.⁹

The low and narrow valley of the river Leach is the central feature of the landscape. The river is joined at Northleach town by a tributary spring, rising on the hillside to the south at a place called the Wellings¹⁰ or Seven Springs, and other springs rise further down the Leach valley. The north end of the parish includes part of the valley of a feeder spring of the Sherborne brook.

⁸⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 292; (1870), 579.

⁸⁹ Nat. Soc. files, Hazleton.

⁹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, S 404/1.

⁹¹ *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 9 (1884 edn.); *Glos. R.O.*, D 5658/14.

⁹² *P.R.O.*, ED 7/35/390.

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, S 404/4.

⁹⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 502.

⁹⁵ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 192.

⁹⁶ *Bd. of Educ., List* 21, 1911, 169; 1922, 109.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, S 404/3.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* DA 31/516/2/5, p. 32; DA 31/115/1, min. 6 May 1946.

⁹⁹ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 40; *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.; *Reg. Regum Anglo-Norm.* ii, App. (p. 410). This account was written in 1997 and 1998.

¹ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 40-1; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 55, 61, 129.

² *P.R.O.*, C 115/76, f. 68v.

³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./33.

⁴ Above, Bradley hundred.

⁵ *O.S. Area Bk.* Northleach (1884); Eastington (1884).

⁶ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11; *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 633; *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VIII/1248, rot. 8d.; *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/settlements/32.

⁷ *O.S. Area Bk.* Eastington (1884).

⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231a/PC 2/3, mins. 3 Oct. 1949, 2 Jan., 6 Mar., 3 July, 2 Oct. 1950.

⁹ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 174, 178; *P.R.O.*, E 179/113/31a; Rudder, *Glos.* 580; *Glos. R.O.*, Q/REL 1, Bradley hundred.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678, Sherborne est. maps *c.* 1820 (map V).

Otherwise the parish is formed of level, mainly treeless Cotswold upland at around 170–190 m. The bulk of the land is formed of the Great Oolite, with the Inferior Oolite and fuller's earth appearing in the Leach valley.¹¹ Much of the land was once farmed as open fields and there was common downland near the north and south boundaries. At parliamentary inclosure in 1783¹² the south part of the parish was formed into large fields bounded by drystone walls, for which the Act laid down a height of 4 ft. 8 ins. at roadsides.¹³ In the mid and later 19th century some small coppices and fox-coverts were planted among the fields.

Shortly before 1627 land in the Leach valley at the east boundary was taken into New park (later called Lodge park), a deer park and deer-coursing paddock created by John Dutton, owner of the Sherborne estate and of Eastington manor.¹⁴ Between 1726 and 1728 his descendant Sir John Dutton inclosed open-field and downland to take in more land,¹⁵ which extended the park to the Eastington–Aldsworth road. About 1820 Lodge park, which also included land in Sherborne (where the 17th-century lodge house stands), Aldsworth, and Farmington, had 151 a. in Eastington; that land was then partly farmed as arable fields, interspersed by a geometrical pattern of plantations,¹⁶ mainly of beech.

In the north part of the parish, adjoining Farmington, there is an extensive rectangular hill fort, covering 80 a.¹⁷ The fort may have been called Hertbury in the early 13th century, when Hertbury gate was mentioned,¹⁸ probably situated where the road from Farmington village to the Foss way broke through the fort's west bank, but in 1621 and later it was called Norbury.¹⁹ Much of the bank is still visible on the east and west sides, other parts having been destroyed by ploughing before 1770.²⁰ In the part of the parish south of the town, near Winterwell Farm, traces of extensive ditches and enclosures have been observed,²¹ and there was perhaps another ancient earthwork further north at Helen's ditch, which was recorded in 1642 and 1706 as Ellins ditch.²²

In 1327 23 people were assessed for tax in Northleach borough and 26 in Northleach Foreign (Eastington).²³ For the poll tax of 1381 only a fragment survives of the original assessment made for the borough, but it presumably contained some 200–300 people, seeing that a

later, reassessment roll found an additional 41 lesser payers (classed as labourers or servants).²⁴ For the foreign the first assessment, also fragmentary, has 24 or more people, while 5 lesser payers were included in the reassessment roll.²⁵ In 1551 c. 400 communicants were recorded in the whole parish,²⁶ and in 1563 119 households were recorded in the town and 12 households in Eastington.²⁷ The whole parish was said to have 440 communicants in 1603,²⁸ 120 families in 1650,²⁹ and c. 900 inhabitants in 200 houses c. 1710.³⁰ About 1770 the figures produced by what was said to be a careful local census were 683 inhabitants comprising 149 families,³¹ and in 1801 814 people were enumerated, 664 in Northleach town and 150 in Eastington. The town's population rose to 795 by 1831 and to 962 by 1861 but later declined to 787 by 1891 and 596 by 1931. Eastington's population rose to 442 by 1861, fell away to 307 by 1901, but then stabilized and was 334 in 1931. In 1951 the town and Eastington, united once more as a single parish, had a population of 932. There was then little change until the 1980s: in 1981 the population of the parish was 1,043 but new building in the town, following the opening of a bypass in 1984, raised it to 1,462 by 1991.³²

From the mid 18th century the road running through Northleach town from west to east was one of the principal thoroughfares of the county as the route from Gloucester and Cheltenham to Oxford and London. Earlier, however, it was of less significance than the Foss way from Cirencester to Stow-on-the-Wold, passing west of the town; it was the Foss that was used to define the town's position in an account of c. 1710.³³ The road passing through Northleach town was called Burford way east of the town in 1640 and 1705³⁴ from the next market town in that direction, and west of the town it was described in 1376 as the way to Hampnett³⁵ and in 1576 as the way to Cheltenham.³⁶ Gloucester during the Middle Ages was probably reached from Northleach by a route through Chedworth and Elkstone,³⁷ leaving the town at Millend. Before the coaching era much traffic travelling from the Gloucester and Cheltenham direction towards Burford and Oxford evidently bypassed the town by a road following the high ground to the north, recorded as the ridgeway in 1600,³⁸ as the Gloucester to Burford road in 1707,³⁹ and as the old London road in 1783.⁴⁰ It branched

¹¹ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn., revised to 1879).

¹² Below, econ. hist. (agric.).

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107 (s.v. allotments to rectory lessee and vicar).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* D 678/Northleach par./22–3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 53a–c, 133, 137a, 259a.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* D 678/Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map H).

¹⁷ *R.C.H.M. Glos.* i. 87–9.

¹⁸ *P.R.O.*, C 115/76, f. 68v.

¹⁹ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 118.

²⁰ *Rudder, Glos.* 579.

²¹ *R.C.H.M. Glos.* i. 88, 90.

²² *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./86, 333.

²³ *Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327*, 11.

²⁴ Cf. the returns for two other small Cotswold towns: Fairford, where the two lists contain 161 and 22, and Lechlade, c. 114 and 24.

²⁵ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 287, 312, which misinterprets an abbreviation for 'forinsecus' as 'forum': cf. *P.R.O.*, E 179/113/31a.

²⁶ *E.H.R.* xix. 112.

²⁷ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C.* 790, f. 24.

²⁸ *Eccl. Misc.* 94.

²⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

³⁰ *Atkins, Glos.* 583.

³¹ *Rudder, Glos.* 581.

³² *Census, 1801–1991*.

³³ *Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc.* c. 3, f. 154.

³⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./20, 75.

³⁵ *P.R.O.*, C 115/76, ff. 39v.–40.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, p. 219.

³⁷ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 184, 211.

³⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 117–18.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 247.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Q/RI 107 (public roads).

from the later main road on Pusedown in Hazleton parish and rejoined it c. 6 km. further east at the boundary of Northleach and Farmington parishes.⁴¹

The road through the town was turnpiked in 1751⁴² and by the 1770s was established as the principal coaching route from Gloucester and South Wales to London.⁴³ The turnpike trust initially took responsibility also for the old London road: in 1777 there was a turnpike on it north of Hampnett village, as well as one on the main road at Hampnett downs,⁴⁴ and in 1826 it was described as a disused turnpike road.⁴⁵ Although the old London road was apparently never given a stone surface, some coaches and wagons presumably continued to go that way in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, perhaps using the New Barn inn, in Farmington parish,⁴⁶ as a staging-post rather than Northleach town. In the 1820s there was a turnpike gate at its junction with the main road east of the town.⁴⁷ In 1997 most of the old London road survived as a broad green lane, but a stretch in Hampnett, just west of the Northleach with Eastington parish boundary, had by then vanished under ploughland. The Foss way along the west boundary of the parish was a turnpike road from 1755 to 1877.⁴⁸

By 1757 a London to Gloucester stagecoach ran through the town, making three trips a week,⁴⁹ and from 1785 Northleach was on the mailcoach route from London to Gloucester and South Wales.⁵⁰ The King's Head at Northleach became the principal coaching inn and posting house, with from c. 1820 the Sherborne Arms as a less successful rival.⁵¹ A number of smaller inns also served road transport, and in the 1820s stables were maintained in the town by Heath & Co. and John Spencer, two of the principal Gloucester operators of coaches and carriers' wagons.⁵² In 1830, when traffic on the road contributed largely to the town's 'appearance of liveliness and business', the mail and five other coaches operated outward and return services between London and Gloucester and Cheltenham each weekday, and a seventh ran beyond Cheltenham to Worcester.⁵³ Coach

traffic through Northleach was reduced from 1841 by the opening of a station at Cirencester on a branch from the Great Western railway,⁵⁴ though the following year, and presumably until the completion of the railway link between Swindon and Gloucester in 1845, the mail and two other London coaches still passed through the town, connecting with the railway at Steventon (Berks., later Oxon.).⁵⁵ In 1853 only a single coach ran through between Oxford and Cheltenham.⁵⁶ The failure of various schemes for a direct rail link between those two places⁵⁷ helped to give the road, which was disturnpiked in 1870,⁵⁸ a continuing local importance in the later 19th century.

With the growth of motor traffic in the 20th century the road through Northleach became once more, as the A40 trunk road, one of the main arteries of communication between South Wales and London. As early as 1903 the Northleach rural district council was lobbying the government and county council for the regulation of motor cars,⁵⁹ by 1929 the speed of traffic through the town and the obstruction of the main street by parking concerned the parish council,⁶⁰ and by the early 1930s the crossroads on the Foss way by the old prison were the scene of many road accidents.⁶¹ In 1933 motor traffic was said to have some extent 'resuscitated' Northleach,⁶² but later in the century it came to be seen as a hindrance to its economy, deterring residential development. Although much of the long-distance freight traffic ceased to pass through Northleach with the completion of the M4 motorway in the early 1970s,⁶³ the building of a bypass, which had been under discussion from the 1930s, was eagerly anticipated.⁶⁴ It was opened north of the town in 1984,⁶⁵ its course running for the most part just south of the old ridgeway road.

The site where Northleach town was laid out c. 1220 was the highest (and evidently the primary) hamlet of a series of small settlements along the river Leach in Anglo-Saxon and early medieval times. The existence of the hamlet, a reasonable supposition from the location there of the parish church (recorded from 1100⁶⁶ with

⁴¹ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁴² Crickley Hill to Campsfield Road Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28.

⁴³ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); Rudder, *Glos.* 579. The statement in some accounts of Northleach (e.g. *Glos. and Avon Life*, May 1976, 39; *Glos. Colln.* R 217.20) that the main road was diverted into the town only in 1830 may derive from a misunderstanding of Telford's survey of the mail route in 1824: *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 98/2.

⁴⁴ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1433; D 6148/5/2.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Glouc. Jnl.* 15 Dec. 1777 (advert for Tewkes. wagon); 12 July 1779; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁴⁷ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁴⁸ *Glos. and Warws. Road Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁴⁹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 29 Nov. 1757.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 15 Aug. 1785; 3 Oct. 1814; *Paterson's Roads* (1829), 120, map at front.

⁵¹ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 152; below, this section.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/OV 2/4, rates 1823-6; cf. *Glouc. Jnl.* 16 Nov. 1818; 12 June 1820; 7 Apr., 5 May 1827.

⁵³ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 152-3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* (1842), 97-8, 116; E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.* revised C. R. Clinker (1964), i. 63.

⁵⁵ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1842), 125; MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.* i. 53.

⁵⁶ *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852-3), 150.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 202, 217, 225, 275, 277, 310.

⁵⁸ *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, pp. 337, 359.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* P 231a/PC 2/1, mins. 28 Mar., 18 Apr. 1928; PC 2/2, min. 16 Sept. 1929.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* DA 31/100/5, pp. 200, 218, 239.

⁶² W. J. Monk, *Northleach and Around* (1933), 8; copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PA 231/1.

⁶³ *Glos. and Avon Life*, May 1976, 39.

⁶⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, pp. 429, 433; 100/8, p. 261; P 231a/PC 2/2, min. 8 Aug. 1946; PC 2/4, mins. 2, 30 Nov. 1959, 15 July 1963; 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future' (Northleach W.I., 1975), f. 33; copy in *Glos. R.O.*, D 3295/11/6.

⁶⁵ Plaque at E. end of bypass.

⁶⁶ Below, church.



FIG. 7. NORTHLEACH TOWN IN 1883

no evidence that it had a different site) and of the manor farm, adjoining the church, is confirmed by a mention of 'those who lived in the hamlet where the borough now is' in Gloucester abbey's grant of liberties to the new burgesses.⁶⁷ The hamlet was established near the crossing of the Leach by a road from Farmington towards the Foss way and Cirencester and it probably lay mainly on the south side of the valley, around the church. The yards and buildings of the manor farm extended around the north, east, and south sides of the church and churchyard, including on the south the manor mill on the stream descending from the Wellings to the Leach,⁶⁸ and the vicarage house occupied the west side. All those buildings, which served the ancient parish as a whole, were excluded from the later bounds of the borough. Some houses of the original hamlet may have been in the area immediately to the south called Millend; Millend was included within the borough bounds but retained a less ordered plan than the remainder of the borough.⁶⁹

The establishment of the borough by

Gloucester abbey evidently coincided with the grant of the right to hold a market which the abbey secured in 1219 or 1220,⁷⁰ and Northleach was described as a 'new market (town)' c. 1235.⁷¹ The abbey offered the builders of dwellings on the new burgages the incentive of three years' freedom from rent and services,⁷² and it was successful in attracting people from the neighbouring Cotswold villages. The surnames of burgesses recorded in 1267 recalled origins in the Rissingtons, Hazleton, Windrush, Yanworth, Turkdean, Cowley, and Aylworth⁷³ and, in 1291, in Dowdeswell and the Shiptons.⁷⁴

The town was laid out on a simple plan based on a main street running along the valley and a triangular market place on the south-west side of the street immediately below the church and manor farm.⁷⁵ The part of the street south-east of the market place, which in the 15th century and later was known simply as East End,⁷⁶ was possibly based on an existing lane coming from the Burford direction. The north-west part of the street, known by the late 14th century as Foss End⁷⁷ but also called West End,⁷⁸ was per-

⁶⁷ P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 68 v.

⁶⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V); below, manor.

⁶⁹ For boundaries and plan of the town, O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 10 (1884 edn.), detail reproduced above, Fig. 7.

⁷⁰ Below, econ. hist.

⁷¹ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* ii. 35-7.

⁷² P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 68 v.

⁷³ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 176-7.

⁷⁴ Glos. R.O., D 936a/M 1.

⁷⁵ Plate 15; Fig. 7.

⁷⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1477; P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 224 v.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., C 115/76, ff. 39 v.-40; E 164/39, f. 223.

⁷⁸ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1477.

haps a new street replacing a track higher up the valley side, for originally it did not form a cross-roads at the Foss way; the road towards Cheltenham left the Foss c. 200 m. further south-west until c. 1825 when a new stretch of road was built connecting with the town street by the old prison.⁷⁹ The bulk of the old urban area comprises long burgage plots, in an unbroken succession along the north-east side but in a less orderly pattern on the south-west side due to the interruption of the church and manor and to infilling within the market place. The bounds of the borough, first found described in 1605,⁸⁰ related purely to the urban area: they were drawn closely around the outer ends of the burgage plots, and on the north-west they did not even extend, as would have seemed logical, as far as the Foss way.⁸¹ No agricultural land was included, though common rights in two pastures elsewhere in the parish, enjoyed by the inhabitants of the old hamlet, were assigned to the burgesses by Gloucester abbey.⁸²

A total of 65 burgages had been established by 1267, including two half-burgages and a number of others in joint tenancies; another seven tenements, though held on the same terms as the burgages in 1267, were described as 'messuages' and possibly represented agricultural holdings of the original hamlet. Several burgesses held land called 'forlonde' for small cash rents, probably encroachments made on the street in front of their houses.⁸³ An increase in the population of the borough in the later Middle Ages, stimulated by its wool trade, resulted in the division of the original burgage plots and in infilling and new building around the market place. The plots were divided longitudinally to preserve access for all owners to the main street, producing a pattern made up of various widths. Half-burgages were common by the early 15th century when seven figured in the changes of ownership recorded at two borough courts held in 1412 and 1413.⁸⁴ In 1551 there were 23 full burgages, 32 half-burgages, and 4 quarter-burgages. Also by then there had been a number of amalgamations to create houses with larger street frontages: 8 holdings each comprised one and a half burgages and another comprised three burgages.⁸⁵ The tenants of the plots described in 1551, who were those responsible for paying the chief rents to the lord of borough, no doubt often had subtenants in parts of their holdings: in 1539 a burgage at Foss End and a half-burgage at Millend each contained four cottages.⁸⁶

The triangular market place came to be partly obscured by houses and other buildings, some of them presumably on the sites of earlier free-standing shops, of which four were recorded in the middle of the market place in 1267.⁸⁷ During the 1370s and 1380s Gloucester abbey granted plots there to at least four men for building shops, and in 1391 the Crown, which had laid claim to the right of soil in the borough, disputed the abbey's ownership of those shops and of two leasehold houses in the same area. The basis for the Crown's claim is obscure and it was apparently abandoned after an inquiry in 1395.⁸⁸ Building in the south part of the market place, forming two blocks of houses with some isolated houses, divided off an area which became known by the early 18th century as the Green.⁸⁹ Most of those houses were later freehold and classed as burgages⁹⁰ and so may represent development of a period before the late 14th century, by which time the abbey seems to have favoured the creation of less permanent tenures. Houses in a row on the west side of the market place, north of the entrance to the churchyard, were copyhold or leasehold in the 16th century⁹¹ and remained leasehold under the lord of the borough in the early 18th, and so are likely to represent late-medieval development.

The only side roads joining the main street were the Farmington road, which was known as Conduit Street in the early 17th century,⁹² the Cirencester road running down through Millend to the west corner of the market place, and the Eastington road at the south-east end of the town. A few minor alleys ran between the burgage plots, including Antelope Lane, leading to the church from the former inn of that name at West End, and one on the north-east side called College Lane in 1663, Collins Lane in 1736, Colliers Lane in 1958,⁹³ and Doctors Lane in 1997. The little river Leach flowed down the main street in West End and across the market place to join the Wellings stream and form the back boundary of the burgage plots on the south-west side of East End. Several small bridges were maintained out of the common town funds⁹⁴ until the late 19th century when the stream in the main street and market place was culverted.⁹⁵

The market place, as it survived after the medieval infilling, remained the focus of town life. In the middle of it stood the town's high cross, recorded in 1559 when a royal commission was read there.⁹⁶ The cross was kept in repair out of the town funds until

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 98/2; cf. *O.S. Map 1"*, sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 45/M 5.

⁸¹ *O.S. Map 1/2,500*, *Glos. XXXVI. 10* (1884 edn.).

⁸² *P.R.O.*, C 115/76, f. 68v.

⁸³ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 176-9.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 5.

⁸⁵ *P.R.O.*, E 164/39, ff. 223-228v.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 11.

⁸⁷ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 178.

⁸⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359-1413, 186; *Cal. Close*, 1392-6, 444-5.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 892/T 60.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* D 398/1, p. 343; D 678/Northleach par./2; *P.R.O.*, E 164/39, f. 228v.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, cts. 1594-6 (tenems. of Ralph Broadhurst, Hen. Winchcombe).

⁹² *Ibid.* D 398/8 (identified by adjoining grammar sch.); D 678/Northleach par./342.

⁹³ *Ibid.* D 398/11; D 678/Northleach par./147; D 3340.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* D 398/1, pp. 430, 583, 683; 2, cts. 1710, 1733.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* P 231/VE 2/2, mins. 22, 27 Nov. 1866, 10 July 1874; *O.S. Map 1/2,500*, *Glos. XXXVI. 10* (1884, 1903 edns.).

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, p. 128.

1747⁹⁷ or later, but only its stepped base survived c. 1800.⁹⁸ One part of the range of leasehold houses on the west side of the market place was described as the old boothall in 1594⁹⁹ and was presumably the town's market house in the late Middle Ages, being replaced shortly before 1551 by a new free-standing boothall or market house built within the market place.¹ The new building, which was of the usual type with an open ground floor and a room above where the burgesses' town court met,² was demolished c. 1820.³ In the 1730s two small free-standing shops, leased with two of the tenements in the range on the west side, stood to the north of the market house.⁴ A house at the south-west corner of the market place known as the Wool House in 1805⁵ may have played some part in market trade.

About 1530 William King gave a burgage in the central part of the town to the townspeople, intending that the upper storey should be used as a church house, for parishioners' meetings, and the lower part for a market house; the abbot of Gloucester supported the gift by pardoning part of the chief rent and reliefs he was owed. That building was in use as a church house as well as for a tavern in 1629⁶ but it may never have been employed for market purposes. By the early 18th century the building, then called the town house or church house, was leased as a private house.⁷

The town, which enjoyed its main period of prosperity at an early date and occupied a constricted valley site unsuitable for laying out large gardens, has no very large private houses. The houses almost all front the main street and market place, where the more important were at one time inns and in some cases originated as the premises of wool merchants. Building is almost entirely in stone, before 1800 mainly in coursed rubble and after that date mainly in dressed freestone or with ashlar facing. Several houses built before 1600, however, have exposed timber-framed upper storeys, and in others timber framing is concealed behind stone façades. A house in East End (Old Timbers) has a gabled and jettied chamber wing and a former hall of one bay. Other buildings, concentrated on or near the market place, have continuously jettied upper floors, and a few, including the Red Lion inn, seem not to have been heated and were possibly not built for domestic purposes. Few of the houses with surviving gabled 17th-century fronts are of great size or sophistication;

two of better quality stand near the junction with the Farmington road and another (Manor Cottage) is on the south-west side of East End. Some of the early fronts were raised in the 19th century from two and a half gabled storeys to three storeys with a straight parapet.

About 1770 the town was described as being in a state of decay with many houses having fallen down;⁸ if that was the case they were replaced during the temporary revival of the town during the coaching era at the end of the 18th century and in the early 19th. In 1820 almost the only gaps in the street frontages were in the south part of Millend and on two large plots at the far end of West End, one of which (called simply the Burgage)⁹ was already empty by 1682.¹⁰ During the coaching era many houses were rebuilt or refronted, usually in ashlar, and in the late 19th century and the early 20th some houses, including several built originally as small cottages, were made to appear more traditionally Cotswold in character by the addition of gables.

A house that played a central role in the town's history was that called the Great House, standing on the north-east side of the main street by the junction with the Farmington road. Called in 1575 Bush's great house,¹¹ it had evidently belonged in the early 16th century to a wealthy wool merchant, Thomas Bush. Thomas Dutton (d. 1581) of Sherborne and his son William gave the house in aid of the town's clothmaking industry and from 1618 it was part of assets held by the town's bailiff and leading burgesses in trust for charitable and other purposes.¹² By 1768 it housed an inn, which was called the Lamb¹³ until 1818 when it was leased to John Dutton (later Lord Sherborne); he remodelled the building to form a coaching inn under the sign of the Sherborne Arms.¹⁴ It failed to compete successfully with the town's other large inn, the King's Head, and part was converted as a private house in 1840;¹⁵ part remained an inn until the mid 1850s,¹⁶ the sign being transferred later to a public house on the market place.

Behind its street front the Great House had considerable outbuildings, forming a galleried courtyard. About 1770 those buildings were thought to have been used for the sale and storage of wool,¹⁷ and perhaps in Thomas Bush's time they were used under his auspices as a public dealing place for that commodity. In the early 20th century a long range surviving on the

⁹⁷ Ibid. 2, cts. 1722, 1747.

⁹⁸ Brayley and Britton, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, v. 642.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/93, ct. 27 July 1594; cf. ibid. ct. 10 June 1596 (entry concerning Hen. Winchcombe).

¹ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 228v.; Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

² Brayley and Britton, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, v. 642; Glos. R.O., D 398/1, p. 213; 2, lease 1749; 18, lease 1705.

³ Glos. R.O., D 398/13. Two capped pillars built into a rear part of the former Antelope inn may be from the building.

⁴ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./93, 335; D 45/T 16.

⁵ Ibid. D 678/deeds of Wool House, etc.

⁶ Ibid. D 398/10; cf. ibid. 1, p. 446.

⁷ Ibid. 19, lease 1726.

⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 579.

⁹ Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

¹⁰ G.D.R., V 5/2171 1.

¹¹ Glos. R.O., D 678/Northleach par./7.

¹² Below, econ. hist. (ind. and trade); char.

¹³ Glos. R.O., D 398/3.

¹⁴ Ibid. D 398/23-4; *Glouc. Jnl.* 5 May 1823.

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 398/26; ibid. 2, mins. 21 Dec. 1837, 22 June 1839, 21 Dec. 1840.

¹⁶ Ibid. 2, mins. 18 Aug. 1856, 21 Dec. 1858.

¹⁷ Rudder, *Glos.* 579; Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

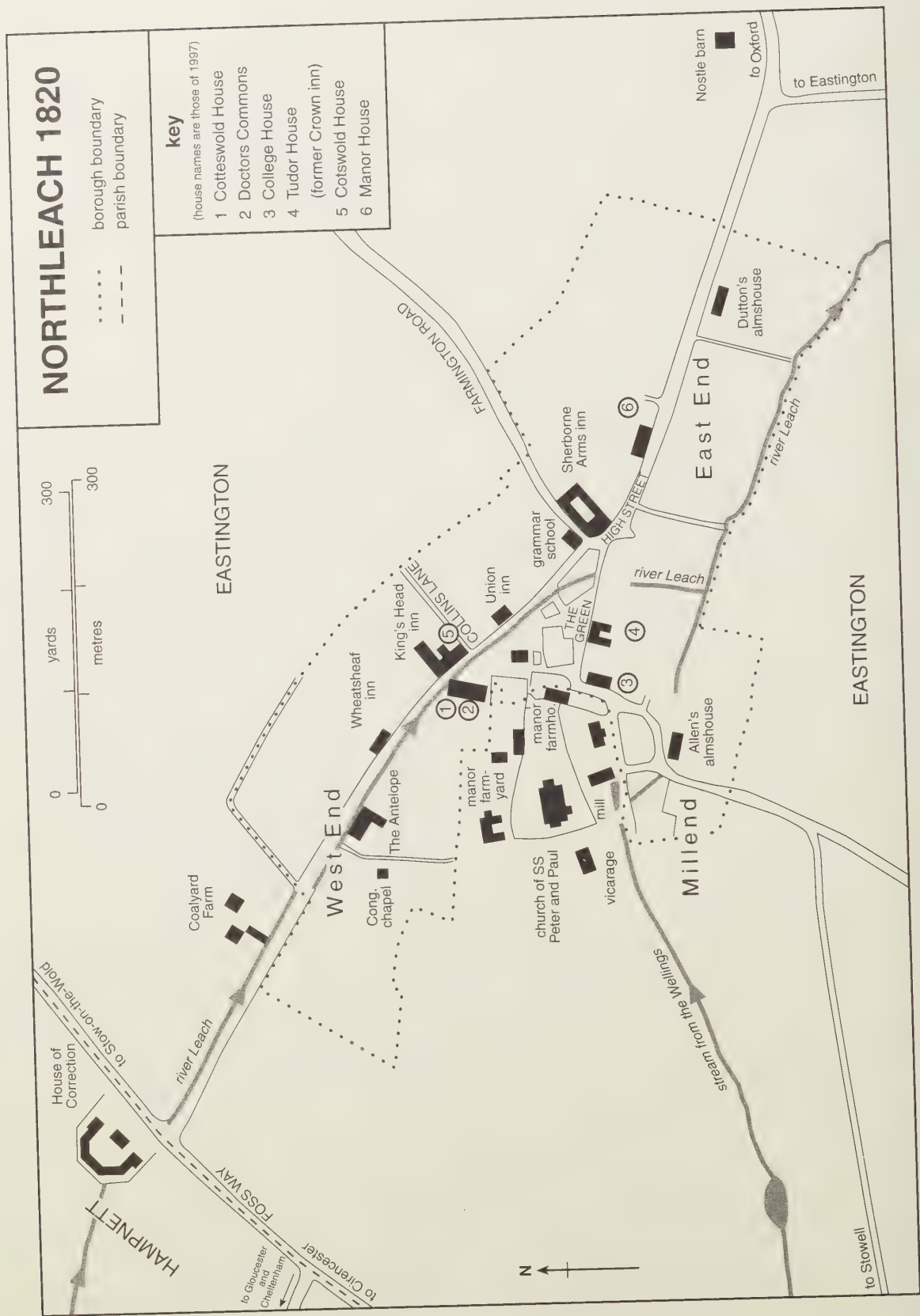


FIG. 8.

Farmington road to the north-west was thought to be late medieval,¹⁸ and the fairly extensive rebuilding work carried out on the house by the town trustees in 1636¹⁹ was perhaps to the main street range. During Lord Sherborne's improvements c. 1820 the front range was rebuilt as two storeys and 8 bays,²⁰ apparently to a design of G. A. Underwood of Cheltenham.²¹ The Great House was demolished except for the south-eastern two bays of the street range and part of a back range, once forming the south-east side of the courtyard, when the Farmington road was widened in 1936.²²

Walton House, on the north-east side of the street, to the north of the market place, was evidently the property comprising three burgages owned by Thomas Midwinter in 1551²³ and the 'great message', formerly the Swan inn, owned by Edmund Midwinter at his death c. 1594.²⁴ Thomas was possibly a descendant of a leading Northleach woolman William Midwinter (d. 1501)²⁵ and so that house too may have played a role in the wool trade. By 1693 it had become the King's Head inn and was owned and kept until the mid 18th century by a prosperous Northleach family called Stone.²⁶ By the 1790s it had established itself as the leading coaching and posting inn,²⁷ a position it maintained in the early 19th century when kept by members of the Heath and Day families;²⁸ 18 inn servants lived on the premises in 1841.²⁹ With the decline of coaching, the Days concentrated on the breeding and training of racehorses, and racing stables at the premises were continued by later owners after the Days left c. 1857. The inn closed soon after 1859,³⁰ its sign being taken later by a small public house south of the Green.³¹ Walton House was converted to flats by the Northleach rural district council in 1959,³² and c. 1987 a private company acquired it for sheltered housing, modernizing the flats and building twelve small dwellings in the grounds.³³

An open yard on the north-west side of Walton House, presumably achieved by demolishing one of the constituent burgrave houses, provided the inn with a circular carriage drive, from which there was formerly an entrance through the north-west range to the enclosed courtyard behind.³⁴ The outward-facing façades, towards the yard on the north-west and towards the street on the south-west, were rebuilt in the late 18th century,³⁵ the former including a first-floor

Venetian window. Irregular fenestration on the façades, however, betrays that an L-plan block has been extended by a north-west range. The earliest work visible internally is at the south-east end of the street range, where a mid 16th-century room has moulded ceiling beams and the blocked remains of an elaborate stone window of at least two hollow-moulded arched lights, with carved spandrels and a broad moulded surround. Under the north-west end of the same range is a cellar with transverse ribs and a double-chamfered entrance arch. The room above it has a four-centred arched chimneypiece and intersecting beams. The house immediately adjoining Walton House on the south-east (called Cotswold House in 1997) was leased with and used as part of the inn from 1736 and throughout the coaching era,³⁶ and its street front was rebuilt in conformity with the inn in the late 18th century. A large stable block behind Walton House was converted to dwellings in the late 20th century.

A large building on the south-west side of West End, described as 2½ burgages in 1684,³⁷ formed the Antelope inn by 1580.³⁸ It closed for a period in the mid 18th century, being described as formerly an inn in 1754, but it was later reopened under the same sign, presumably by one of two successive landlords of the King's Head, John Miles and James Heath, who became its owners in 1783 and 1804 respectively.³⁹ The Antelope closed again before 1830.⁴⁰ Rather like Walton House, it had two long ranges at right angles to each other. The roof shows that the two ranges formed a substantial two-storeyed house of c. 1500. The street range contained a hall of two bays. Its roof has an arch-braced tiebeam truss with raking struts, two tiers of trencled purlins, and a tier of windbraces,⁴¹ and there is a smoke bay at the north-west end of the hall. The roof continues south-eastwards over a chambered end of two bays and, minus raking struts, south-westwards for four bays over the rear wing that extends from it. The north-west two bays of the street range (not inspected) were rebuilt in the early 19th century when, following its closure as an inn, the Antelope was remodelled as a terrace of three houses of different sizes behind a façade with sash windows and doorways with fanlights. During those alterations the centre house (called Antelope House in 1997) acquired a two-storeyed addition across the back of the house, containing a staircase, and a central rear wing.

¹⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxx. 6.

¹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, pp. 472–5.

²⁰ 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future', f. 18.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/24; cf. Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Architects*, 846.

²² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lx. 228. Access to the surviving parts was not obtained.

²³ *P.R.O.*, E 164/39, f. 223v.; the chief rent of 3s. confirms the identification with the later King's Head: cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 45/M 5.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, ct. 27 July 1594.

²⁵ Below, econ. hist. (ind. and trade).

²⁶ B.L. Harl. MS. 4716, f. 7; *Glos. R.O.*, D 45/M 5; cf. G.D.R. wills 1721/85; 1733/82.

²⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xcii. 172; *Glouc. Jnl.* 25 Mar. 1793.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2058; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 336.

²⁹ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351.

³⁰ Monk, *Northleach and Around*, 8; *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/VE 2/1, min. 27 May 1859; VE 2/2, min. 8 July 1859.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, annotated copy (from Inland Revenue) of O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXVI*. 10 (1903 edn.).

³² *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/9, pp. 894, 946.

³³ Inf. from the manager.

³⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3340.

³⁵ Plate 13.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./147; D 2058.

³⁷ *Ibid.* D 2025, Northleach deeds 1693–1868, deed 1693.

³⁸ *Ibid.* D 678/rolls/93; G.D.R. vol. 159, depositions 19 Mar. 1627/8.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2025, Northleach deeds 1693–1868; *Glouc. Jnl.* 4 Aug. 1817.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 153.

⁴¹ Plate 26.

At the north-west corner of the market place a house called Cotteswold House in 1997 retains part at least of a house that was occupied in the late 16th century by Thomas Parker, then lessee of the manor farm and the town's leading inhabitant.⁴² In 1582 the borough court allowed him to inclose the triangular plot of ground that forms the front garden of Cotteswold House, then bounded on the north-east by the stream flowing along the main street.⁴³ The surviving fabric seems to be of the 16th century and indicates a house of two or two and a half storeys with a through-passage plan. A plank and muntin screen divides a north parlour, with a hollow-moulded beam and the remains of a stone winder stair, from a larger south room, later subdivided, which has in the west wall a double-chamfered external doorway with a depressed arch, and a large chimney stack. On the first floor the stack has a stone chimneypiece with a moulded depressed arch and the initial 'P', evidently for the Parker family, carved on one spandrel.⁴⁴ In the 19th century the street front of the house was rebuilt in ashlar and taken up to a straight parapet. In the 17th century the north-west wing was built as a service addition and was extended later by an outbuilding with a hayloft. A considerable length of the street front to the north-east of Cotteswold House was within its grounds until filled by a row of cottages in the early 20th century;⁴⁵ that appears to reflect the former status of the house and suggests the possibility that the surviving building was part of larger premises.

A tenement and barn leased by Gloucester abbey in 1538 and described as within the town but adjoining the site of the manor⁴⁶ had passed by 1575 to a prominent Northleach mercer called Henry Winchcombe, who took a new lease from the Crown.⁴⁷ They can probably be identified with the house adjoining Cotteswold House on the south, which Winchcombe certainly held in 1596 when he was allowed to inclose from the market place the plot of land in front of it;⁴⁸ by the 1730s, when it was described as a large ancient messuage, it had been partitioned as three separate tenements.⁴⁹ It was remodelled as a single house *c.* 1927 and named Doctors Commons⁵⁰ but it formed three dwellings again by 1997. Behind the later façade are the remains of a mid 16th-century house. The north two

bays of the five-bayed front range appear to have been a parlour. A rear wing runs west from the parlour end and is entered through a doorway with a four-centred arch. At least two of the windows at its east end are of the 16th century, one having three arched lights, the other a single light. The rear wing was extended in the 19th century, and it has several replica 16th-century windows, presumably inserted as part of the alterations in the 1920s. During those alterations the street front of the building was refaced and given gables.⁵¹

A house on the south side of the Green called in 1997 Tudor House was apparently⁵² the inn called 'le Pyke' which was owned by Llanthony priory, Gloucester, at its dissolution in 1539⁵³ and, having thus passed into royal ownership, was renamed the Crown inn before 1555.⁵⁴ It remained open as an inn until 1613 or later.⁵⁵ Tudor House, which retains the plan of an early inn and has a jettied, timber-framed upper floor, was in several occupations in 1997, including shops on the ground floor. The three east bays, which include the gate passage, date from the earlier 16th century.⁵⁶ Stone corbels supporting the brackets that flank the passage have carved crosses.⁵⁷ The timber-framed upper floor has down bracing and the roof has insubstantial principal rafters, purlins, and windbraces. Over the west end of the central passage a timber-framed gable is exposed within a later stone extension. The three west bays were added in the 17th century, and in the 18th or 19th centuries stone-built additions at the rear enlarged the building to a U plan.

College House, on the west side of Tudor House, is one of the few houses that faces onto its own grounds rather than the open street. The large site originally comprised two burgage plots,⁵⁸ which by the early 19th century were in a number of separate occupations. The western one included a house which was described in 1705 as 'Lymerick's (or Limbrick's) great house', possibly a reference to a mid 16th-century townsman, Thomas Limbrick. It was owned at different periods by two of the headmasters of Northleach grammar school, the Revd. George Iles (d. 1730 or 1731) and (in right of his wife Mary Harrits Allen) the Revd. John Allen (d. 1809),⁵⁹ and by purchases made in 1821, 1823, and 1855 the patron of the school,

⁴² Below, manor.

⁴³ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/93, ct. 17 Apr. 1582; cf. *ibid.* ct. 10 June 1596.

⁴⁴ An initial 'M' on the opposite (left-hand) spandrel in 1997 appeared to have been added recently in some form of plaster.

⁴⁵ Inf. from the owner, Mr. G. Whent.

⁴⁶ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, ii, f. 159; cf. P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 343v.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., E 310/14/53, f. 24; for Winchcombe, below, econ. hist. (ind. and trade).

⁴⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/93, ct. 10 June 1596.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* D 45/T 16, recital of leases 16, 20 Feb. 1735/6, 20 Dec. 1739.

⁵⁰ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁵¹ Cf. 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future', f. 32.

⁵² G.D.R. vol. 89, depositions 13 Apr. 1602, where it was stated to adjoin the close called Berry Layton, for

which see Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps *c.* 1820 (map V).

⁵³ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 11.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* E 310/14/54, f. 51; G.D.R. wills 1555/101.

⁵⁵ G.D.R. vol. 121, depositions 11 Nov. 1613. Another house, somewhere on High Street, bore the sign of the Crown in 1736; Glos. R.O., D 2025, Northleach deeds 1693–1868.

⁵⁶ Plate 12.

⁵⁷ The house has been linked to the woolman John Fortey from a supposed (but not actual) resemblance of the crosses to those of his merchant mark on his brass in the church: 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future', f. 21.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps *c.* 1820 (map V).

⁵⁹ Queen's Coll., Oxf., Archives, 4T 24, 57–9, 72–3, 84–5; for Limbrick, P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 224v.; for Iles, G.D.R. wills 1731/36; and for Allen, inscr. in church.

Queen's College, Oxford, acquired the whole site under a scheme to provide a permanent residence for the headmasters.⁶⁰ Probably in the 1840s, during the headmastership of the Revd. Joseph Askew,⁶¹ the house once Allen's was rebuilt or extensively remodelled, being given a symmetrical south front in a late 17th-century style, with a hipped roof with dormers and with mullioned and transomed windows. After 1856, in order to accommodate a 'commercial' and boarding school, nominally part of the grammar school, the building was much extended to the north by the addition of two rear wings. The additions were probably made in several stages, but some had been done by 1861 when the school had over 40 boarders.⁶² College House remained in use as a headmaster's and boarding house after the grammar school was reformed in 1877.⁶³ It was sold by the school governors c. 1980 and converted to four separate dwellings. A building on the Green to the north-east of the house, partly of the 17th century, was adapted as the coach house and stables in the mid 19th century and converted as two dwellings in the 1980s.⁶⁴

At the north-west end of the town, just beyond the borough boundary, a farmstead called Coalyard Farm was established by Lord Sherborne after he inclosed Eastington in 1783. The three-storeyed, symmetrically-fronted stone farmhouse was built soon after the inclosure but was remodelled in the early 19th century, probably c. 1830, when it was given a low-pitched, hipped roof and the windows and internal fittings were altered.⁶⁵ The extensive buildings and yards included a coalyard by 1820,⁶⁶ presumably a depot used by wagons bringing coal supplies for the town from Cheltenham or elsewhere in the Severn Vale. The farmer, James Walker, continued to deal as a coal merchant in the 1850s and 1860s.⁶⁷ At the other end of the town, opposite the entrance to the Eastington road, a small farmstead called Nostle Farm, the name taken from a nearby spring, Nosewell,⁶⁸ was established in the mid 19th century at the site of an older barn.⁶⁹

The earliest modern additions to the town were in the form of council housing. Northleach rural district built four houses at the entrance to the Eastington road in 1932 and 1933⁷⁰ and 10 houses at a site called the Tannery (later Farmington Rise) on the south-east side of the Farmington road between 1938 and 1940.⁷¹

Between 1951 and 1954 it built another small estate on the opposite side of the Farmington road. That began the Walton estate,⁷² which eventually covered the hillside behind the old burgrave plots north-east of the market place and West End. The council built 46 houses on the Walton estate during 1956 and 1957,⁷³ and in the late 1950s and early 1960s flats and bungalows for old people were added there, while Walton House was converted to flats and bungalows were built on part of its grounds.⁷⁴ The council's last major housing project was a block of old people's flats called Fortey House opened at the Walton estate in 1967.⁷⁵ Private development was deterred by the town's traffic problem and discouraged by the planning authorities until the opening of the bypass in 1984.⁷⁶ After 1984 a substantial private estate was built on the hillside above and adjoining the Walton estate and a smaller development on the opposite hillside. Other new houses were built at the south-east end of the town, including at the site of Nostle Farm, and in 1997 another estate was under construction at the same end of the town at the site of the former Westwoods school beyond the Eastington road.

In Eastington, the rural area of the ancient parish, settlement was presumably confined in the Middle Ages, as it was in early modern times, to small hamlets in the Leach valley. Eastington manor comprised over 40 tenant holdings in 1267,⁷⁷ and so settlement in the valley was probably then almost linear in character. The usual amalgamations in holdings occurred in the late Middle Ages, reducing the total to 19 by 1541,⁷⁸ which presumably changed the pattern and emphasised the separate identity of the small hamlets in the valley.

The highest of Eastington's hamlets, called Cockthrop, stood in the Leach valley just downstream of the end of Northleach town and the Eastington road. The hamlet was recorded from 1292⁷⁹ and still had five or more small farmhouses in the 1580s.⁸⁰ It was deserted by the late 18th century, when a piece of land called Cockthrop green straddled the Leach at a point where in 1997 the remains of a ford, with a track leading to it down the south side of the valley, were visible.⁸¹ The earthwork foundations of several small dwellings were then evident on the hillside, extending between the track and the Eastington road, and below, closer to the river, were the foundations of a larger structure,

⁶⁰ Queen's Coll. Archives, 4T 80, 86b, 92-8, 109-10, 115, 122, 129-30.

⁶¹ Askew's inits. and the date 18[4]8 are on the garden gateway and the College arms over the porch; cf. *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1842), 124; *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852-3), 150.

⁶² *Glos. Colln. prints* 204.2.

⁶³ *V.C.H. Glos.* ii. 437; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 855.

⁶⁴ Inf. from Mr. R. and Mrs. N. Ashton, owners of the main part of the ho.

⁶⁵ Inf. from Mrs. S. Ballance, of Northleach, from a detailed archit. surv. of the ho.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V); *ibid.* Northleach par./268.

⁶⁷ *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852-3), 150; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 610; *P.R.O.*, RG 9/1786.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107 (1st allotm. to Jas. Dutton).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V); *O.S. Map 6'*, *Glos. XXXVI. SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/5, pp. 180, 195-6, 216.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* pp. 416; 100/6, pp. 14, 43, 56, 75, 82; cf. *ibid.* D 4084/13/29.

⁷² *Ibid.* DA 31/100/8, pp. 301, 536-7.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 100/9, pp. 735, 766, 816.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 830, 862, 871, 887, 894, 896-7, 914-15, 946.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 2199, 2253.

⁷⁶ *Glos. and Avon Life*, May 1976, 39.

⁷⁷ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 181-3.

⁷⁸ *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VIII/1248, rot. 8d.

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* D 678/rolls/93, cts. 1586-7.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 107.

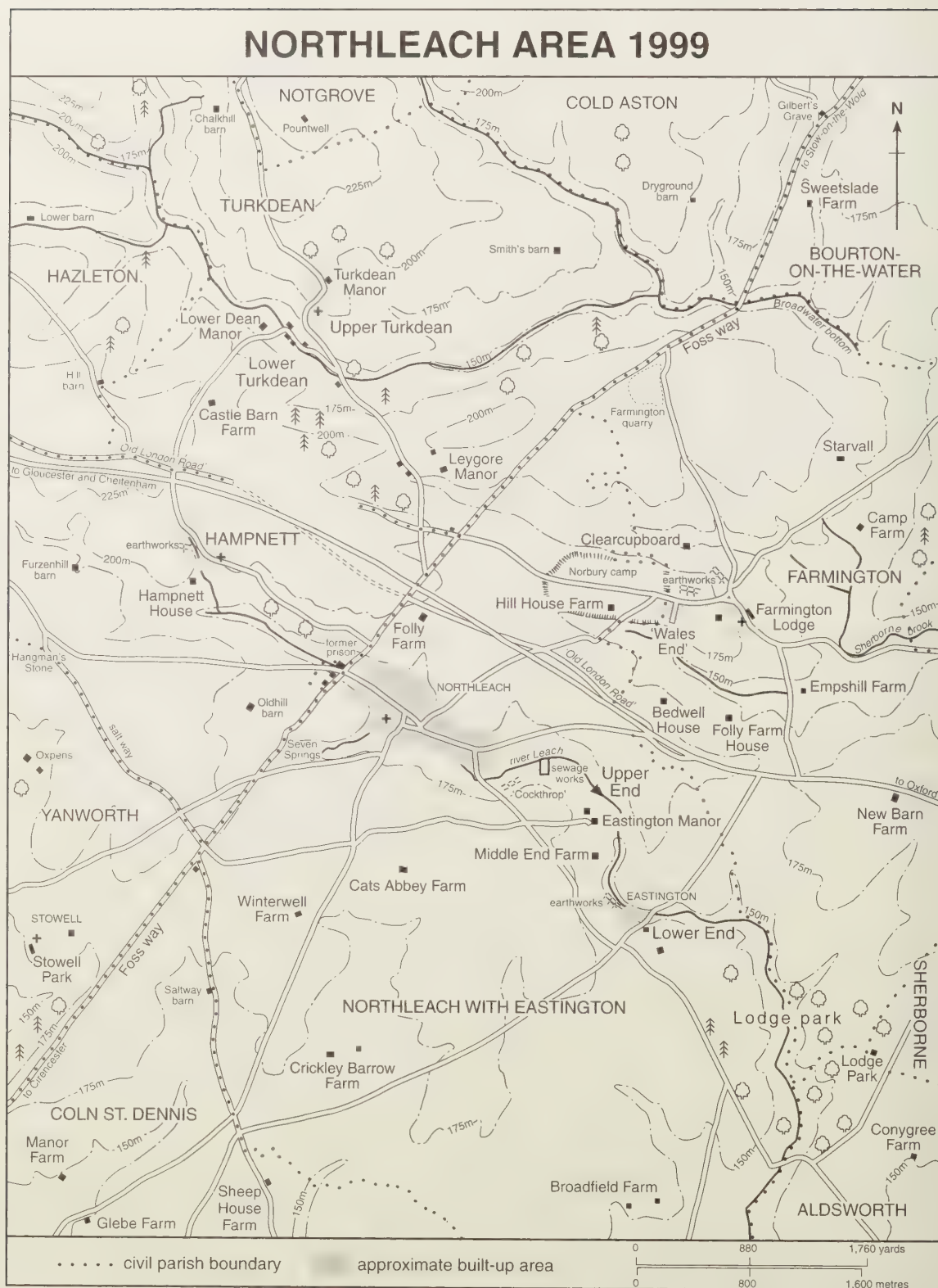


FIG. 9.

possibly a farm building.⁸² Further downstream, grouped around a track that descends the south-western side of the valley to another ford over the river, is a hamlet called in modern times Upper End. It was apparently that called Upthorp in 1267⁸³ and Great (or Mitchel) Upthorp later in the Middle Ages.⁸⁴ In 1997 Upper End comprised four dwellings with attendant farm buildings; they included Upper End Farm and Eastington Manor which are described below with the freehold estates to which they became attached.⁸⁵ Middle End, a short way down the valley on the same hillside, may be the site of another medieval hamlet, perhaps the 'Little Upthorp' whose existence is implied. After the inclosure of Eastington in 1783, however, Middle End comprised a single farmhouse, the centre of one of the Sherborne estate's large farms in the parish.⁸⁶ It was rebuilt or remodelled in the mid 19th century as a tall, three-storeyed building with 17th-century style windows, and its roof was renewed with the addition of dormers c. 1963.⁸⁷ A pair of farm cottages was built at the entrance to its drive on the Northleach–Aldsworth road in 1905.⁸⁸

The lowest hamlet, called Lower End by 1696,⁸⁹ is situated where the Leach is crossed by a lane leading south-westwards from the main Oxford–Cheltenham road towards Cirencester. It was probably to that hamlet that the name Eastington specifically related before being adopted as the name of the whole rural area (or 'foreign') of Northleach parish. Surviving earthworks at Lower End suggest an early-medieval hamlet of considerable size, based on a track leading from the upper hamlets along the south-western side of the Leach valley. North-west of the existing hamlet part of that track is flanked by the foundations of c. 8 small houses, which are probably the remnants of some of the medieval copyhold farmhouses, and similar earthworks are visible in two closes further south-east, beyond the hamlet.⁹⁰ A chapel of ease, built for Eastington before the end of the 14th century, stood beside the same track near its junction with the lane to Cirencester on a site later occupied by a 19th-century mission chapel.⁹¹ The only surviving farmhouse, Lower End Farm, stands near by on the other side of the lane. Its core is a modest-sized, 17th-century house with mullioned windows and a central stack and there are 19th-century additions, including stables which had been converted to cottages by 1997. Otherwise Lower End is formed mainly of small cottages built by James Dutton, Lord Sherborne, to house farm labourers after he reorganized his Eastington estate at

the inclosure of 1783. They are plain in character and are sited fairly haphazardly on the hillside and in the valley bottom, there being evidently no intention to create a 'model' village. There were said to be c. 20 new cottages in all,⁹² but several buildings once comprising pairs or longer terraces had been converted to single dwellings by 1997.

After the inclosure in 1783 a few farmsteads were established on the high, open land in the south of the parish. Broadfield Farm, near the south-east corner, was built for the Sherborne estate and probably completed as early as 1785.⁹³ In 1850 it comprised a long plain, two-storeyed range, apparently in two builds.⁹⁴ About 1860 the eastern part was replaced by a gabled L-shaped wing and the two parts apparently formed into separate dwellings, perhaps to provide accommodation for a farm bailiff as well as the tenant. Late 18th-century barns and cattle-sheds surround a yard to the west of the house. A row of four labourers' cottages was built for Broadfield farm on the farm track to the east in the mid 19th century, and another cottage was built at Trowell Head to the north-east.⁹⁵ At Cottage Farm, called from the early 20th century Crickley Barrow Farm, a small farmhouse was built soon after the inclosure; it was extended in the 19th century and again extended, by a new gabled block, in the late 20th. About 1870 the owner, Robert Lane, built himself a substantial new house of two storeys and gabled attics on slightly higher ground to the west and leased the farmhouse and land to a tenant. By 1873 Cottage farm also included three pairs of farm cottages, one of them some way to the north adjoining Cats Abbey barn,⁹⁶ where the barn was converted in the late 20th century to form a house. Winterwell Farm in the same part of the parish had been established by 1824.⁹⁷

In the north part of the parish at the edge of Norbury camp a substantial three-storeyed farmhouse called Hill Barn Farm (later Hill House Farm) was built for the Sherborne estate c. 1800.⁹⁸ At Folly Farm, on the old ridgeway above the town, buildings were provided for a county council smallholding c. 1914.⁹⁹

Among the earliest of many inns recorded in Northleach were the Antelope and the Crown, which are both described above, as are the King's Head and the Lamb (later the Sherborne Arms), which became the principal inns in the coaching era of the late 18th century and the early 19th. Other early inns included the White Hart, which was part of the property of the

⁸² The site was examined with Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ.

⁸³ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 182; cf. *Reg. Reynolds*, 110.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1389–92, 288–9; *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 633; P.R.O., E 150/360, no. 1.

⁸⁵ Below, manor.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map S).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* DA 31/115/3, p. 493.

⁸⁸ Date on bldg.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./56.

⁹⁰ Plate 40; site examined with Prof. Dyer.

⁹¹ Below, church. ⁹² Rudge, *Agric. of Glos.* 51.

⁹³ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./221.

⁹⁴ Painting in E. Moncrieff with S. and I. Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (1996), p. 217 (also reproduced below, Plate 19).

⁹⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 5, no. 74.

⁹⁷ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁹⁸ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map W).

⁹⁹ *Glos. C. C. Mins.* xxv. 101, 161; xxvi. 23, 112.

wealthy wool merchant Thomas Bush at his death in 1525.¹ Situated on the south-west side of East End, the White Hart paid the highest chief rent in the borough in 1551.² It was bought c. 1580 by Thomas Dutton,³ whose successors to the Sherborne estate maintained it as an inn until the late 17th century⁴ but partitioned it as two dwellings in 1736.⁵ An inn called the George, at the Green, was recorded between 1628 and 1735,⁶ and other signs mentioned during the 17th and 18th centuries included the Bell,⁷ the Bull,⁸ and the Greyhound.⁹ In 1662 seven men, who all followed other trades as well as victualling, were presented to quarter sessions for keeping unlicensed alehouses,¹⁰ and in 1755 the town contained 14 licensed houses.¹¹

Inns of the coaching era included by 1794 the Wheatsheaf,¹² on the north-east side of West End, and by 1814 the Union,¹³ the Red Lion, and the Rose and Crown,¹⁴ which all occupied houses in the block on the north-east side of the market place. The Rose and Crown closed shortly before 1860 when part of its site was used for a new Congregational chapel.¹⁵ An inn on the south side of the market place, which was open by 1783 as the Pound of Candles, changed its name to the White Horse before 1820 and to the Wellington before 1832;¹⁶ later in the 19th century it took the sign of the Sherborne Arms¹⁷ (after the closure of the large inn of that name).

With the closure of the two large coaching inns in the mid 19th century, the Wheatsheaf and the Union became the leading inns, depending particularly on the custom of commercial travellers. By 1885 both also provided accommodation for hunting men visiting the Cotswolds and for their horses,¹⁸ and in 1910 with the revival of road transport both sought the custom of motorists and tourists.¹⁹ The Union and the Wheatsheaf were among eight licensed houses in the town in 1891.²⁰ The Union closed before 1997 and became a restaurant, but the Wheatsheaf then remained open, together with the Red Lion and the Sherborne Arms on the market place.

Northleach had a friendly society, mainly it seems a burial club, by 1759.²¹ Two other

societies were formed in the mid 1790s,²² and in 1803 there were three societies in the town with a total membership of 117.²³ A branch of the Oddfellows was established in 1852 and a branch of the Foresters in 1874.²⁴ A Northleach agricultural labourers' friendly society, established by 1876, amalgamated two years later with the National Agricultural Labourers' Trade Union, which attracted considerable support in Northleach and district.²⁵ A co-operative society was founded for the town before 1879 but was short lived. The town had a horticultural society by 1879,²⁶ and in 1894 a local committee was formed to affiliate with an agricultural society formed earlier for Stow-on-the-Wold, Moreton-in-Marsh, and Chipping Norton (Oxon.).²⁷ A Northleach town band was formed c. 1890.²⁸

A public meeting place, with reading room and lecture room, was established in 1859 in a building adjoining the King's Head that was acquired by the town's charity trustees.²⁹ In 1886 Mrs. Elizabeth Stephenson bought a house on the south-east side of West End and gave it in trust to be used as the Northleach Institute. Later she added part of an adjoining house to the gift, and the whole premises were remodelled during 1894 and 1895 to include a vicar's room used for parish business, a reading room, and a large upper room, called the Cotswold Hall, for lectures and public meetings.³⁰ In the 1930s dances and cinema shows were among the events held there and the reading room continued in use, together with a billiard room.³¹ After being requisitioned by the military in the Second World War the Institute resumed its role as the town's principal public meeting place³² and was improved in 1972 with funds raised by local subscriptions and grants.³³

By the 1890s Northleach had cricket, rugby, and cycling clubs, and a golf club was formed c. 1897 with links in a nearby part of Hampnett parish.³⁴ The cricket team was formed at that period mainly by members of the Tayler family and their employees at the Northleach brewery, and the Taylers provided the pitch on the valley side north of the town.³⁵ In 1939 the parish council, with the help of a grant from a national

¹ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1525.

² P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 226v.

³ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/93, ct. 1580.

⁴ Ibid. D 2957/217.5.

⁵ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./154, 156.

⁶ G.D.R. vol. 159, depositions 19 Mar. 1627/8; Glos. R.O., P 231/IN 1/1, burials 1639; D 892/T 60.

⁷ Glos. R.O., D 45/M 5, rental 1725; P 231/OV 2/2, rate 1760.

⁸ Ibid. D 398/11, marr. settlement 1690.

⁹ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./92, 206.

¹⁰ Ibid. Q/S1b 1, f. 14.

¹¹ Ibid. Q/AV 2, rot. 3.

¹² P.R.O., FS 4/11, Glos. no. 63.

¹³ *Glouc. Jnl.* 26 Apr. 1813.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 678, deeds of Wool House, etc., mortgage 1814; cf. ibid. Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

¹⁵ Ibid. D 1395, Northleach deeds 1850–67.

¹⁶ Ibid. D 1443, deeds of White Horse inn 1806–32; cf. ibid. D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

¹⁷ Ibid. annotated copy (from Inland Revenue) of O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 10 (1903 edn.).

¹⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 609; (1885), 539–40.

¹⁹ Ibid. (1910), 267–8.

²⁰ *Licensed Houses in Glos. 1891*, 162–3.

²¹ G.D.R. wills 1759/116.

²² P.R.O., FS 4/11, Glos. nos. 63, 78.

²³ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

²⁴ P.R.O., FS 2/3, Glos. nos. 541, 1059; *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1891); issues of the almanack are in Glos. Colln. R 217/1.

²⁵ P.R.O., FS 4/13, Glos. no. 1076; cf. *Glos. and Avon Life*, May 1976, 39.

²⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879 and later edns.).

²⁷ *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1895).

²⁸ Ibid. (1891).

²⁹ Glos. R.O., D 398/2, mins. 27 June, 3 Nov. 1859; P 231/VE 2/2, min. 8 July 1859.

³⁰ Ibid. D 4029/1; *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1895); (1896).

³¹ Glos. R.O., D 4029/3.

³² Ibid. P 231a/PC 2/2, mins. 24 Apr., 18 Dec. 1945.

³³ Ibid. D 4029/7.

³⁴ *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1891); (1892); (1897); (1898).

³⁵ Inf. from Mr. Green.

fund set up to provide playing fields as a memorial to George V, bought a field on the south side of the town,³⁶ known later as King George's Field. Preparation of the field for use was postponed until the early 1950s, after which continuing drainage problems delayed the official opening until 1960.³⁷ Cricket, football, and tennis clubs were among local groups using the facilities there in 1997. A community association was formed in 1988 to coordinate leisure activities in the town and surrounding villages, and a new community centre and sports hall, to be called the Westwood's Centre, was under construction in 1997 on part of the site of the former grammar school at the south-east end of the town.³⁸

A shortage of fuel was evidently a problem once posed to the inhabitants of the town by its situation in open, largely treeless countryside. That is reflected in the town court's order in 1576 that all large loads of wood carried into the town should be sold in the open street by view of an officer of the borough,³⁹ and in the early 18th century some of the townspeople bought regular consignments from the woodlands of an estate in Dowdeswell.⁴⁰ A building in Millend known as the Wood House in 1688 may have been a depot for storing fuel.⁴¹ The town was plentifully supplied with water from local springs. A conduit mentioned from 1618 presumably supplied an outlet situated in the main street by the junction of the Farmington road, which was then known as Conduit Street. The conduit was kept in repair out of the town funds by the bailiff,⁴² who in the late 18th century repaired two public pumps, called Middle pump and Foss End pump.⁴³ Care of the pumps was handed over later to the parish vestry, which decided to remove them for the ease of traffic down the main street in 1821.⁴⁴ In 1826 or 1827 the vestry laid stone pipes to bring water from the springs at the Wellings above the town on the south-west,⁴⁵ and in 1844 it was planning a scheme to supply part of West End from a spring in Calves Close near Coalyard Farm.⁴⁶ Northleach rural district council built water works at the Wellings in 1897⁴⁷ and improved that supply by building a new reservoir and an electric pumping system during 1940 and 1941.⁴⁸ In the 1950s the supply from the Wellings was replaced by a general scheme for

the whole rural district, with boreholes at Syreford, in Whittington, and at Bibury as its sources.⁴⁹ A sewage works built by the council beside the river Leach below the town was opened in 1952,⁵⁰ and continued in operation under Thames Water Co. in 1997.

In 1864 the town was supplied with gas by the Northleach Gas Light & Coke Co., which built its works by the Leach on the south side of the town and contracted with the parish vestry to light the streets.⁵¹ The vestry's responsibility was assumed by the parish council in 1894.⁵² The public gas lamps were taken down c. 1921, and, after an experiment with petrol lamps, electric lights were installed in 1924 by the Northleach Electric Supply Co.⁵³ which was established that year with its works in the former brewery at the north-west end of the town.⁵⁴ The company was absorbed by the Wessex Electricity Co. in 1938 or 1939.⁵⁵

A fire engine was acquired out of the town funds in 1812,⁵⁶ but Northleach apparently had no locally-based brigade until the mid 20th century. A plan by the parish council to buy a new fire engine in 1898 was postponed until the public water supply could be improved and the same reason was given for not supporting an offer in 1928 by the Stow-on-the-Wold fire brigade to provide cover for Northleach.⁵⁷ In 1939 the Northleach rural district formed an auxiliary brigade.⁵⁸ The county fire service opened a fire station at West End c. 1950 and replaced it with a new fire and ambulance station in 1964.⁵⁹ The parish vestries of Northleach and Eastington formed a joint burial board in 1888⁶⁰ and laid out a small cemetery adjoining the churchyard. The board was continued by the two parish councils after 1894⁶¹ and by the combined council after 1950.⁶² From 1898 until its closure in 1925 the rural district council's isolation hospital, provided at the cost of the earl of Eldon, of Stowell Park, was sited beside the Foss way north of the town.⁶³

Northleach's role as a centre of local administration began in 1791 when one of the new county prisons, on lines advocated by Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, was established there. The buildings,⁶⁴ on the west side of the Foss way just within Hampnett parish, were designed by William Blackburn and comprised a keeper's house fronting the road with exercise

³⁶ Glos. R.O., P 231a/PC 2/2, mins. 28 Mar., 25 July 1939.

³⁷ Ibid. PC 2/3-4, *passim*.

³⁸ Northleach guide to local services (1997).

³⁹ Glos. R.O., D 398/1, p. 214.

⁴⁰ Ibid. D 269a/E 3.

⁴¹ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./151, 321.

⁴² Ibid. D 398/1, pp. 400, 522, 589.

⁴³ Ibid. 3, acct. 1775: 4, acct. 1793.

⁴⁴ Ibid. P 231/VE 2/1.

⁴⁵ Ibid. min. 27 Dec. 1825; OV 2/4, accts. 1825, 1827.

⁴⁶ Ibid. VE 2/1, min. 29 Aug. 1844; cf. *ibid.* D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

⁴⁷ Ibid. DA 31/100/1, pp. 26, 38, 45; D 678, Northleach waterworks deed 1897.

⁴⁸ Ibid. DA 31/100/6, pp. 58, 77, 89, 158, 186-7.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 100/9, pp. 967, 1095; inf. from Mr. Green.

⁵⁰ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/8, pp. 75-6, 212, 376.

⁵¹ Ibid. P 231/VE 2/2, mins. 28 Aug. 1863, 27 Sept.

1864, 31 Aug. 1866; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 10 (1884 edn.).

⁵² Glos. R.O., P 231a/PC 2/1, mins. 7 Aug., 30 Oct. 1895, 29 Oct. 1896.

⁵³ Ibid. mins. 18 Apr. 1921, 26 Jan. 1923, 29 Aug., 8 Oct. 1924.

⁵⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927), 283-4.

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., P 231a/PC 2/2, mins. 27 Sept. 1938, 25 July 1939.

⁵⁶ Ibid. D 398/4.

⁵⁷ Ibid. P 231a/PC 2/1.

⁵⁸ Ibid. DA 31/100/6, pp. 33-4, 47.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 100/7, p. 64; 100/8, p. 167; 115/3, pp. 478, 530, 544.

⁶⁰ Ibid. P 213/VE 2/2, mins. 24 Nov. 1887, 9 Jan. 1888.

⁶¹ Ibid. P 231a/PC 2/1, min. 15 Jan. 1895.

⁶² Ibid. PC 2/3, min. 2 Oct. 1950.

⁶³ Ibid. DA 31/100/1, pp. 28, 71, 81-2; 100/4, pp. 283-4.

⁶⁴ Plate 14.

yards radiating from it to a half-decagon of cell blocks; a new cell block for women prisoners was added in 1842.⁶⁵ Magistrates met regularly in petty sessions at the prison from the early 19th century,⁶⁶ and in 1836 Northleach was confirmed as the centre of a petty sessions district of 25 parishes.⁶⁷ By 1841 a detachment of the new county police force was based at Northleach.⁶⁸ From 1857 the prison's role was limited to housing remand prisoners and part of the building was then converted as a police station, and in 1859 part of the keeper's house was converted to form a new petty sessions court. During 1936 and 1937 the main cell blocks were demolished and the perimeter wall reduced in height. The police moved to a new station in West End, and the following year the petty sessions district was absorbed in that based on Stow. From 1980 the remaining buildings of the prison housed the Cotswold Countryside collection, a museum of rural life based around a collection made by the Lloyd-Baker family of Hardwicke Court near Gloucester.⁶⁹

In 1836 Northleach became the centre of a poor-law union, and a union workhouse was built on the main road at the south-east end of the town. The workhouse, built to accommodate 200 paupers, was designed by George Wilkinson of Witney,⁷⁰ who adapted a model design for workhouses by Sampson Kempthorne; it comprised a central block and four radiating wings with cross wings at their ends.⁷¹ In the late 1940s the building was converted as a geriatric hospital,⁷² which it remained until 1987 when it was closed by the Cheltenham and District Health Authority;⁷³ it was reopened, after modernization, as a private nursing home for the elderly in 1995.⁷⁴ From 1895 until 1974 Northleach was also the centre of a rural district comprising 29 surrounding parishes.⁷⁵ The council operated from the workhouse⁷⁶ until 1949 when a council chamber and offices were opened at the entrance to the Farmington road in the old Westwoods grammar school building, which was remodelled and enlarged.⁷⁷ Another administrative function of the town was as the centre of a county court district from 1846 until 1950; in its early years the court met at the King's Head inn.⁷⁸

The Dutton family, seated in the neighbouring village of Sherborne, played a major role in the history of Northleach by reason of a large

number of houses in the town acquired by Thomas Dutton in the 1560s and 1570s⁷⁹ and by his son William's purchase of Eastington manor in 1600.⁸⁰

Elizabeth I passed through Northleach on her progress of 1592 and dined with Thomas Parker, then her lessee of the manor farm.⁸¹ In the autumn of 1643, during the royalists' pursuit of Essex after the raising of the siege of Gloucester, some of Prince Rupert's troops were provisioned in the town;⁸² it was presumably on the same occasion in 1643 that Charles I came to Northleach and dined at the house of Thomas Rowden (probably the Antelope inn).⁸³ Soldiers were in the town on another occasion in 1645 when some of them broke into the town court's deed box.⁸⁴

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. About 780 A.D. Ethelmund son of Ingold gave Gloucester abbey 35 *tributarii* at Northleach,⁸⁵ probably including Northleach and its later members, Farmington, Stowell, and Upper Coberley (or Pinswell), which together amounted to 37 hides in 1086. The estate was among those which the monks gave to Eldred, bishop of Worcester, probably c. 1058 when the bishop rebuilt the abbey church, and which later became appropriated to Eldred's archbishopric of York.⁸⁶ In 1095 Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York, restored Northleach with other estates to the abbey, but later archbishops revived their claim and Northleach was not finally secured to the abbey until 1157.⁸⁷ Northleach, which after c. 1220 comprised the borough and market town and a rural manor called Northleach Foreign or Eastington, belonged to Gloucester abbey until its dissolution in 1540⁸⁸ and remained in possession of the Crown for the rest of the 16th century.

The borough of **NORTHLEACH** was sold by the Crown in 1611 to George and Thomas Whitmore,⁸⁹ and belonged in 1641 to their brother Sir William Whitmore of Apley (Salop.).⁹⁰ Sir William's estates were sequestered in 1645 but his lordship of the borough, being worth little, was excluded from the valuation.⁹¹ He was succeeded at his death in 1648 by his second son Richard Whitmore (d. 1667) of Lower Slaughter, from whom the lordship

⁶⁵ *Prison at the Crossroads* (Cotswold District Council, 1994), 4–7, 14.

⁶⁶ *Diary of A Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (Glouc. 1979), 27, 72.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 17, f. 33; *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852–3), 149.

⁶⁸ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351.

⁶⁹ *Prison at the Crossroads*, 14, 16.

⁷⁰ *Glouc. Jnl.* 19 Mar. 1836.

⁷¹ *Glos. R.O.*, PA 231/11.

⁷² 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future', 16.

⁷³ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 16 Sept. 1988.

⁷⁴ *Glos. Echo*, 15 Feb. 1995.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 255.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, pp. 337, 364; 100/7, pp. 46–7; 100/8, pp. 75, 83.

⁷⁸ *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852–3), 149; *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/8, pp. 197, 206.

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, cts. 1580–1; Northleach par./5–6, 9; Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

⁸⁰ Below, manor.

⁸¹ *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 380.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, p. 497a.

⁸³ *Ibid.* TRS 128; Rowden (whose son Rob. recorded the event much later, in 1709) was bailiff of the town in several years and was keeping the Antelope in 1628: *ibid.* D 398/1, pp. 431, 468, 471, 499; *G.D.R.* vol. 159, p. 481.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, p. 499.

⁸⁵ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 40.

⁸⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁸⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xliiii. 92–5, 100.

⁸⁸ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 231–2; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 410.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 45/T 16.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* T 1/2; cf. *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i, p. lxx.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 45/T 1, cert. of sequestration 1651.

passed to his daughter Katherine, who married George Walcot, a London merchant. The Walcots sold the borough in 1694 to Sir William Whitmore of Apley and William Whitmore of Lower Slaughter,⁹² and the latter, a minor in the guardianship of his mother Anne Whitmore, acquired the whole right in the following year.⁹³ After William's death in 1725 the lordship was retained by his widow Elizabeth (d. 1735), passing to his second son William;⁹⁴ in 1738 the estate comprised only 11 houses in the town and the chief rents from others, valued altogether at £14 a year.⁹⁵ About 1730 a claim to the lordship was made by Sir John Dutton of Sherborne,⁹⁶ who owned much property in the town, acquired by his ancestor Thomas Dutton (d. 1581);⁹⁷ by 1728 Sir John was granting leases of his houses there under the style of 'lord of the manor of Northleach',⁹⁸ though he only enjoyed that title in respect of his ownership of Northleach Foreign. In 1753, however, William Whitmore sold the borough to Dutton's successor, James Lenox Dutton.⁹⁹

J. L. Dutton sold the lordship of the borough in 1765 to his eldest son John Lenox Dutton (d. 1771) who devised it to the Revd. Richard Rice. Richard (d. 1788), rector of Quenington, was succeeded by his son, also the Revd. Richard Rice, who at his death in 1835 left the lordship to his three daughters. Henrietta (d. 1838), one of the daughters, left her share to her husband Jevon Harper; her sister Theodosia (d. 1840) also left her share to Harper and the third sister Caroline (d. c. 1841) left her share to her husband Samuel Goldney, who sold it to Harper.¹ Jevon Harper offered the lordship for sale in 1850, when the Northleach town charity trustees made an unsuccessful attempt to buy it,² and Harper retained it in 1856.³ By 1863 the lordship had passed to the Revd. Richard Blanche, Congregational minister of Northleach.⁴ In 1870 and 1906 it belonged to Thomas Stephens, in 1914 to Charles William Cole (d. c. 1931), and in 1939 to Mrs. Alice Cole.⁵

The manor of *NORTHLEACH FOREIGN* or *EASTINGTON* was sold by the Crown in 1600 to William Dutton (d. 1618)⁶ and it descended with the adjoining Sherborne estate in the Duttons, who bore the title Lord Sherborne from 1784.⁷ About 1820 the Duttons had c. 2,350 a. of tenanted farmland in

Eastington, besides 151 a. lying within Lodge park.⁸ In the early 1950s the Eastington farms of the estate were sold to the Hon. E. R. H. Wills, who also acquired other land in Eastington, Aldsworth, and Farmington. Mr. Wills retained his estate, which was known as the Farmington Lodge estate and covered a total of c. 1,619 ha. (c. 4,000 a.), in 1997.⁹

Gloucester abbey's manor house and demesne land at Northleach were held on lease in 1499 by Thomas Bicknell,¹⁰ who probably retained it in 1521 when the abbey granted a lease in reversion to William Dingley and his sons.¹¹ William had a new lease in 1525, the purpose of which was evidently to settle the leasehold on the marriage of his son James to Joan (or Jane) Moore. By 1539 it was held by Joan and her second husband Michael Ashfield¹² (d. 1540),¹³ and she and her third husband Thomas Parker (d. 1558) of Notgrove took a new lease from the Crown in 1546.¹⁴ Thomas's son Thomas (d. 1628)¹⁵ later succeeded and in 1586 renewed the lease for the lives of himself and his sons Richard and Michael¹⁶ (d. 1647). The freehold was included in 1600 in the Crown's sale of Eastington manor to the Duttons,¹⁷ who presumably took possession in 1647. The large demesne farm, called Northleach farm, subsequently remained part of their estate. In the early 19th century its buildings extended around three sides of the churchyard, all of them just outside the boundary of Northleach borough. The main yards and farm buildings were on the north side, and on the south side, together with the manor mill, there was a substantial barn, presumably one of the two large barns mentioned among the farm's buildings in 1684. On the east side was a narrow range of buildings¹⁸ known in 1997 as Church Farm when it incorporated a small 17th-century house, much modernized internally, with a taller 19th-century block. Church Farm presumably represents the farmhouse, described as adjoining but outside the borough, where the Duttons held their manor court for Eastington in the early 18th century.¹⁹ In view of the constricted nature of its site, however, it may have replaced a larger dwelling, possibly situated among the buildings on the north side of the churchyard.

A house on the north-east side of East End, part of Lord Sherborne's property in the 1820s,²⁰ was owned by Richard Blanche, lord of

⁹² Ibid. T 1/3, 6-8; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), 2424.

⁹³ Glos. R.O., D 45/T 1/9; cf. ibid. T 16, sched. of leases.

⁹⁴ Ibid. T 1/10-11; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 130.

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 45/T 1/27.

⁹⁶ Ibid. D 45/L 2.

⁹⁷ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./3, 5-6, 9, 285 (estreats 28 Oct. 22 Eliz.); ibid. rolls/93, ct. 1581.

⁹⁸ Ibid. Northleach par./132, 148.

⁹⁹ Ibid. D 45/T 16; M 5, letters Jan.-Mar. 1753.

¹ Ibid. D 1395, Northleach deeds 1850-67, abs. of title 1850.

² Ibid. D 398/2, min. 28 Oct. 1850.

³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 335.

⁴ Ibid. (1863), 319; cf. Glos. R.O., D 1395, Northleach deeds 1850-67, deeds 1861, 1865.

⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870 and later edns.); cf. Glos. R.O., D 4084/13/29.

⁶ Glos. R.O., D 678/settlements/32; P.R.O., C 142/378, no. 107.

⁷ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 123; Glos. R.O., D 678/Northleach par./passim; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820.

⁹ Inf. from Ms V. Ravenscroft, est. sec.

¹⁰ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Braunche, pp. 90-1; cf. ibid. Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 55-6.

¹¹ Ibid. Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 177-8, 221-2.

¹² Ibid. ff. 240v.-242; B.L. Add. Ch. 32895.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1541; P.R.O., C 142/64, no. 123.

¹⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/41 (P.C.C. 56 Noodles), ff. 130v.-131; Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1546.

¹⁵ For the Parkers, *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3, 128-9.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1575-8, p. 481; Glos. R.O., D 678/Northleach par./13, 21.

¹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 678/settlements/32.

¹⁸ G.D.R., V 5/217t 1; Glos. R.O., D 678/Northleach par./341; ibid. Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

¹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 45/L 2.

²⁰ Ibid. D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map V).

the borough, in 1863²¹ and by the Cole family, owners of that lordship in the early 20th century. As a result the house, a substantial range of 17th-century origin but refronted and heavily restored in the 19th century, became known as the Manor House.²²

In 1119 Gloucester abbey granted ½ hide in Eastington in fee to Alured.²³ That estate was perhaps the freehold comprising 2 yardlands which Robert de Aula held in 1267, together with another yardland for which he owed the service of representing the abbot in matters concerning its manor before the county and hundred courts and the eyre.²⁴ Robert's estate was probably represented by one of two freehold estates recorded on the manor later. One was owned by Robert Pulham c. 1430,²⁵ by Alice Carter, widow of John Pulham, in 1541, when it comprised 2 houses and 2 yardlands,²⁶ and by Thomas Pulham in 1599.²⁷ The other freehold estate, described as in Great Upthorp (apparently Upper End), belonged to John Colas c. 1430²⁸ and was probably the two-yardland estate at Great Upthorp that Thomas Bicknell granted in 1504 to the Northleach wool merchant Thomas Bush. Thomas (d. 1525) was succeeded by his son William²⁹ who retained the estate in 1541.³⁰

The Bush family's estate was apparently that later belonging to a branch of the Midwinter family. William Midwinter the elder and William Midwinter the younger were free tenants on Eastington manor in 1580³¹ and John, son of William Midwinter, died c. 1587 holding 2 houses and 2 yardlands.³² In 1652 John Midwinter bought a house and 2 yardlands, perhaps the former Pulham estate, from John Meller of Hampnett,³³ and in 1692 William Midwinter owned that estate together with a capital messuage, a dovehouse, 1 yardland, and other lands.³⁴ The mention of the dovehouse appears to identify the capital messuage with a house at Upper End, which in the 20th century became known as Manor House or Eastington Manor. The same or another William Midwinter died in 1736 and was succeeded by his son John (d. 1749), who left the estate to his brother, the Revd. Stephen Midwinter. Stephen was dead by 1753 when his trustees sold the estate to the lord

of Eastington manor James Lenox Dutton.³⁵ By 1783 the Revd. Richard Rice owned a farm based on the house later called Eastington Manor,³⁶ which suggests that Dutton had conveyed it to his son John Dutton together with the lordship of Northleach borough. The younger Richard Rice retained that house and farm at his death in 1835.³⁷ In 1997 it belonged to the Farmington Lodge estate of E. R. H. Wills, the house being separately tenanted.

The oldest part of Eastington Manor³⁸ dates from the late 15th century. A hall range retains its cross-passage with three-centred stone archways, one (renewed) on the south front and the other within the house at the north end. The west chamber wing, which appears to be slightly earlier than the hall range and is on a different alignment, has two upper cruck trusses with high V-shaped collars and two pairs of wind-braces. In the 17th century the house was extended east and refaced and given mullioned windows; the hall was then floored and a stack with axial staircase inserted. In the 18th or 19th century a parallel, gabled range was added at the rear of the house. A circular dovecot, presumably that mentioned in 1692, stands to the south of the house and retains its original conical roof and its nesting boxes.

In 1522 Gloucester abbey granted an 80-year lease of seven yardlands of former customary land in Eastington³⁹ to the deputy steward of its estates, John Arnold of Highnam,⁴⁰ who was succeeded as lessee by a younger son, Richard Arnold (d. c. 1587).⁴¹ That land, converted to freehold, was apparently the large farm that John Scudamore, Lord Scudamore, a descendant of Richard's sister Alice Porter,⁴² owned in 1682.⁴³ The farm, based later on *UPPER END FARM*, descended with Scudamore's estates to Frances Somerset, duchess of Beaufort,⁴⁴ who leased it, then comprising 480 a., to Sir John Dutton, lord of Eastington manor, in 1740.⁴⁵ Her daughter Frances (d. 1820) with her husband Charles Howard (d. 1815), earl of Surrey and later duke of Norfolk, owned it at the inclosure of Eastington in 1783.⁴⁶ The duchess of Norfolk's executors or trustees still owned Upper End farm in 1831. It was tenanted then by the Craddock family,⁴⁷ and by 1870 it was

²¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 319.

²² *Ibid.* (1931), 273; (1939), 278; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/114.

²³ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 268–9.

²⁴ *Ibid.* iii, 180.

²⁵ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 633.

²⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1248, rot. 8d.

²⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, ct. 28 Sept. 41 Eliz. (partic. of inclosures).

²⁸ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 633.

²⁹ P.R.O., E 150/360, no. 1.

³⁰ *Ibid.* SC 6/Hen VIII/1248, rot. 8d.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93.

³² *Ibid.* ct. 6 June 19 Eliz.; *ibid.* Northleach par./285 (estreats 6 June 29 Eliz., 7 Oct. 30 Eliz.); the ct. roll describes the est. as ½ yardland but the estreats (twice) as 2 yardlands.

³³ *Ibid.* Northleach par./34.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 52.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 169, 180, 191, 194; and for dates of death, Bigland, *Glos.* ii, 287.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107; cf. *ibid.* D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (maps S, T).

³⁷ *Ibid.* D 1395, Northleach deeds 1850–67, abs. of title 1850; cf. above, this section.

³⁸ Plate 8.

³⁹ *Glouc. Cath. Libr.*, Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 192–3.

⁴⁰ For Arnold, cf. *ibid.* ii, ff. 114–15; Reg. Abb. Newton, f. 52v.; *V.C.H. Glos.* x, 18.

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./285; cf. *Visit. Glos.* 1623, 4.

⁴² *Visit. Glos.* 1623, 127; for the later descent, cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* iv, 395–6. The open-field acreage and allowance of sheep-pastures in 1740 was consistent with its having been 7 yardlands: *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./181.

⁴³ G.D.R., V 5/2171.

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./259b.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 181.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Q/RI 107.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (maps S, T); Q/REL 1, 1831.

apparently owned by the farmer Joseph Craddock.⁴⁸ The Revd. A. H. Watson owned Upper End farm, then comprising 459 a., in 1914.⁴⁹ About 1924 it was bought by Hubert Blackwell,⁵⁰ who sold it in 1933 to his brother James Blackwell (d. 1947).⁵¹ In 1997 the farm was part of the Farmington Lodge estate, the farmhouse being then leased as a private house. Upper End Farm was rebuilt in the mid 19th century as a substantial L-shaped stone building; an early 17th-century window reset in the cellar appears to be the only surviving part of the fabric of the earlier house.

The rectory of Northleach, comprising tithes of corn and hay and a tithe barn, was held on lease from Gloucester abbey by Thomas Monox, the vicar of Northleach, in 1533; the abbey then granted a reversionary lease at an annual rent of £11.⁵² The freehold was assigned in 1541 to the new bishopric of Gloucester.⁵³ The rectory was valued at 100 marks in 1603,⁵⁴ and in 1778 the gross annual value of its tithes was £191 10s., from which the cost of collection and carriage to the tithe barn deducted £40 and the average cost of repairs to the chancel of the parish church (and the barn) only £1.⁵⁵ For much of the 17th and 18th centuries it was leased to members of the Vyner family,⁵⁶ and at inclosure in 1783 Robert Vyner, as the bishop's lessee, was awarded 491 a. in the west part of Eastington (later Cottage farm) in lieu of the tithes.⁵⁷ That land was sold by the bishopric of Gloucester in 1817, subject to the obligation of paying for the repair of the chancel.⁵⁸

In 1410 Llanthony priory at Gloucester took possession of several burgages in Northleach town on the grounds that the previous owners were bondmen on the priory's manor of Great Barrington, and it secured its title against other claimants in 1412.⁵⁹ Llanthony's ownership was evidently accepted by Gloucester abbey, though when the abbey founded the borough c. 1220 it had determined that no other religious house should obtain property there.⁶⁰ At the dissolution of Llanthony priory in 1539 it owned the inn called the 'Pyke' (later the Crown) on the Green and other burgages and cottages at Foss End and Millend;⁶¹ the freehold of those premises was retained by the Crown until 1597 or later.⁶²

ECONOMIC HISTORY. AGRICULTURE. In 1086 the large manor owned by Thomas, arch-

bishop of York, including Northleach, Farmington, Stowell, and part of Coberley, was farmed for £27, compared with £18 in 1066. In demesne it had 4 ploughteams and 4 *servi*.⁶³ In 1267 Gloucester abbey's manor of Eastington (Northleach Foreign) had 6 ploughs cultivating the demesne, worked by 30 oxen and 4 horses, and a seventh plough, requiring a team of 8 oxen, was used between Christmas and Easter.⁶⁴ Sheep farming had its usual importance for a Cotswold manor. The customary tenants each owed a day's shearing in 1267,⁶⁵ and in 1412 a large sheep walk on the manor was held in severalty by the abbey, though trespass on it by large flocks kept by some of the tenants appears to have been a regular problem; two tenants then had flocks of 300 or more and another a flock of 200.⁶⁶ Wool sold by the abbot in Northleach market in 1378⁶⁷ was presumably raised at Eastington or his nearby estates of Aldsworth and Coln Rogers. By the end of the 15th century the Eastington demesne was farmed out,⁶⁸ and a lease of it granted in 1521 included a demesne flock of 400 sheep together with pasture, a sheephouse, and, for winter fodder, 30 wagon loads of hay annually from a meadow in Ampney St. Peter; the flock and associated rights were granted at a reserved rent of £13 6s. 8d., equal to that charged for the rest of the demesne estate.⁶⁹ Michael Ashfield, a later lessee of the demesne, who bought the neighbouring manor of Farmington shortly before his death in 1540,⁷⁰ was evidently a sheep farmer on a large scale. He left 500 sheep, part of a larger flock on the farm, to his wife Joan. Other stock on the farm in 1540 included 16 oxen and 6 horses, so it evidently still included a large arable acreage.⁷¹

The tenants on the archbishop's manor in 1086 were 33 *villani* and 16 *bordarii*.⁷² The tenants and mode of tenure in Northleach borough are discussed elsewhere.⁷³ In 1267 the pattern of customary tenements on Eastington manor was a simple one, comprising 40 yardland holdings (one then in the lord's hands) and 2 other yardlands each held jointly by two tenants. The yardland then comprised 68 a.,⁷⁴ but in the mid 17th century it was 60 a.;⁷⁵ possibly the earlier measure was by the 'field acres' (presumably each an open-field strip) that were in use in 1599.⁷⁶ The manor had no lesser customary tenants in 1267, but there were two free tenants, Robert de Aula, part of whose land owed the service of representing the abbot in local courts,

⁴⁸ Ibid. D 1388/SL 5, no. 74; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 609–10.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/114.

⁵⁰ Ibid. D 1395, abs. of title to Cats Abbey fm. 1950.

⁵¹ M. Thexton, *Steam Thrashing in the Cotswolds* (1986), 34, 36.

⁵² Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, ii, f. 68v.

⁵³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 572.

⁵⁴ *Ecl. Misc.* 94.

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1388, tithe papers, Northleach.

⁵⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1653; *Glos. N. & Q.* iii. 432.

⁵⁷ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 107.

⁵⁸ Ibid. D 1388/SL 5, no. 74; D 1395, abs. of title to Cats Abbey fm. 1950.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., C 115/76, ff. 15–16, 20, 39v.–44v.; *Cal. Close*, 1409–13, 273.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 63; cf. *ibid.* f. 68v.

⁶¹ Ibid. SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 11.

⁶² Ibid. E 310/14/54, f. 51.

⁶³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁶⁴ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 183.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 182.

⁶⁶ Glos. R.O., D 936a/M 5.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iv, p. 207.

⁶⁸ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Braunche, pp. 90–1.

⁶⁹ Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 177–8; and for the allowance of hay, cf. Glos. R.O., D 678/settlements/28c.

⁷⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 348.

⁷¹ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1541.

⁷² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁷³ Above, intro.; below, local govt.

⁷⁴ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 181–3.

⁷⁵ Glos. R.O., D 678/Northleach par./20, 63a, 75.

⁷⁶ Ibid. rolls/93.

and Henry the freeman, who held 1 yardland by service that included supervising the reapers at harvest time and doing a number of days' labour; for each estate the lord took a horse and harness at the tenant's death and had rights of wardship and marriage. The customary yardlander owed four days' work each week during most of the year, his duties including carrying service to Gloucester. In the harvest during August and September he owed 5 days a week and 8 bedrips, the bedrips with two men. Other customs included toll on ale, pannage, and aid, the latter assessed both on acreage and on stock.⁷⁷ In 1292 a number of tenants were evading their customary obligations: one refused to pay toll on an animal sold, another had married without the lord's consent, and six were fined for not turning out to harrow on the demesne and nine for withdrawal of suit of mill.⁷⁸

By 1412 amalgamations had begun to produce fewer and larger customary estates; one comprised three houses and three yardlands.⁷⁹ In 1541 14 customary estates, held by copyhold, survived, including one of 4 yardlands and three of 3 yardlands. They comprised in all only 22½ yardlands,⁸⁰ for from 1499 or earlier some customary land was converted to leasehold on long terms of years,⁸¹ notably the two former copyholds, of 3 and 4 yardlands respectively, which the abbey granted in 1522 to John Arnold.⁸² In the copyhold estates widows had their freebench⁸³ but the manor court ruled in 1582 that next of kin had no automatic right of preferment at the expiry of existing lives.⁸⁴

Several copyholds survived on Eastington manor at the end of the 16th century,⁸⁵ but in the earlier 17th century the new lords, the Duttons, who converted one copyhold to leasehold in 1617 and bought out the remaining rights to another in 1647,⁸⁶ preferred to grant leases for two lives.⁸⁷ In the late 17th century and the earlier 18th the lands were almost invariably granted for 99 years or three lives with heriots payable; the rents included in some cases a render of oats,⁸⁸ and under one lease granted in 1692 the lord still reserved the right to demand 6 days' labour service.⁸⁹ From the mid 18th century the Duttons apparently replaced the leases, as they fell in, with short tenures, and all the land in Eastington subject to inclosure in 1783 was allotted to them or to other freeholders.

The parish was once farmed mainly as open fields, which may have originated as two separ-

ate groups, one for the hamlet which became Northleach borough in the early 13th century and one for the hamlets further down the Leach. The latter and larger group, termed the 'Eastington' fields in 1682, comprised two big fields, West field and Broad field, occupying most of the south part of the parish, and the smaller Coborne field, which lay between the Eastington hamlets and the main Oxford road; another small field, called Little field, lay east of Broad field⁹⁰ until the 1720s when most of it was inclosed into Lodge park.⁹¹ Two other fields, North field and South field, respectively north-east and south-west of Northleach town, were called the 'farm' fields in 1682 when the Duttons' demesne farm, based on the old manor site adjoining the parish church, owned a majority of the strips in them.⁹² They were evidently the same two which had been referred to as the lord of the manor's fields c. 1400 when the vicar had a substantial holding in them.⁹³

In 1587 the Crown as lord of the manor gave its leasehold tenants permission to carry out inclosures by exchange in parcels of up to 4 a., each inclosure to be recorded in a survey book. That process, which was concluded in 1599, apparently affected mainly land in North and South fields, though some land in Coborne field was inclosed under it.⁹⁴ In 1682 the vicar was the principal owner, apart from Sir Ralph Dutton, in North and South fields, though there was at least one other owner there;⁹⁵ the vicar's inclosure and conversion to pasture of 44 a. of his glebe (to form the later Folly farm) shortly before 1712⁹⁶ may have been carried out as part of a general inclosure of the two fields. In the main Eastington fields, however, very little inclosure or consolidation was done before the parliamentary inclosure of the parish in 1783 and the land of the main estates there remained widely dispersed: in 1714 a large leasehold with 259 a. was in separate parcels of c. 1 a.,⁹⁷ as was the extensive open-field land belonging to the duchess of Beaufort's freehold in 1740.⁹⁸

A two-course rotation was followed in the Eastington fields until parliamentary inclosure in 1783 but part of the fallow field was cropped each year with a spring crop of peas,⁹⁹ that practice was presumably established by 1719 when land known as 'the hitching' was allotted among the tenants at the start of January,¹ and 'every year' land was mentioned in 1740.² Northleach was among places in the Cotswold area where tobacco was being grown illegally in 1627.³ The

⁷⁷ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 180-2.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 936a/M 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* M 5.

⁸⁰ *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VIII/1248, rot. 8d.

⁸¹ *Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Braunche*, pp. 90-1; *Reg. Abb. Malvern*, i, ff. 174v.-175; ii, ff. 113v., 164.

⁸² *Ibid.* *Reg. Abb. Malvern*, i, ff. 192-3; cf. above, intro.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, cts. 1580, 1595.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ct. 1582.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* cts. 1594, 1598.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Northleach par./18.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 20-3, 23a, 27.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* *passim*.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 54.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* Q/RI 107; cf. *ibid.* D 678/Northleach par./62,

103, 106, 181; *G.D.R.*, V 5/217t 1.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./112-13, 125, 133, 137a.

⁹² *G.D.R.*, V 5/217t 1.

⁹³ *Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A*, f. 3v.

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, cts. 1587, 1596-7, 1599.

⁹⁵ *G.D.R.*, V 5/217t 1.

⁹⁶ *Hockaday Abs.* ccc, 1712; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 3/1.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./106.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 181.

⁹⁹ *Rudge, Agric. of Glos.* 379-80.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./285.

² *Ibid.* 181.

³ *Willcox, Glos.* 1590-1640, 158 n.

parish had little meadow land, a lack reflected in Gloucester abbey's assignment of hay from Ampney for the use of the demesne flock in 1521.⁴ Small areas alongside the Leach included until inclosure a common meadow called Lammass mead above Upper End,⁵ and there was a lot meadow at Nosewell, at the south-east end of Northleach town, in 1709.⁶ In 1778 a tithe survey of the lands of Eastington, excluding the large inclosed demesne farm (and the large acreage of open-field arable fallowed that year), found 900 a. cropped with equal portions of wheat, barley, and oats, and 100 a. of mowing grass, and 100 a. of clover and sainfoin.⁷

A common pasture, called by 1640 Cockman Down, lay on the south boundary of the parish, adjoining Calcot in Coln St. Dennis, and another, known as the Lower Downs, occupied the south-east corner of the parish, adjoining Aldsworth. Both seem to have been used mainly for cattle, though Lower Downs was also used for sheep in the early 18th century.⁸ In 1727 when Sir John Dutton inclosed 14 a. of the Lower Downs into Lodge park, he compensated the tenants with pasture rights in a parcel of his inclosed land adjoining the downs and in part of Larket hill,⁹ just over the boundary with Aldsworth; those rights were extinguished with the other common pasture rights in Eastington at the parliamentary inclosure.¹⁰

Pasture for the tenants' sheep was principally in the open fields, which were stinted at 60 sheep to the yardland in 1594 and 1647.¹¹ In the 16th century occupiers of land in the parish almost invariably kept sheep, which in their wills were often given in lieu of small cash legacies,¹² one testator in 1576 dispersing a total of 92 among 14 different relatives and friends.¹³ In 1534 a sum owed on mortgage was expected to be paid off in 'money or sheep'.¹⁴ Some tenants leased their pasture rights to outsiders in the mid 16th century but in 1594 the manor court ruled that the practice should stop.¹⁵ Pressure on the available sheep pasture was again evident in 1710 when the court ordered a reduction of the stint by one fifth.¹⁶ That order was confirmed in 1719, when it was ruled that when any sheep pasture was to let parishioners were to have first refusal. Four tellers were appointed then to enforce the stint and other regulations.¹⁷ In 1739 a register was ordered to be kept of all pasture that was let.¹⁸

At the establishment of Northleach borough in the early 13th century the use of two commons in the north part of the parish, already enjoyed by the inhabitants of the existing

hamlet, was confirmed to the burgesses.¹⁹ That described as extending from 'Hertbury gate' to the Foss way was apparently Northleach Downs on the north boundary of the parish, covering 52½ a. in 1834, while that described as behind the abbey's mill and adjoining the Foss was presumably represented in 1783 by a 17-acre field on the manorial demesne called the Wellings (or Wellhead grounds) by the Foss south of the town. In the early 19th century each burgess had the right to pasture one cow in summer in Northleach Downs; the winter pasture, from 14 November to Candlemas, was let for the general benefit of the town by the bailiff and the town charity trustees, who administered the downs. It was also then the practice to let six of the summer cow-pastures to non-burgesses and use the proceeds to drain and improve the land. In the Wellings the burgesses' rights ran from 12 August to 12 November, but *c.* 1815 they were surrendered to the owner, Lord Sherborne, who in return gave 1½ a. to be added to Northleach Downs.²⁰ In the mid 1830s between 20 and 25 townspeople each year were using their right to pasture a cow on the downs.²¹

The inclosure of Eastington in 1783, under an Act of the previous year, was initiated by James Dutton (from 1784 Lord Sherborne), who was brother-in-law to Thomas Coke of Holkham²² and evidently a keen agricultural improver. The inclosure re-allotted 2,364 a., comprising the remaining open fields and the common downland apart from Northleach Downs and the Wellings. A total of 1,322 a. went to Dutton.²³ His share of the expense was £810,²⁴ and, after the cost of new farm buildings, labourers' cottages, walling, and fencing, he estimated that the inclosure cost him over £3,000.²⁵ The earl and countess of Surrey received for their estate 268 a., an elongated strip of land between their farmhouse at Upper End and the south boundary of the parish, the Revd. Richard Rice received an adjoining strip of 142 a., and another owner received 4 a. The tithes of the whole of Eastington were commuted under the inclosure: Robert Vyner, lessee of the rectory, received 491 a., lying east of the Northleach-Crickley Barrow road, for his great tithes, and the vicar received 137 a. for his small tithes and for glebe that was re-allotted.²⁶

The inclosure did not affect the large demesne farm, usually called Northleach farm, which was all inclosed land by the late 18th century. It occupied the bulk of the part of the parish lying north of the Cheltenham-Oxford road, which as

⁴ Above, this section.

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107 (allotments to earl and ctss. of Surrey).

⁶ *Ibid.* (1st allotment to Jas. Dutton); D 678/Northleach par./100.

⁷ *Ibid.* D 1388, tithe papers, Northleach.

⁸ *Ibid.* D 678/Northleach par./20, 285; *G.D.R.*, V 5/217t 1; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107.

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./259a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Q/RI 107.

¹¹ *Ibid.* D 678/rolls/93; Northleach par./29.

¹² e.g. *G.D.R.* wills 1547/14; 1557/32, 412; 1576/100; 1587/98; 1591/60.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1576/100.

¹⁴ *P.R.O.*, C 1/746, no. 53.

¹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, ct. 1594; cf. Hockaday *Abs.* ccc, 1548.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/276.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 285.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 275.

¹⁹ *P.R.O.*, C 115/76, f. 68v.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/13; and for the Wellings, cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 107.

²¹ *Ibid.* D 1388, tithe papers, Northleach.

²² *D.N.B.* s.v. Coke, Thos. Wm.

²³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107.

²⁴ *Ibid.* D 678/Northleach par./211.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 221.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Q/RI 107.

well as North field and Northleach Downs presumably once included the sheep walk mentioned in 1412, and much of the land lying south-west of the town as far as Helens ditch and Winterwell barn.²⁷ The farm covered 1,015 a. in 1786 when Dutton leased it for a term of 21 years to William Peacey; the lease envisaged a rotation of crops which included either grass seeds or turnips in one year, and at least 50 a. was to remain under sainfoin for the whole of the term.²⁸ In the 1790s Peacey was partly, perhaps primarily, a cattle grazier and fattened bullocks by methods that were regarded as unusually innovative for the Cotswolds.²⁹

About 1820 Lord Sherborne's Eastington estate was organized as six farms. Broadfield farm, with its new farmhouse built since the inclosure at the south-east corner of the parish, comprised 606 a., mainly in a regular pattern of 50–60 a. fields based on a central driftway, Middle End farm had 523 a. forming another regular pattern of fields south of Eastington hamlet, and Lower End farm had 303 a. lying between the hamlet and the boundary with Farmington. The old demesne farm had by then been divided as 470 a. based on Northleach Farm, 341 a. based on Hill Barn Farm (later called Hill House Farm), and 103 a. based on Coalyard Farm.³⁰ Later in the century most of the old demesne was farmed from Hill House, to which Lord Sherborne's tenant William Hewer moved before 1851, leaving Northleach Farm to be occupied by a farm bailiff. Hewer farmed 993 a. in 1861, which presumably (as Coalyard farm then had 360 a.) included land in an adjoining parish.³¹ Outside the Sherborne estate the main Eastington farms in the 19th century were Upper End farm, Cottage (later Crickley Barrow) farm comprising the former rectory land, and Winterwell farm which was part of the vicar's glebe.³²

About 1807 Thomas Rudge calculated that in 'Eastington hamlet' (from which he apparently omitted the old inclosed demesne farm) the total rental had risen since inclosure from £500 to £1,460, that yields of wheat, barley, and oats had doubled or more than doubled, and that the stock of sheep had increased from 400 to 1,500. Most of the sheep were then a cross of the Cotswold with the new Leicester breed, and some 500 were sold for meat each year.³³ In 1801 wheat, barley, oats, and turnips or rape each accounted for 400–500 a. of the cropped land in the parish and there was a small acreage of peas, beans, and potatoes.³⁴ A lease of Coalyard farm in 1827 ordained a four-course rotation of wheat, turnips or vetches,

barley or other spring corn, and grass seeds,³⁵ and a similar rotation was being followed on the Sherborne estate's three big farms in the south and east of the parish in the 1850s.³⁶ Broadfield farm's 606 a. included only 26 a. of permanent grassland c. 1820.³⁷

In 1857, during the most prosperous years for farming, Broadfield farm, then comprising 778 a. including land in Aldsworth and Sherborne, was let at £600 a year and Middle End and Lower End farms, which were thrown together in that year making a total of 799 a., were let at £920.³⁸ William Lane, the tenant of Broadfield, and Robert Lane, the owner of Cottage farm, were among local farmers whose Cotswold sheep and Hereford shorthorn cattle won prizes at agricultural shows at the period.³⁹ Farming employed almost the whole population of Eastington, where in 1861 heads of households included 42 labourers, 5 carters, and 5 shepherds, and another large body of farm labourers lived in Northleach town. The two largest farms, Middle End and Hill House, then employed respectively 25 men and 10 boys and 20 men and 10 boys.⁴⁰ In 1866 3,130 a. in Eastington was returned as under crops and 371 a. as permanent grassland,⁴¹ and 2,141 sheep and 871 lambs and 304 cattle were returned.⁴² By 1896 there had been little change in the types of farming enterprise and little local impact from the decline nationally of cereal production: 3,137 a. was returned as under crops, including 318 a. wheat, 497 a. barley, 459 a. oats, 525 a. turnips and swedes, and 1,164 a. clover or grass under rotation.⁴³

By 1914 the Sherborne estate land was again in six farms, with Broadfield (701 a.) the largest, Lower End and Middle End once more separately tenanted, and the land of the old Northleach farm divided between its farmhouse near the church (by then called Church Farm), Hill House Farm, and Coalyard and Nostle Farms. Some land adjoining the town had been detached to form smallholdings, apparently occupied by townspeople, and 12 a. by the Burford road was leased as allotment gardens. Part of the glebe (5 a.) was then also used as allotments, and the land called Folly farm, sold by the vicar to Gloucestershire county council in 1913, was let as a smallholding.⁴⁴ Those changes produced a return of 21 agricultural occupiers in 1926, 8 of them having under 20 a.; altogether they employed 58 full-time workers. There had by 1926 been some reduction in the arable, which was returned as 2,664 a., but the pattern of sheep and corn husbandry was still largely intact; 1,084 breeding ewes and 1,236

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 107; for the sheep walk, above, this section.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./223.

²⁹ Marshall, *Rural Econ. of Glos.* (1796), ii. 76–9.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678, Sherborne est. maps. c. 1820 (maps R–T, V–W). Broadfield was presumably the unnamed model farm that Marshall (*Rural Econ. of Glos.* ii. 28–9) mentions as having been planned by Dutton's intended tenant.

³¹ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351; HO 107/1969; RG 9/1786.

³² *Ibid.* HO 107/1969; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 5, no. 74; P 231/IN 3/1.

³³ Rudge, *Agric. of Glos.* 307, 379–80.

³⁴ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 175.

³⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./268.

³⁶ *Ibid.* Eastington fm. leases 1857–8.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Sherborne est. maps c. 1820 (map R).

³⁸ *Ibid.* Eastington fm. leases 1857–8.

³⁹ E. Moncrieff with S. and I. Joseph, *Farm Animal Portraits* (1996), pp. 134, 216–17; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 335.

⁴⁰ *P.R.O.*, RG 9/1786.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/26/12.

⁴² *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

⁴³ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/114.

lambs were returned, together with 633 cattle, still mainly kept for beef.⁴⁵ In 1928 Broadfield farm, rented for £350, comprised 458 a. of arable and 233 a. of permanent grass, but the lessee was then given the option of converting 283 a. of the arable to pasture.⁴⁶ In 1956, when 18 agricultural holdings were based in the parish and employed 29 full-time workers, the arable land was mainly cropped with barley (755 a. returned) and wheat, and the livestock included at least one dairy herd.⁴⁷ Eighteen cattle, mainly milk cows, returned for Northleach town in 1926 were evidently pastured by townspeople on Northleach Downs;⁴⁸ each householder still had the right to pasture a cow on the Downs in 1997 but none exercised it and the land was let by the town charity trustees to a local farmer.⁴⁹

In the later 20th century the farmland of the Northleach area continued to be used mainly for producing large crops of cereals and for sheep raising. In 1986, when a large part of the estate of E. R. H. Wills kept in hand was returned under Farmington parish, making the figures for the two parishes difficult to distinguish, totals of 1,328.4 ha. (3,282 a.) arable and 469.6 ha. (1,160 a.) permanent grassland were returned for the two parishes together. Most of the arable land was under wheat (503.7 ha.) or winter and spring barley (681.3 ha.), and there was 79 ha. of oilseed rape. The flocks returned for the two parishes included a total of 2,264 breeding ewes, and 319 cattle were returned, one farm in Northleach and Eastington specializing in dairying. In Northleach with Eastington, apart from the Wills estate, three farms of over 100 ha. (247 a.) and two smallholdings made returns in 1986.⁵⁰ The tradition of breeding sheep and Hereford cattle in the parish was continued by Oscar Colburn (d. 1990), who farmed Crickley Barrow farm and other farmland in Coln St. Dennis; his 'Colbred' sheep were recognized as a separate new breed in 1963.⁵¹ Crickley Barrow remained the main farming unit outside the Wills estate in 1997. Much of the land of the latter estate in Northleach with Eastington and in Farmington remained in hand in 1997, farmed from buildings near Lower End, but its Hill House and Middle End farms, held together, and its Church farm were tenanted.⁵²

MILLS. In 1086 two mills were recorded on Northleach manor, as it was then constituted,⁵³ and there were two water mills on Gloucester abbey's Eastington manor in 1267.⁵⁴ In 1516 the abbey leased to Thomas Midwinter the rever-

sion of a water mill, evidently that on the tributary of the Leach at Millend, south of the parish church, together with the site of a windmill, which Midwinter was to rebuild.⁵⁵ He retained the property in 1541, but perhaps without having rebuilt the windmill,⁵⁶ which is not recorded later; it probably stood near the town south-east of the Farmington road where land was later named Windmill Leaze.⁵⁷ The water corn mill at Millend descended with Eastington manor, within whose bounds it lay, until 1826 when Lord Sherborne sold it to the tenant William Painter. The related Painter and Midwinter families worked it until the early 20th century. Steam was installed to supplement water power before 1859.⁵⁸

In 1598 a tenant had permission to build or rebuild a corn mill by a spring at Middle End in Eastington⁵⁹ but no other reference to that mill has been found.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE. A vendor of wine was recorded in Northleach in 1221,⁶⁰ and in 1267 the town's burgesses (on the evidence of surnames) included a mercer, a vintner, a dyer, a (female) weaver, 3 smiths, 2 shoemakers, 2 tailors, a mason, a baker, a cook, and a doctor. Ten market traders then paid annual sums for stallage, including apparently villagers from Sherborne, Salperton, and Bibury.⁶¹

By the late 14th century the town had become one of the main markets for Cotswold wool. Its position was evidently convenient for the collection and distribution of the wool crop from a wide area of the hills. Winchcombe abbey used the nearby manor of Sherborne for the annual shearing of the flocks from its estates,⁶² and a man from Preston, near Cirencester, who drove 300 sheep to Northleach to be shorn at Midsummer in 1547⁶³ was perhaps following an established practice of local sheep farmers. Northleach's leading inhabitants in the late Middle Ages were a small group of woolmen, dealing with the London merchants who operated through the Calais staple, or else dealing directly with buyers for Italian merchants.⁶⁴ In the 1370s and 1380s Cotswold woolmen from other towns, including William Greville of Chipping Campden, and men of Burford (Oxon.), Cirencester, and Stow-on-the-Wold, also came to Northleach to buy wool.⁶⁵

Northleach woolmen probably included the merchant Ralph Hammond, whose executor was attempting to recover a debt of £136 from a London merchant in 1354,⁶⁶ and Thomas

⁴⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴⁶ Glos. R.O., D 2299/7662.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/14/195.

⁴⁸ Ibid. MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴⁹ Inf. from Mr. C. W. Smart, sec. to Northleach char. trustees.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., MAF 68/6005/14/195-6.

⁵¹ *The Independent*, 24 Aug. 1990; *The Times*, 26 Feb. 1963; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 31.

⁵² Inf. from Ms V. Ravenscroft, est. sec.

⁵³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁵⁴ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 180.

⁵⁵ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb Malvern, i, ff. 55-6.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen VIII/1248, rot. 8d.

⁵⁷ Glos. R.O., D 678, Sherborne est. maps c. 1820

(map V).

⁵⁸ Ibid. Northleach mill deeds 1826-1906; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁵⁹ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/93.

⁶⁰ *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, p. 46.

⁶¹ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 176-9.

⁶² *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 124.

⁶³ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1548.

⁶⁴ For the trade, E. Power, 'Wool Trade', *Studies in Eng. Trade in 15th Cent.* ed. E. Power and M. M. Postan (1933), 39-90; and for connexions between Italian merchants and Northleach woolmen, *ibid.* 368; I. Origo, *Merchant of Prato* (1957), 70; P.R.O., E 159/231, Trin. rot. 16.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* iv, p. 207.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1354-8, 86.



FIG. 10. DETAILS OF WOOLMEN'S BRASSES IN NORTHLEACH CHURCH: (TOP) JOHN TAYLOR, c. 1510; (MIDDLE) THOMAS AND JOAN BUSH, c. 1526; (BOTTOM) PROBABLY WILLIAM MIDWINTER, c. 1503

Adynet (d. 1409),⁶⁷ a prosperous man who owned land in several nearby parishes and in 1397 loaned 50 marks to the Crown.⁶⁸ Thomas Fortey (d. 1447) and John Fortey (d. 1458) were among wealthy woolmen of the earlier 15th century;⁶⁹ John paid for rebuilding the nave of the parish church and at his death left extensive charitable bequests, including £200 to be used to make cloth for the poor, £1 each to 80 women on their marriage, and ½ mark each towards the upkeep of the naves of 120 churches around Northleach.⁷⁰

In the later 15th century and the early 16th the trade was dominated by the Bush and Midwinter families. John Bush (d. 1477), his son⁷¹ Thomas (d. 1525),⁷² and Thomas's son John were all woolmen and the two last were merchants of the Calais staple.⁷³ Thomas Bush held land, presumably for grazing sheep, in a wide range of places in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire,⁷⁴ and in the tax assessment of 1522 for Gloucestershire (which excluded Gloucester city and its inshire) he was given the highest valuation for goods, £800.⁷⁵ His son John may have continued his business in 1536 when he built two shops in the town centre and acquired a third there,⁷⁶ but another son William succeeded to most of Thomas's property in the town and sold it in 1544.⁷⁷ Alice Bush, widow of the first John, married the woolman William Midwinter,⁷⁸ who between 1478 and 1492 was the main Cotswold supplier of the Cely family, staplers of London and Calais.⁷⁹ William died in 1501 and Alice continued his business until her death c. 1503 when she left bequests to the churches of 10 parishes where she was accustomed to buy wool; their son Thomas Midwinter may have continued the trade at Northleach.⁸⁰ The trade seems to have left the town by the middle of the 16th century.

A natural development from wool dealing, which while enriching some individuals gave only limited direct employment, was cloth-making and it was that which was seen as the town's main support in the 16th century. By the middle of that century Northleach was also doing a good market trade with the surrounding area and had, for a town of its size, a substantial body of men engaged in the food and clothing trades. Under a system of admissions to trade then in operation in the borough over 57 men

⁶⁷ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1409.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1389–92, 357–8; *Cal. Pat.* 1396–9, 182.

⁶⁹ Davis, *Monumental Brasses of Glos.* 48–51, 54–7.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/4 (P.C.C. Stokton 24), ff. 185v.–186v.

⁷¹ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1477; A. Hanham, *Celys and their World* (Camb., 1985), 115–16.

⁷² Davis, *Monumental Brasses of Glos.* 135–8.

⁷³ P.R.O., C 1/746, no. 53; cf. Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1525.

⁷⁴ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1525; P.R.O., E 150/360, no. 1.

⁷⁵ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 121.

⁷⁶ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, ii, ff. 113v.–114.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./2; cf. *ibid.* 7.

⁷⁸ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1503.

⁷⁹ *Cely Papers*, ed. H. E. Malden (Camd. 3rd ser. i), 11, 21, 32–3, 64, 102–3, 121–2, 124, 157; Hanham, *Celys and their World*, 112, 120.

⁸⁰ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1501, 1503.

TABLE I: NORTHLEACH TRADESMEN ADMITTED AT THE TOWN COURT

1548-1567

mercers	3
brewers	11 (usually 'victualler brewer')
butchers	7
bakers	3
weavers	7
tailors	10
glovers	9
shoemakers	2
smiths	5
total	57

note: in that period no courts are recorded in the years 1553-7, and a few entries of admissions are partly illegible.

1601-1620

mercers	2	tailors	9
drapers	1	shoemakers	5
chandlers	1	glovers	5
ironmongers	1	parchment makers	3
hucksters	3	cobblers	2
petty chapmen	2	tanners	1
barbers	1	glaziers	4
victuallers	9	collar makers	3
butchers	3	smiths	3
bakers	2	turners	3
cheesemongers	1	coopers	1
weavers	3	joiners	1
clothiers	1	plumbers	1
cardmakers	1	unidentified	5
total		77	

Source: Glos. R.O., D 398/1.

entered ten or more different trades in the years 1548-67 and 77 entered 27 or more trades in the years 1601-20 (see Table I). In 1608 49 tradesmen were listed in the muster roll for the town.⁸¹

The decline from the 7 or more weavers admitted to trade between 1548 and 1567 to only 3 admitted between 1601 and 1620 reflects the gradual loss of the town's clothmaking industry during the period. It was seen to be under threat by 1575 when Thomas Dutton of Sherborne leased the Great House with 200 tods of wool, valued at £200, to Edward Partridge of Leonard Stanley and his son Richard, a clothier, in order to keep poor weavers, spinners, and tuckers in employment.⁸² Dutton's son William (d. 1618) gave the house and £200 in trust for the same purpose to the bailiff and townspeople and his heirs.⁸³ A clothier held the house in 1628,⁸⁴ and in 1631 it was leased for seven years to two clothiers of Witney (Oxon.), who were to provide employment at the rates of pay obtaining in the industry in Witney and Burford,⁸⁵ but it is poss-

ible that within a few years Dutton's gift was diverted to other uses.⁸⁶

Clothmaking was apparently still regarded as the chief support potentially for the town's workpeople in 1643 when some of its poor were reported to have petitioned Charles I, then passing through on campaign, for a revival of the industry.⁸⁷ Some elements of the trade survived until the end of the 17th century. A clothier of the town was mentioned in 1665⁸⁸ and another died in 1680, a few weavers were recorded in the 1680s and a cardmaker in 1682;⁸⁹ in 1693 spinning and the manufacture of stockings were said to provide employment.⁹⁰ About 1710, however, the town was described as formerly a noted town for cloth manufacture.⁹¹

Between the 1540s and the early 17th century the town's market attracted a good trade, particularly for meat and livestock. Men from as far away as Hill Croome and Ripple (both Worcs.) in the Severn Vale brought pigs for sale in the 1550s,⁹² and butchers from outside the town

⁸¹ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 265-6.

⁸² Glos. R.O., D 678/Northleach par./7.

⁸³ Ibid. D 398/27.

⁸⁴ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./320.

⁸⁵ Ibid. D 398/17.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 1, p. 1; below, char.

⁸⁷ Glos. R.O., TRS 128.

⁸⁸ Ibid. D 678/Northleach par./292.

⁸⁹ Ibid. P 231/IN 1/2, burials 1680, 1682, 1684, 1686-7.

⁹⁰ B.L. Harl. MS. 4716, f. 7v.

⁹¹ Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 3, f. 154.

⁹² Glos. R.O., D 398/1, pp. 108, 119.

rented shambles in the market on a regular basis. The butchers, of whom 8 had shambles in 1564 and 7 in 1603,⁹³ were mainly from Winchcombe, and others were recorded from Bourton-on-the-Water, the Rissingtons, the Guitings, Naunton, Barrington, and Sherborne.⁹⁴ Drapers from Burford and Winchcombe were among traders with standings in the market place in the 1540s and 1550s,⁹⁵ and bakers from Stow-on-the-Wold in the 1570s and 1580s.⁹⁶ Four pedlars took standings in 1604.⁹⁷ The townspeople of that period included some affluent men engaged in the distributive trades, among them the mercer Henry Winchcombe (fl. 1574, 1608),⁹⁸ who was also a fishmonger and ran sheep on land he held in Eastington,⁹⁹ and a vintner, John Meller, who had five servants or employees in 1608. The gloving trade which was evidently of some importance in the 16th century and the early 17th seems not to have survived on any scale. Five slaters recorded at Northleach in 1608¹ were probably (as none appears in the records of admissions) living outside the borough in Eastington; slate quarries in the open fields there were being worked in the 1630s and in 1740.²

In the 18th century, after the loss of its clothmaking, Northleach was no longer a manufacturing town. About 1710 unemployment among its poor was a problem³ and it was said to be dependent chiefly on its market and fairs.⁴ About 1795 the town was characterized as a place of no trade, the word evidently implying manufacturing, as the same account mentioned its large corn market.⁵ It continued to supply a range of goods and services to the surrounding area, with most of its trades during the Georgian period those that might be found in the average large village. It had, however, some representatives of the shopkeeper class, such as mercers, tallow chandlers, and ironmongers, and other occupations of an urban nature included a ropemaker in 1728, a pawnbroker in 1739,⁶ and a barber in 1742.⁷ There were two surgeon-apothecaries in the town c. 1795,⁸ but no attorney was recorded before the early 19th century. The character of the town's trades is indicated by the occupations of the men who served as bailiff of Northleach. The calling is known of 38 of the 69 men who between 1700 and 1799 held the office: 6 were mercers, 3 tanners, 3 maltsters, 3 innkeepers, 3 tallow chandlers or soap boilers, 2 apothecaries, 2 masons, and 2

glaziers, and there were single representatives of the trades of linendraper, pawnbroker, general dealer, barber, butcher, baker, ironmonger, collar maker, carpenter, cooper, currier, fellmonger, and shoemaker.⁹

In the early 19th century coaching, described above, brought Northleach additional sources of livelihood;¹⁰ those directly employed by the inns and road transport in 1841 were 5 innkeepers, 28 inn servants, 5 horsekeepers, and 4 postboys (chaise drivers).¹¹ The town's basic and very limited trading role was, however, not much affected. Its market was doing little business by 1830 and one cause of its decline was probably the improved communications by road to larger centres, such as Cirencester and Gloucester, with which carriers connected Northleach on the respective market days.¹² A more important factor in that decline was evidently the growth of direct dealing with the local farms, at which annual sales of livestock were being held by 1856.¹³

In 1841 heads of households in the town included 83 tradesmen, craftsmen, and shopkeepers following 36 different occupations,¹⁴ and in 1881 77 heads of households were occupied in a similar variety of trades.¹⁵ Shoemakers, one of whom employed six journeymen in 1851, were particularly numerous among the town's tradesmen, as they were in other places in the central Cotswolds in the 19th century. For reasons that are more obvious, stonemasons formed another significant group at Northleach during the period.¹⁶ One of the few enterprises on a scale beyond that of the family-run shop or craft business was a brewery. It was established before 1870 by John Tayler in buildings near the north-west end of the town,¹⁷ which were rebuilt on a substantial scale in 1899.¹⁸ In 1911 the brewery had five public houses in Northleach and seven in other towns and villages of the area. In or shortly before 1920 it was bought by the Cheltenham Original Brewery Co. which closed it down.¹⁹ Another venture of the mid 19th century was a racehorse-training stable carried on at the King's Head inn (later Walton House) by the Day family²⁰ and later by Thomas Golby, who had 11 apprentices to the business living in at the house in 1871.²¹ A bank, a branch of the County of Gloucester Bank, had been established in the town by 1842, and by 1853 it had been joined by a branch of the other joint stock bank of the area, the

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, pp. 176, 335.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 105-6, 116, 288, 308, 341, 347.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 105, 116.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 264, 293.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 340.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 278, 291, 297; D 398/8; Smith, *Men and Armour*, 267.

⁹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/93, cts. 15 May 1595, 10 June 1596; D 1375/502.

¹ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 265-6.

² *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, p. 474; D 678/Northleach par./181.

³ Below, local govt.

⁴ Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 3, f. 154.

⁵ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* iv (1798), 73.

⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./135, 179.

⁷ G.D.R. wills 1750/113.

⁸ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* iv (1798), 74.

⁹ For the bailiffs, *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/2; the main sources for their occupations are *ibid.* 11-22; G.D.R. wills; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* iv (1798), 74.

¹⁰ Above, intro.

¹¹ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

¹² *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 135, 146, 152; (1842), 124-5.

¹³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 335.

¹⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* RG 11/2559.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* HO 107/1969; *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 584.

¹⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 609.

¹⁸ Date on bldg.

¹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/899, 2419.

²⁰ Monk, *Northleach and Around*, 8.

²¹ P.R.O., RG 10/2650.

Gloucestershire Banking Co.²² There were two surgeons in 1830 and four in 1853.²³ An attorney was working in the town by 1818,²⁴ and the one practice sufficed during the 19th century, but in the early 20th, partly as a result of the proliferation of posts in connexion with Northleach's local government institutions, there were usually two.²⁵

A large proportion of the town's inhabitants in the 19th century, 47 heads of households in 1841²⁶ and 31 in 1881, were farm labourers²⁷ and several of its trades related specifically to its agricultural area. It had an oatmeal factor and a farrier and cow leech in 1830,²⁸ a turnip seedsman, another seedsman, a veterinary surgeon, and a castrator in 1851,²⁹ an agricultural implement dealer in 1870,³⁰ and three threshing machine proprietors, two drivers of agricultural traction engines, and two hurdlemakers in 1881.³¹ The Blackwell family carried on a steam threshing and haulage business from Northleach between c. 1870 and the 1940s.³²

The traditional crafts dwindled rapidly in the early 20th century, with 2 carpenters, 2 saddlers, a boot repairer, a blacksmith, and a builder those listed in a trade directory in 1923³³ and only 2 builders, a carpenter, and a shoemaker in one of 1939. A range of small shops remained, and the main road provided some sources of livelihood, with 3 garages and 3 boarding houses listed in 1939.³⁴ Cheltenham was evidently attracting workers from Northleach by 1934 when a local bus company was urged to provide an early morning service to that town,³⁵ and that trend continued after the Second World War. In the early 1960s others from what was then a dwindling working population travelled to a clock-making factory at Witney.³⁶ The new housing that followed the opening of the bypass in 1984 brought a larger population to live in the town and travel out to surrounding centres for work.

In 1997 two firms of builders were based in the town, that of the Mustoe family, established c. 1920,³⁷ having an extensive local practice. A small industrial estate was then open in the farm buildings of Coalyard Farm. The few surviving shops for basic provisions and services in 1997 were a post office, a small general store, a baker and greengrocer, a butcher, a chemist, and a newsagent. There were also a few specialist

shops directed towards the Cotswold tourist trade, and, as well as the celebrated Perpendicular parish church, a countryside museum, housed in the old prison, and a museum of mechanical musical instruments attracted visitors.

MARKETS AND FAIRS. In 1219 or 1220 Henry III granted to Gloucester abbey the right to hold a market at Northleach on Wednesdays and a fair on the eve of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (29 June).³⁸ In 1226 he rescinded that right but for a fine paid by the abbey it was confirmed the following year, with the fair extended to three days.³⁹ That statutory fair was apparently still held at the start of the 18th century⁴⁰ but expired later. During the 18th century and the early 19th, however, the bailiff and townspeople initiated a number of fairs or 'great markets' on some of the Wednesday market days.⁴¹ In the mid 1760s three were held, in April and May for the sale of cows and sheep and in October for horses and small wares.⁴² In 1830 six Wednesday fairs were being held,⁴³ and in 1856 two for livestock and two hiring fairs were held.⁴⁴ The ordinary sessions of the market were described as little attended in 1830 and 1853⁴⁵ and they apparently ceased c. 1900, though at least some of the fairs may have continued until 1939 or later.⁴⁶ The statutory fair in late June was revived as a pleasure fair in the late 20th century.

Although the Whitmores as lords of the borough claimed a right to the tolls in 1738,⁴⁷ all rights in the markets and fairs appear to have been granted by Gloucester abbey before the Dissolution to the bailiff and townspeople. There is no mention of tolls in the account of the abbey's profits from the borough in 1541,⁴⁸ and in the court that the townspeople were holding by 1548 they received dues from tradesmen for standings in the market place and regulated other aspects of market trade.⁴⁹ In the late 1780s the court let the tolls at £7 a year, the lessees being then and for many years afterwards the Acocks,⁵⁰ a family of local tradesmen.⁵¹ In 1875 the tolls were let for only £1 a year.⁵²

Part of the range of buildings on the west side of the market place was called the old boothall in 1594 and was presumably a market house that

²² *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1842), 124; *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852-3), 150.

²³ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 153; *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852-3), 150.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/8.

²⁵ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1842), 124; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

²⁶ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351.

²⁷ *Ibid.* RG 11/2559.

²⁸ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 153.

²⁹ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

³⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 609.

³¹ *P.R.O.*, RG 11/2559.

³² M. Thexton, *Steam Thrashing in the Cotswolds* (1986).

³³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 270-1.

³⁴ *Ibid.* (1939), 278-9.

³⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231A/PC 2/2, min. 30 Jan. 1934.

³⁶ *Ibid.* mins. 11 Aug., 8 Sept., 6 Oct. 1947; *The Times*,

22 Sept. 1961, 19.

³⁷ Inf. from Mr. W. Mustoe, of Northleach.

³⁸ *Pipe R.* 1220 (P.R.S. N.S. xlvii), 79; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 435.

³⁹ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 103-4; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 30.

⁴⁰ *Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc.* c. 3, f. 154.

⁴¹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 1 May 1750; 18 Aug. 1806; 14 Apr. 1823; *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/2, accts. 1747, 1755-6; 4, acct. 1821.

⁴² *Glouc. Jnl.* 24 Sept. 1764; 1, 29 Sept. 1765.

⁴³ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 152.

⁴⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 335.

⁴⁵ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 152; *Slater's Dir. Glos.* (1852-3), 150.

⁴⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897 and later edns.).

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 45/T 1/27.

⁴⁸ *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VIII/1248, rot. 8.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 4, accts. 1787 sqq.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 2, min. 21 Dec. 1840; *Univ. Brit. Dir.* iv (1798), 74; *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 153.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/5.

was in use in the late Middle Ages. Before 1551, however, the bailiff and townspeople built a new market house in the market place near by. It was pulled down c. 1820⁵³ and plans to build a new one incorporated in a Scheme regulating the town property in 1834⁵⁴ were later abandoned as unnecessary.⁵⁵

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. COURTS AND BOROUGH GOVERNMENT. About 1235, after Gloucester abbey had established Northleach as a borough and market town, Cirencester abbey as lord of Bradley hundred agreed with Gloucester abbey that view of frankpledge should be held twice a year in Gloucester's court at Northleach; the view was to be presided over by Cirencester's stewards but Gloucester would take the profits in return for an annual payment of 8s. Cirencester reserved to itself all Crown pleas, strays, thefts, pleas of *vee de naam*, and imprisonments, allowing Gloucester to hear all other pleas and have a pillory and tumbrel.⁵⁶ Those arrangements remained in force in the early 15th century: after the hundred view held near Stowell twice a year Cirencester abbey's bailiffs went on to hold a view at Northleach, where they had hospitality at Gloucester abbey's expense, and the bailiff of Northleach was required to attend the hundred court once a year and swear to keep for Cirencester those pleas it had retained for its own profit.⁵⁷ The obligation to provide hospitality for Cirencester's bailiffs was included in a lease of the Northleach demesne farm in 1521, when the lessees were also required to put up Gloucester abbey's steward and treasurer twice a year when they came to hold the manor and borough courts and supervise the estate.⁵⁸ The arrangements of c. 1235 did not apply to Eastington (Northleach Foreign), which continued to attend the view at Stowell: until the 1570s or later a tithingman made presentments there for Eastington together with Upper Coberley, a former member of Northleach manor.⁵⁹

A grant of liberties from Gloucester abbey to its burgesses at the establishment of Northleach borough provides little evidence of how the town was to be governed, though it mentions a bailiff, who had some powers to act independently, having the discretion to decide on the form of punishment for offenders against the bread and ale assizes. It also gave the burgesses the right to elect two of their number to 'see that our servants do not deal unjustly with them'.⁶⁰ The grant charged a cash rent of 12*d.* on each burgage, the only other obligations to be owed by the burgesses to the lord being suit of court and a toll on brewing and the sale of horses.⁶¹

Early court rolls for Northleach survive for the years 1291-2, 1412-13, 1541-2, and 1580-99.⁶² In 1291 Gloucester abbey held a 'free court' for the borough, its business including hearing pleas of trespass and debt and enforcing the assizes of bread and ale, and a halimote for Eastington.⁶³ In the early 15th century and in 1541 the separate courts continued, that for the borough including the annual election of the borough bailiff and admissions to burgages. In 1412 the court also elected a catchpoll, whose duties included levying distress and who was apparently a forerunner of the sergeant-at-mace recorded in the mid 16th century. Entrants to burgages did fealty to the abbot in the borough court and paid an entry fine, which in 1412 and 1413 was 6*d.* for a burgess or a son of a burgess but could be as much as 5s. or 8s. for an outsider newly establishing himself. By the early 15th century the abbey, evidently reluctant to create new heritable burgages, was granting some tenements in the town on lease or at will; those grants were recorded in the court for the foreign manor rather than in the borough court.⁶⁴

Later arrangements for the Northleach courts were complicated by the appearance before 1548 of a court held by the bailiff and townspeople,⁶⁵ and by the separate ownerships of the lordships of the borough and Eastington after the beginning of the 17th century. By 1580, apart from the townspeople's court, a single court called simply the manor court was held by the Crown for both the borough and Eastington; it was mainly concerned with Eastington and confined itself as far as the borough was concerned to tenorial matters, making grants of a few houses and shops there that were copyholds and of any new encroachments made on waste land, and recording and taking reliefs at the transfer of burgages.⁶⁶ Following their purchase of the borough in 1611, the Whitmores held a court, which presumably dealt with similar tenorial matters. It lapsed soon after 1685, by which time the copyholds in the borough had been converted to leaseholds and the Whitmores' rights extended otherwise only to receiving the chief rents from the burgages.⁶⁷ The Duttons held a separate court for Eastington after they purchased that manor in 1600; court rolls for it survive for several years in the period 1710-53. It met in the manor house adjoining the town and was mainly concerned with the regulation of the open fields and common pastures.⁶⁸ It probably lapsed at the inclosure of Eastington in 1783.

From 1548 the proceedings survive of a 'town court' held at Northleach in the name of the bailiff and burgesses without reference to lord of borough or hundred and free of supervision by the stewards of either. Its business was wide-

⁵³ Above, intro.

⁵⁴ Glos. R.O., D 398/13.

⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 2, min. 21 Dec. 1858.

⁵⁶ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 35-7.

⁵⁷ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 621; iii, p. 849.

⁵⁸ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, i, ff. 177-8.

⁵⁹ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 621; Glos. R.O., D 1375/496-502.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 68v.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*; cf. *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* iii. 176.

⁶² Glos. R.O., D 936a/M 1, M 5; D 678/rolls/92-3.

⁶³ *Ibid.* D 936a/M 1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* M 5; D 678/rolls/92.

⁶⁵ Below, this section.

⁶⁶ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/93; for the copyholds, cf. *ibid.* D 45/L 2; P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 344v.

⁶⁷ Glos. R.O., D 45/L 2; M 5, abs. of evidences.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* L 2; D 678/rolls/273, 275-8.

ranging. It had acquired former functions of the borough court, hearing pleas of trespass and debt (up to 40s.), granting seisin of burgages, electing the bailiff and minor officers, managing the market, and enforcing the assizes of bread and ale, and it had some of the characteristics of a guild meeting, in particular admitting people to practise a trade in the borough.⁶⁹ It had also assumed some at least of the jurisdiction of the view of frankpledge over petty criminal matters and over the activities of tradesmen.⁷⁰ Tithingmen for the borough attended the view for Bradley hundred in the years 1559–69 but only to declare that they had nothing worthy of presenting there and to pay cert money of 8s. a year, the sum laid down by the agreement of c. 1235.⁷¹

It is possible that the claim of the burgesses' town court to leet jurisdiction was challenged by the lord of Bradley hundred, Thomas Parry,⁷² for the hundred view of 1574 (the next year after 1569 of which record survives) was attended by the Northleach bailiff and constables and by a jury for the borough, which presented a number of tradesmen's offences.⁷³ The burgesses had not, however, given up their claims, for in 1576 the town court drew up detailed regulations for the control of tradesmen and the maintenance of public order; presumably in continuation of the agreement of c. 1235, any amercements arising from such matters were to be paid to the Crown, which was then lord of the borough, and an obligation to report 'forfeitures' to the Bradley hundred view was acknowledged.⁷⁴

The regulations of 1576 also covered in detail procedure in the civil pleas heard in the town court, the fees arising from which were to be assigned to the minor officials of the court or to the bailiff for disposal as alms to the poor. The regulations were to be read out at the first court after each new bailiff took office,⁷⁵ and for some years after 1576 the court required the attendance of all tradesmen who used weights and measures and it added to its other officers two leather sealers and, to enforce a statute of 1571, two surveyors of caps.⁷⁶

The character of the town court and borough government after 1548 and the nature of the jurisdiction being claimed in 1576 suggest, when set against the earlier evidence, that in the mid 1540s the Crown, which was then in possession of the lordship of both borough and hundred,⁷⁷ granted or allowed the burgesses important additional liberties. Abel Wantner, writing c. 1710, stated that Henry VIII granted the town a charter of liberties,⁷⁸ but the lack of any refer-

ence to such a document in the borough records and the scope for confusion over leet jurisdiction that was possible in the 1560s and 1570s make it doubtful that the new arrangements arose from any such formal instrument. It is possible, however, that the burgesses already had in place some kind of merchant guild, which was prepared when the opportunity arrived to assume additional administrative functions. The wool trade of the late Middle Ages gave Northleach some wealthy and cosmopolitan townsmen, who by the mid 15th century had certainly formed a guild for religious purposes⁷⁹ and who may have been allowed by Gloucester abbey to play a part in the regulation of trade in the town; the abbey appears to have released its market rights to the townspeople by the Dissolution.⁸⁰

The borough bailiff was elected in the town court from a short list of four candidates,⁸¹ as he had been earlier in the abbey's court. He took office in October or November and presided over the court with a group of six leading inhabitants styled arbitrators, who from 1576 or earlier were chosen by the bailiff of the day from former holders of his office. The bailiff chose each year a sergeant who carried a mace as a symbol of the bailiff's authority. The court elected two constables, two wardsmen, perhaps responsible for two divisions based on West End and East End, and a town clerk.⁸²

In the late 16th century the stocks were the usual punishment imposed in the court for minor offences that were not punished by fines. The town also maintained a pillory and gumstool (cucking stool) in 1567 and until 1641 or later.⁸³ The town had a prison in 1566⁸⁴ and presumably earlier: usually called the blind house,⁸⁵ it remained in use in 1832⁸⁶ and survived in 1997 at the rear of a building on the west side of the market place. The measures for public order in 1576 included a curfew, to be marked by the tolling of a bell at 9 o'clock in the winter months,⁸⁷ and that practice evidently continued in the 1640s when a bell was tolled at 8 o'clock each evening.⁸⁸

During the late 16th century the borough government was carried on with a degree of ceremonial. The minor officers processed with the bailiff from his house to the sessions of the town court in the boothall and all officers attended him to church on the main feast days. The arbitrators were required to appear in suitable gowns at the sessions of the court.⁸⁹ Apart from the mace, the court's regalia presumably then included constables' staves, which existed by 1732.⁹⁰ A town crier, or bellman, was recorded from 1496.⁹¹

⁶⁹ Ibid. D 398/1, pp. 105 sqq.

⁷⁰ e.g. *ibid.* pp. 123, 128, 161, 189.

⁷¹ Ibid. D 1375/496–501; D 2525, Seven Hundreds ct. roll 1566.

⁷² Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 152.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/502.

⁷⁴ Ibid. D 398/1, pp. 211–20.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 221–32.

⁷⁷ Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 152.

⁷⁸ Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 3, f. 154.

⁷⁹ Below, church.

⁸⁰ Above, econ. hist. (mkt. and fairs).

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, pp. 188–9, 200.

⁸² Ibid. pp. 211, 219.

⁸³ Ibid. pp. 128, 207, 213, 262, 463, 481, 492.

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 198, 366.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 2, ct. 1747; 4, acct. 1792.

⁸⁶ Ibid. P 231/OV 2/4.

⁸⁷ Ibid. D 398/1, p. 213.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 497.

⁸⁹ Ibid. pp. 211–12, 215.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 2, ct. 7 Feb. 1731/2.

⁹¹ Hockaday Abs. cc.

The town court's exercise of its full range of functions was, however, relatively short lived and the character of its business soon changed. Civil pleas ceased to be recorded in the court book after the 1580s and the administration of frankpledge jurisdiction had lapsed by 1600, while admissions of tradesmen were not recorded after 1627 nor grants of seisin after 1631.⁹² The court continued, however, to manage the market and regulate minor matters such as upkeep of streams and bridges. From 1602, when various properties given to the town for charitable and other purposes were transferred to its charge, its principal role was as a meeting of town charity trustees, and from the mid 17th century it was essentially a meeting for recording and approving the bailiff's accounts of the property and stock belonging to the charities.⁹³ The term 'court' was applied to it consistently until the mid 18th century but only occasionally later.⁹⁴ The office of wardsman is not recorded after 1689⁹⁵ and the role of the constables presumably became confined to parish duties.

The arbitrators, of whom as many as 10 were sometimes named in the 18th century, presumably all the surviving holders of the office of bailiff, continued to act with the bailiff of the year in leasing the charity property, and in that guise were usually termed 'feoffees of the town lands and stock'.⁹⁶ By the early 19th century it had become usual to refer to the bailiff and arbitrators as the 'bailiffs of Northleach'⁹⁷ and on one occasion in 1822 they styled themselves 'the bailiff and burgesses of the corporation of Northleach'.⁹⁸ They were replaced as managers of the town charities in 1834 when a new body of charity trustees was appointed, of which the bailiff for the year remained an *ex officio* member and later usually acted as chairman. Vacancies in the new body were filled by the surviving trustees from a list nominated by the parish vestry.⁹⁹ By 1768 the town court had left the boothall and met at the Lamb inn,¹ which under its new sign of the Sherborne Arms remained the meeting place of the charity trustees in the mid 19th century.²

By 1830 the old town court had been replaced by what was described as a 'court leet', held once a year in the name of the lord of Northleach borough, Richard Rice, and electing the bailiff and two constables.³ Presumably the loss of all but the role of charity management by the old court, coupled with understandable confusion about past arrangements, made such an evolution possible. To add to the obscurity, by 1891

the leet was being held not for the lord of the borough but in the name of the lord of Bradley hundred, Earl Bathurst.⁴ During the 20th century it continued to meet once a year under the presidency of Earl Bathurst or his steward and elected the bailiff (then styled high bailiff), the two constables, two tithingmen, two carnals, responsible in theory for the regulation of food and drink, and a hayward. A mace dating from before 1780 and two constables' staves, also dating from the 18th century, were the regalia of the court, though the constables actually carried two replicas which had been provided *c.* 1901.⁵ In the 1990s the brief, purely formal leet ceremony was held at the Wheatsheaf inn on an evening in November and was followed by a dinner at the Cotswold Hall attended by many townsmen and others from the surrounding area.

PARISH GOVERNMENT. The accounts of the churchwardens of the parish survive from 1798. Two were apparently then chosen by the inhabitants of the borough and one by those of Eastington, and separate church rates were levied for each part of the parish.⁶ Eastington was providing two thirds of the sum required in 1818 when its inhabitants demanded that its churchwarden should have the right to veto decisions about what repairs were to be done.⁷ In 1870, following the recent abolition of compulsory church rates, it was agreed that the two parts of the ancient parish would contribute equally to church repairs.⁸ For purposes of poor relief Eastington was entirely independent of the borough.⁹ Upper Coberley was for long taxed and rated with the parish: about 1770 it was said that it had once been assessed as a part of Eastington for poor rates, and until 1792 its share of the county rate was charged on Bradley hundred, being re-assigned then to Rapsgate hundred with the rest of Coberley parish.¹⁰

Overseers' accounts for Northleach town survive for the years 1749–66, 1785–1801, and 1816–33,¹¹ and vestry minutes survive from 1815.¹² From the 1620s poor relief was aided from the town charity funds with grants to meet specific expenses such as a removal or a lawsuit,¹³ and from the mid 1660s the bailiff and town court supplemented the rates on a regular annual basis.¹⁴ Their help became particularly necessary in the early 18th century when the town had a large number of paupers. In 1711 the magistrates were empowered to levy a rate on surrounding parishes in aid of Northleach,¹⁵ which built a workhouse immediately after the

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/1, pp. 293, 434, 459.

⁹³ *Ibid.* pp. 325 sqq.; below, *char.*

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 1, p. 633.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 18–22.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 4, acct. 4 Jan. 1804, mins. 22 Mar. 1811, 3 June 1817; *ibid.* 23–4.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 15.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 13; cf. *ibid.* 2.

¹ *Ibid.* 3, accts. 1768, 1770; 4, accts. 1785, 1800.

² *Ibid.* 2, mins. 1835 sqq.

³ *Pigot's Dir. Glos.* (1830), 152.

⁴ *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1891).

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, PA 231/5; for the mace, cf. *ibid.* D 398/4, acct. 1779.

⁶ *Ibid.* P 231/CW 2/1; cf. *G.D.R.* vol. 319.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/CW 2/5.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1, min. 18 Oct. 1870.

⁹ *Ibid.* D 45/L 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Q/SO 1, f. 48v.; SO 11, f. 103; Rudder, *Glos.* 580.

¹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/OV 2/1–4.

¹² *Ibid.* VE 2/1.

¹³ *Ibid.* D 398/1, pp. 412, 546, 561, 603, 620; 2, cts. 8 Oct. 1702, 4 Nov. 1704, 14 Apr. 1732, 22 Nov. 1745.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 565 sqq.; 2, cts. 1702–23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Q/SO 3, ff. 185v., 188.

passing of the Act of 1723-4.¹⁶ In 1737 the parish officers and the bailiff and arbitrators made regulations for the stricter control of relief, ruling that any applicants for help with their house rent should be moved instead to the workhouse, that the badging of the poor should be enforced, and that prosecutions should be pursued against keepers of public houses entertaining beggars and tramping people and against young people refusing to seek employment.¹⁷

The workhouse had gone out of use by the 1750s, when the usual forms of relief were being applied and c. 11-15 people usually received weekly pay.¹⁸ A workhouse, in a building at Millend,¹⁹ was established again in 1795, and in the following years the inmates were employed in spinning. In the difficult year of 1800-1 other measures were resorted to, including hiring paupers out for harvest work and employing some on the roads and in a stone mine adjoining the workhouse; in that year the wages of the paupers produced £35 to offset total disbursements of £344.²⁰

In 1761 during a smallpox epidemic a pesthouse was in use,²¹ and in 1779 a new one was built on Northleach Downs with funds from the town charities,²² which paid for the inmates to be inoculated during outbreaks in 1790 and 1810. Some nearby parishes paid to have their smallpox cases accommodated there.²³ In the 1820s the pesthouse was let to the overseers of Eastington as a poorhouse.²⁴

In Northleach town during the early 19th century, apart from the inmates of the workhouse, there were usually c. 20 paupers on weekly pay, presumably the sick and aged.²⁵ The main road brought frequent calls for assistance from vagrants and the tramping poor with passes, many of whom in the late 1790s were soldiers' wives and children.²⁶ During the year 1820-1 the overseers gave casual relief to over 350 individuals, including parties of up to 20 vagrants at a time, and during 1832-3 they assisted a total of 85 poor travellers on their way towards Cheltenham or towards Burford and Witney (both Oxon.).²⁷

In 1836 Northleach was made the centre of a poor-law union²⁸ and the guardians' workhouse was built at the south-east end of the town.²⁹ A Northleach highway board was formed in 1863³⁰ and a Northleach rural district in 1895.³¹ In 1974 the rural district was absorbed in the new

Cotswold district centred on Cirencester. Both Eastington, which was classed as a separate civil parish from the mid 19th century, and Northleach town had parish councils from 1894; the functions of that for Northleach included street lighting, and both councils jointly ran a small cemetery. A new parish council for Northleach with Eastington was formed after the amalgamation of the parishes in 1950³² and assumed the style of town council under the local government Act of 1972. The cemetery and an advisory role in the levying of the lighting rate remained among its responsibilities in 1997.³³

CHURCH. The church at Northleach, which was recorded from 1100,³⁴ was probably founded before the Norman Conquest to serve the whole of Northleach manor as it was then constituted. In the late 14th century the vicar of Northleach had portions of the profits of the churches at Farmington and Stowell, former members of Northleach, and parishioners of those places were then buried at Northleach, paying the vicar mortuary fees.³⁵ In 1100 Gloucester abbey was licensed to appropriate Northleach and other churches to help support the enlarged establishment of monks formed by Abbot Serlo. A vicarage was ordained at the same time,³⁶ and the living has remained a vicarage. The benefice was united with that of Hampnett with Stowell in 1929³⁷ and Yanworth was added to the united benefice in 1938.³⁸ Stowell and Yanworth were removed from the united benefice in 1964³⁹ and Farmington was added to it in 1974.⁴⁰ In 1997 a priest-in-charge, living in Northleach, served the united benefice together with that of Cold Aston with Notgrove and Turkdean.

The advowson of the vicarage, exercised by Gloucester abbey until the Dissolution,⁴¹ was granted with the rectory estate in 1541 to the bishop of Gloucester.⁴² During the 17th and earlier 18th centuries it was usually exercised by assignees of the bishop, some of them possibly also lessees of the rectory: (Sir) Robert Vyner of London presented in 1656 and 1672, Elizabeth Vyner, widow, in 1688 and 1702, and Elizabeth Leigh in 1736. The bishop himself exercised the advowson from 1761⁴³ and remained patron of the united benefice in 1997.⁴⁴

¹⁶ Ibid. D 398/2, ct. 20 Nov. 1724.

¹⁷ Ibid. ct. 19 Dec. 1737.

¹⁸ Ibid. P 231/OV 2/1.

¹⁹ Ibid. VE 2/1, min. 28 Dec. 1837.

²⁰ Ibid. OV 2/3.

²¹ Ibid. OV 2/2.

²² Ibid. D 398/4.

²³ Ibid. accts. 1789-90, 1793, 1810.

²⁴ 21st Rep. Com. Char. 123.

²⁵ Glos. R.O., P 231/OV 2/4.

²⁶ Ibid. OV 2/3.

²⁷ Ibid. OV 2/4.

²⁸ Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep. p. 523.

²⁹ Above, intro.

³⁰ Glos. R.O., HB 14/T 1/1.

³¹ Ibid. DA 31/100/1, p. 3; Glos. Colln. R 217.1 (5).

³² Glos. R.O., P 128a/PC 1/1; P 231a/PC 2/1-4; above, intro.

³³ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

³⁴ Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc. (Rolls Ser.), ii. 40-1.

³⁵ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A, f. 3; cf. Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

³⁶ Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc. ii. 40-1.

³⁷ Lond. Gaz. 7 Dec. 1926, pp. 7993-5; cf. Kelly's Dir. Glos. (1931), 216.

³⁸ Lond. Gaz. 31 Oct. 1930, pp. 6730-2; Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk. (1938-9), 54-5.

³⁹ Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk. (1970), 56-7.

⁴⁰ Glouc. Dioc. Dir. (1996-7), 108.

⁴¹ e.g. Reg. Giffard, 12, 326; Reg. Orleton, p. 71; Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 188; Reg. Ghinucci, f. 13v.

⁴² L. & P. Hen. VIII, xvi, p. 572.

⁴³ Hockaday Abs. ccc.

⁴⁴ Glouc. Dioc. Dir. (1996-7), 108.

The division of the profits of the church between the rectory and the vicarage, as it existed at the end of the 14th century, was fairly complex and was presumably designed to take account of the fact that the parish comprised both an urban and an agricultural part. The vicar took both great and small tithes from part of Eastington, described as 13 yardlands, and the small tithes from part of the town. He also received payments from all his parishioners in respect of their profits of trade, which in the late 14th century brought him *c.* £10 a year, a substantial part of his total income.⁴⁵ Those arrangements appear to have been still in place in 1535,⁴⁶ but a new, more conventional, division of the tithes seems to have been made by 1682 when only the small tithes of the parish were listed as among the vicar's profits. The large demesne farm belonging to Gloucester abbey before the Dissolution remained tithe free after it, and from the mid 17th century the Duttons paid a composition instead of the tithes from lands they had inclosed into Lodge park.⁴⁷ In the late 14th century the vicar's glebe comprised 1 yardland, presumably in the main open fields of Eastington, another 80 a. in the two fields described as the lord of the manor's, and two pasture closes.⁴⁸ In 1682 he retained extensive holdings in the main open fields with associated pasture rights in them and in the common downs, together with land intermixed with the manorial demesne farm;⁴⁹ the vicar Lionel Kirkham inclosed the land intermixed with the demesne shortly before 1712.⁵⁰ At the parliamentary inclosure of 1783 the vicar was awarded 83 a. for all his tithes in Eastington and 53 a. for his glebe and common rights;⁵¹ in 1829 a total of 192 a., mainly Winterwell farm and the later Folly farm, belonged to the living.⁵² The vicar sold Folly farm in 1913⁵³ and Winterwell farm in 1919.⁵⁴ The inclosure did not commute tithes owed by the inhabitants of Northleach town for their cow-pastures on Northleach Downs and for small closes adjoining their houses. Those tithes were not exacted by the vicar who served from 1786 until 1816, but his successor secured the resumption of cash payments for them;⁵⁵ in 1853 the vicar was awarded an unapportioned rent charge of £1 in place of them and the charge was redeemed the same year for a payment of £33 6s. 8d., raised by subscription among the townspeople.⁵⁶

The vicar had a house near the church by the late 14th century,⁵⁷ presumably on the site of the later vicarage west of the churchyard. In 1682 the vicarage house comprised 6 bays of building with outbuildings.⁵⁸ It was repaired and improved by Lionel Kirkham at the beginning of the 18th century,⁵⁹ and *c.* 1817 it was repaired and enlarged by John Kempthorne who, however, did not reside there in 1822, claiming that it was still too small for his large family and for boarding pupils.⁶⁰ The house was remodelled *c.* 1864 by Henry Miniken (later Horsley)⁶¹ as a substantial residence with a five-bayed south front of two storeys and gabled attics. It was sold in 1981, when a new vicarage was built in part of its grounds,⁶² and in 1997 it was occupied by a nursing home called Glebe House.

Northleach church, presumably just the vicar's portion of the profits, was valued at £10 6s. 8d. in 1291.⁶³ The vicarage was valued at over £22 *c.* 1400⁶⁴ but at only £10 19s. 0¾d. in 1535.⁶⁵ In 1650 the vicarage was worth £40 a year,⁶⁶ in 1743 £70,⁶⁷ and in 1856 £253.⁶⁸

A chapel of ease, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, was recorded at Eastington from the late 14th century. The vicar was then required to say mass there twice a week and the occupants of certain tenements in Eastington owed offerings to the chapel.⁶⁹ It stood on the hillside in the south part of Lower End hamlet. A chantry had been founded in the chapel by the early 16th century, perhaps with the intention that the priest should assist the vicar in serving the inhabitants of Eastington; its endowment of lands was concealed at the dissolution of the chantries but recovered by the Crown before 1575.⁷⁰ The chapel at Eastington was served by the vicar in 1563⁷¹ and it was mentioned as a part of the cure in institutions of vicars until 1702.⁷² The churchwardens of Northleach were ordered to repair and furnish it in 1605, but the order was later deferred while it was established who was liable to do so.⁷³ About 1703 the chapel was said to have been demolished⁷⁴ and ruins were visible in 1750. The site remained a part of the vicar's glebe,⁷⁵ and during the incumbency of Henry Horsley (or Miniken), 1855–73, a small school-chapel was built on it. That building was closed *c.* 1882⁷⁶ but it was reopened as a mission chapel in 1890 and was later served by a lay

⁴⁵ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A, ff. 3v.–4.

⁴⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

⁴⁷ G.D.R., V 5/217t 1.

⁴⁸ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A, f. 3v.

⁴⁹ G.D.R., V 5/217t 1.

⁵⁰ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1712.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 107.

⁵² *Ibid.* P 231/IN 3/1.

⁵³ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/114.

⁵⁴ G.D.R., V 6/60.

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, tithe papers, Northleach.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* D 398/2, mins. 1852–3; D 398/31.

⁵⁷ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A, f. 3v.

⁵⁸ G.D.R., V 5/217t 1.

⁵⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1712.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 1817, 1822; *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 3/1.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 3/2; for Miniken, cf. Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1855; *Clergy List* (1868), list of benefices, 171.

⁶² *Glos. Echo*, 9, 24 Sept. 1981.

⁶³ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

⁶⁴ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A, ff. 3v.–4.

⁶⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) ii. 410, 448; cf. *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 121.

⁶⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁶⁷ G.D.R. vol. 397, f. 82.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 384, f. 150.

⁶⁹ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Froucester A, ff. 3v.–4.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., E 178/873; *Cal. Pat.* 1575–8, p. 122.

⁷¹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 24.

⁷² Hockaday Abs. ccc.

⁷³ G.D.R. vol. 97, f. 171.

⁷⁴ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 56v.

⁷⁵ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 82; *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 3/1.

⁷⁶ *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1892); cf. G.D.R. vol. 385, p. 156.

reader.⁷⁷ It continued in use as a mission chapel until c. 1980⁷⁸ but by 1997 had been converted as a dwelling.

A fraternity of St. Mary which was mentioned in 1458, when it owned a house in Northleach town,⁷⁹ was presumably a religious guild formed by the woolmen and other leading townsmen. The fraternity may have endowed and supported the chantry of St. Mary the Virgin in the parish church, to which two burgesses left houses in their wills in the 1490s.⁸⁰ After its dissolution the chantry's lands and houses, valued at 117s. 11d.,⁸¹ were sold in 1549 to two speculators, who immediately sold them to Thomas Dutton of Sherborne.⁸²

The vicar Thomas Monox, instituted in 1525,⁸³ was granted a lease of the rectory tithes for his life by Gloucester abbey before 1533.⁸⁴ He had leave of absence during sickness in 1550,⁸⁵ and the following year the living was being served, as curate, by Gabriel Moreton, former prior of the abbey.⁸⁶ In 1647 when the vicar was Henry Simpson his income was given a small augmentation by assigning to it the reserved rent of £11 paid to the Crown by the bishop of Gloucester for the rectory.⁸⁷ Simpson remained vicar until his death in 1655,⁸⁸ and from that year the living was served, apparently as curate, by Robert Clarke, who was instituted to the vicarage⁸⁹ at the request of the parishioners in 1657. Clarke, a man of royalist sympathies, is said to have received protection until the Restoration from a Mr. Aylworth;⁹⁰ he remained vicar until 1665 or later.⁹¹ James Creed, vicar 1736–61,⁹² was also master of Northleach grammar school, in which role he was accused of immorality and other failings by the townspeople in 1750 and was censured by Queen's College, Oxford, patron and visitor of the school.⁹³ Thomas Hodson, vicar 1765–86,⁹⁴ was another who combined the two posts.⁹⁵ John Kempthorne, an evangelical sharing the views of the patron, Bishop Henry Ryder, was vicar from 1816 until his death in 1838, but for the whole or most of his incumbency lived at Gloucester, where he held a number of livings in succession.⁹⁶ Joseph Sharpe, vicar 1875–90, was among later incumbents of Northleach who favoured the evangelical tradition.⁹⁷

The parish church of *SS. PETER AND PAUL* stands on the south-west side of Northleach town, close to the market place but outside the borough boundary. The dedication, presumably borne by the church before 1220 when the town was granted a fair at that feast,⁹⁸

is first found recorded in 1493;⁹⁹ at other times during the 15th century, however, the church was referred to simply as St. Peter.¹ The building was remodelled on a lavish scale in the late 14th century and the 15th, partly from the proceeds of the town's wool trade, and is notable for an ornate two-storeyed porch and for a large, depressed-headed window which continues the clerestory over the chancel arch. The church comprises chancel with north and south chapels and small north-east chapel (used as a vestry), aisled and clerestoried nave with south porch, and west tower.²

Quoins for an unaisled nave, probably dating from the early 12th century or before, are visible in the west wall of the south chapel; a roof scar against the tower suggests that that nave was approximately the height of the 15th-century arcades. The east wall of a narrow south aisle, perhaps of the mid 12th century, is also visible from the chapel. The west part of the chancel, which has a cusped north door (leading into the vestry), appears to date from the late 13th century or the early 14th; a partial, blocked arch to the west of the door may be the remains of a rere-arch of a window or an opening to a smaller chapel of the width of the present vestry. A mid 14th-century arcade of two chamfered orders with polygonal shafts and moulded capitals leads into the north chapel.

Much work was done on the church in the later 14th century, though possibly in a number of separate building campaigns: the tower was built, the south aisle widened, and the south porch added. The tower has a very tall arch and a lierne vault with head bosses resting on shafts to the west and corbels to the east, apparently inserted into existing fabric. Squinches in the upper corners of the bell-chamber and the large diagonal buttresses intruding into the aisles suggest that a spire was intended but never built. The west door is contemporary and has a two-centred head and jambs with multiple fine mouldings in a square frame. A string course of badly weathered diaper flowers runs above it along the face of the tower. The buttressed and pinnacled two-storeyed porch has a lierne vault with bosses of human heads, and it has blind-panelled tracery internally and an entrance with a crocketed ogee head. Its upper chamber has an original fireplace in the west wall, its chimney concealed in the central buttress and pinnacle of that wall, and is also fitted with stone candle-brackets, a bench, and a cupboard. On the front of the porch crocketed ogee heads are used for

⁷⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 255; *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/CW 2/3, pp. 9–10.

⁷⁸ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1980), 60.

⁷⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccc.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 1493, 1496.

⁸¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* viii. 288.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Northleach par./3.

⁸³ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Ghinucci, f. 19v.

⁸⁴ *Glouc. Cath. Libr.*, Reg. Abb. Malvern, ii, f. 68v.

⁸⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccc.

⁸⁶ *E.H.R.* xix. 112; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlvii. 83.

⁸⁷ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1654, 1656.

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/1.

⁸⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1657, 1659.

⁹⁰ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 181.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/1.

⁹² Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1736; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 287.

⁹³ *Queen's Coll., Oxf., Archives*, 4T 60–3.

⁹⁴ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1765; *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/4, burials 1786.

⁹⁵ Rudder, *Glos.* 580.

⁹⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccc; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* iv. 158.

⁹⁷ *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1891); *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1894), 250.

⁹⁸ *Pipe R.* 1220 (P.R.S. N.S. xlvii), 79.

⁹⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccc.

¹ *Ibid.* 1409, 1458, 1483.

² For the church, *frontispiece*, Plate 31, and Fig. 11.

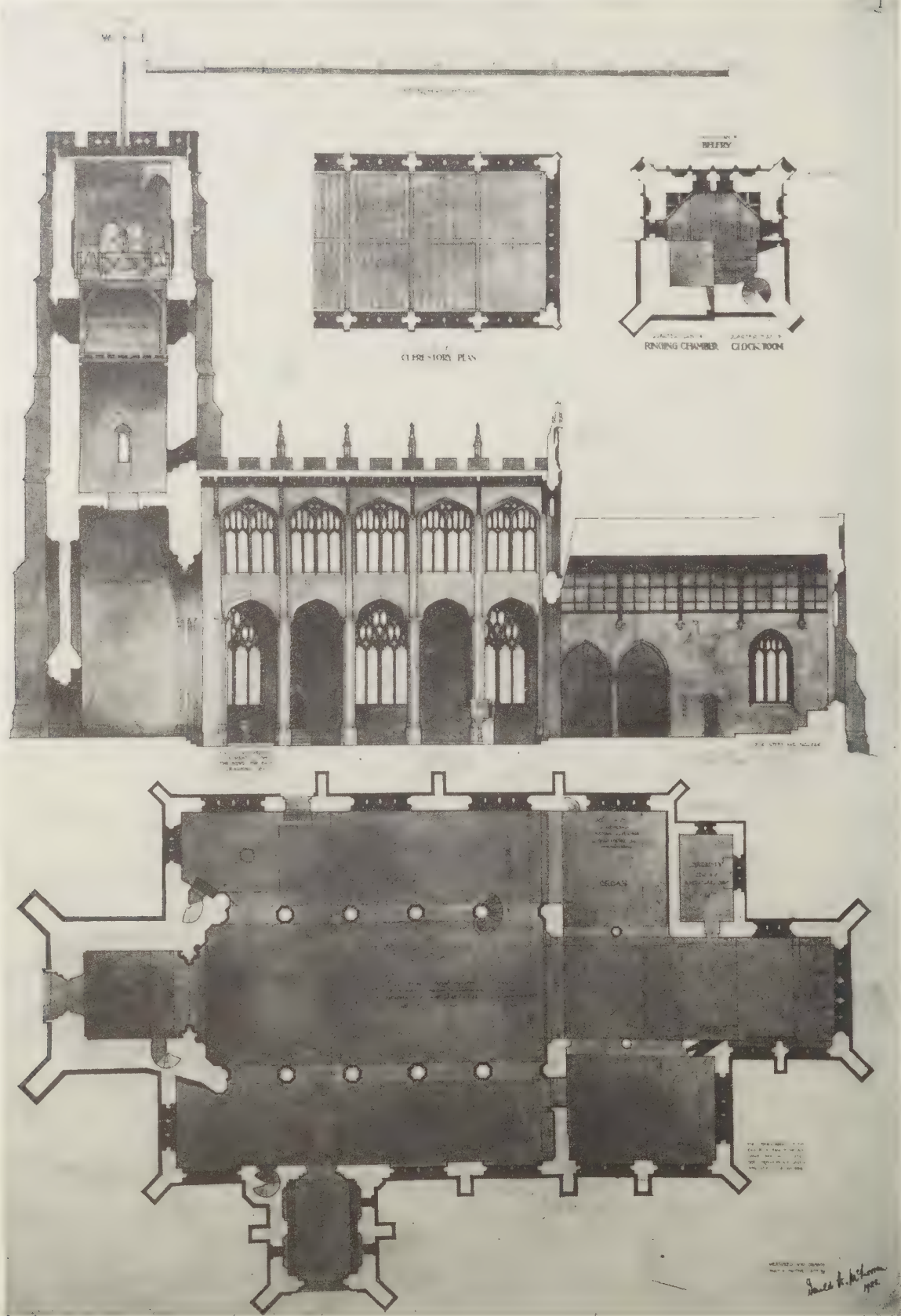


FIG. 11. NORTHLEACH CHURCH: CROSS-SECTION ON LINE OF N. ARCADE, AND GROUND PLAN, 1923

vaulted niches, several of which retain medieval statues. The south aisle has a plain parapet, similar to that on the porch, with crocketed pinnacles. Its four-light windows have in the lower part cusped ogee heads and quatrefoils below a transom, but the tracery in the upper part appears to have been replaced to match the windows of the late 15th-century south chapel.

The nave of the church was remodelled in the mid 15th century, mainly at the expense of the woolman John Fortey (d. 1458), who bequeathed £300 to complete the work of the 'new middle aisle ... already begun by me';³ the south arcade was rebuilt, the north arcade was built or rebuilt, and a clerestory was added. The four-light windows of the north aisle and clerestory are of similar design but those of the aisle are more heavily cusped and may have been completed first. The very tall five-bayed north and south arcades have hollowed polygonal piers with high bases and moulded capitals, continuing the form of the piers, and four-centred heads of multiple, hollow-chamfered orders; they are similar to the arcades at Chipping Campden and are also related to work at Winchcombe and All Souls', Oxford.⁴ The roof is carried on corbels resting on shafts formed from the rere-arches of the clerestory windows, which rest on the arcade capitals. A very large window with a depressed head carries the clerestory over the chancel arch. The north aisle and the entire clerestory have embattled parapets, and the clerestory also has pinnacles. The north door has a four-centred head, continuously moulded jambs, and a hood-mould with head stops. Also in the mid 15th century the north chapel was built, and the chancel extended. The north chapel was said to belong to the parishioners c. 1703.⁵

The south chapel was built in 1489 by William Bicknell and his wife Margaret.⁶ Bicknell was possibly lessee of the manorial demesne, which a Thomas Bicknell held shortly afterwards,⁷ and rights in the chapel, which belonged to the Duttons in the 18th century,⁸ presumably became attached to the manor of Eastington or specifically to its demesne farm. The chapel has a plain parapet with pinnacles, continuing that of the south aisle. The east window is similar to the clerestory windows,⁹ but the south windows, which have heads like those of the south aisle, appear to be largely 19th-century restorations. The simple chamfered two-bayed arcade into the chancel has a very large rere-arch, and the

opening from the south aisle has a four-centred head and an embattled string course on its south jamb. The east end of the south aisle, adjoining the Bicknell chapel, was also fitted as a chapel in the late Middle Ages, possibly for the chantry of St. Mary, mentioned above. On the east wall are the remains of an elaborate reredos with two tiers of recesses for statues, retaining traces of colour; near by is a statue niche of two depressed-headed blind panels in a square frame; and in the adjoining part of the south wall are an aumbry and pillar piscina.

The chancel also appears to have been remodelled in the mid or late 15th century, perhaps in conjunction with the work on the Bicknell chapel; it has windows of a similar pattern. The chancel arch has two chamfered dying orders, while the arch into the north chapel is of three chamfered orders which die into the wall over the opening from the former rood stair. The 15th-century sedilia in the chancel are possibly set into existing walling. Some minor work on the church continued in the early 16th century, when the east window of the north chapel was inserted.

A large west gallery was installed in the church before 1747 at the cost of the scholars of Northleach grammar school,¹⁰ and in 1813 the church was furnished with 58 seats, appropriated to particular families, and the gallery was replaced with a new one to accommodate the poorer parishioners.¹¹ In 1884 a general restoration of the fabric and a refitting of the interior, including the replacement of some roof timbers, the removal of gallery and seats, and the provision of new pews and choir stalls (later moved to the north aisle), was carried out under the direction of James Brooks.¹² In 1897 the tower was restored. Further restoration work was carried out in 1902 with funds raised by subscription among leading county gentry as well as from local sources.¹³ The church underwent a substantial re-ordering in the early 1960s: the west end of the chancel was fitted as the sanctuary, new seating designed by Sir Basil Spence and made by Gordon Russell was installed, and the chancel ceiling was replaced to the design of David Stratton-Davis.¹⁴

The church has an elaborate late 14th-century polygonal font, the decoration including portrait heads on the side panels of the bowl, angels playing musical instruments on the underside of the bowl, and devils being crushed at the base of the pedestal.¹⁵ The 15th-century stone pulpit has

³ P.R.O., PROB 11/4 (P.C.C. Stokton 24), ff. 185v.-186v.

⁴ J. H. Harvey, *Perpendicular Style* (1978), 195; the name 'Henrie Winchcombe' scratched on the base of a nave column and suggested as that of a 15th-cent. mason, related to the mason Ric. Winchcombe, more likely refers to a late 16th-cent. mercer of the name: above, econ. hist. (ind. and trade).

⁵ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 56v.

⁶ Ibid.; date on corbel in chapel.

⁷ Above, manor.

⁸ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 56v.; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 283.

⁹ The date of the tracery of the E. windows of chancel and south chapel is made obscure by a plate in Brayley and Britton, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, v. (1803), facing p. 641,

which shows a different, more angular pattern, while a plate prepared for Bigland, *Glos.* (reproduced in 1992 edn., *Glos. Record Series* v. 942) shows it much as in 1998.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/3, mem. at front; cf. Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 283.

¹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/CW 3/2; cf. *ibid.* CW 4/1, entry for 17 Feb. 1813.

¹² *Ibid.* VE 2/2, min. 12 Apr. 1883; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* vii. 29; *Glos. N. & Q.* iii. 559-62.

¹³ *Glos. N. & Q.* ix. 119; *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/CW 2/3, pp. 81-110, 251-65.

¹⁴ 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future' (Northleach W. I., 1975), f. 11; Verrey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 514, 516-17.

¹⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xl. 45-8, 55.

been reset against the easternmost pier of the north arcade, where there was possibly once a tomb, as corbel heads survive half way up it and the next pier. The pulpit is goblet-shaped with a polygonal shaft similar to the arcade piers and blind tracery similar to the clerestory windows. Set in the side walls of the chancel are two carved stone croziers, presumably a reference to the insignia of the abbot of Gloucester, appropriator of the church and lord of Northleach. A medieval *mensa*, or altar slab, was found buried in the church in the late 19th century and was replaced in position in the chancel in 1902;¹⁶ riddel posts with angels, designed by F. E. Howard, were added in 1923.¹⁷ Fragments of 15th-century stained glass are reset in the heads of several of the aisle windows. Yellow stained glass inserted in the windows in the 19th century was replaced in several with plain glass at the restoration in the early 1960s, when a new east window, designed by Christopher Webb, was installed.¹⁸

The church contains one of the largest surviving collections of medieval brasses in England. Most of them commemorate 15th- and early 16th-century Northleach woolmen and have details which include Cotswold sheep, wool-packs, shepherds' crooks, and merchants' marks. Some have lost their inscriptions or are otherwise mutilated and most have been moved from their original positions at the restorations of the church.¹⁹ Those commemorated are: a woolman and his wife in the dress of c. 1400;²⁰ the woolman Thomas Fortey (d. 1447), his wife Agnes, and her first husband, William Scors, a tailor; the woolman John Fortey (d. 1458), builder of the nave of the church; the woolman John Taylor (d. 1509) of Farmington and his wife Joan (d. 1510), whose brass appears to have been made before their deaths;²¹ a woolman and his wife, who (as the brass has a merchant's mark incorporating the letter 'M') are likely to be William Midwinter (d. 1501) and his wife Agnes (d. c. 1503);²² a mercer Robert Serche (d. 1502) and his wife Anne;²³ William Launder, vicar of Northleach from 1483 to his death c. 1524,²⁴ depicted kneeling at prayer; and the woolman Thomas Bush (d. 1525) and his wife Joan (d. 1526), whose elaborate brass incorporates the arms of the Calais staple, of which Thomas was a member. Also surviving, set in the wall of the south chapel, are fragments of the brass of the builders of that chapel, William Bicknell (d.

1500) and his wife Margaret (d. 1493),²⁵ and, in the north chapel, the matrix of a lost brass. A wall brass in the south chapel to Maud Parker (d. 1585), wife of Thomas Parker, farmer of the manorial demesne,²⁶ is inscribed with an acrostic poem incorporating the couple's names.

A peal of six bells was cast for the church in 1700 by William and Robert Corr of Aldbourne (Wilts.), perhaps at the cost of Sir Ralph Dutton, who is mentioned in an inscription on the tenor. To mark the royal jubilee of 1897 the peal was rehung and two more bells, cast by Mears and Stainbank of London, added, and in 1922 one of the old bells was recast.²⁷ The church plate includes an Elizabethan chalice made in 1569 or 1570, a paten cover of 1572 or 1573, an early 17th-century gilt cup given by Elizabeth Eames in 1707, and a new gilt flagon given in the same year by her sister Mary Parker.²⁸ An altar frontal made in the late 19th century from two bands of material of the Renaissance period²⁹ is framed on the wall of the south aisle. The churchyard monuments include some late 17th-century headstones and many of the 18th century, but all are much weathered. The registers survive from 1556 with some gaps in the early 18th century.³⁰ Travelling people who died while journeying through Northleach figure regularly among the burials in the 17th and 18th centuries.³¹

NONCONFORMITY. There was probably dissent from the established church at Northleach in 1639, when 13 men refused to pay church rates,³² and 27 nonconformists were enumerated there in 1676.³³ In 1682 it was reported that 22 people did not come to church and that four refused to pay their Easter dues.³⁴ In 1735 10 Roman Catholics, 10 Presbyterians, and 5 Anabaptists were recorded at Northleach.³⁵

The Congregational (or Independent) church at Northleach was evidently an offshoot of that at Pancakehill in Chedworth. In 1796 a group met in a room at Northleach belonging to William Wilson of Chedworth, and a new-built chapel opened at Antelope Close in West End in 1798³⁶ was served in 1801 by the same minister as Pancakehill.³⁷ In 1851, when apparently still served from Chedworth, it had an average attendance of 80 at its evening service.³⁸ The chapel was replaced in 1860 by a new one built on the north-east side of the main street, facing

¹⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxx. 10, 12; 'Northleach: Past, Present, and Future', f. 11.

¹⁷ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 514.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ For full descriptions of the brasses, Davis, *Glos. Brasses*, 19–21, 48–51, 54–7, 87–91, 105–6, 135–8, 139–41; W. C. Fallows, *Northleach Brasses* (n. d., pamphlet on sale in ch.); and for sketches of details, above, Fig. 10.

²⁰ The letter 'T' on a pendant on the man's belt suggests it may commemorate Thos. Adynet: cf. above, econ. hist (ind. and trade).

²¹ Hockaday Abs. cxlv, 1509; ccc, 1510.

²² Above, econ. hist. (ind. and trade).

²³ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1502.

²⁴ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Alcock, f. 119; Reg. Ghinucci, f. 13v.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 56v.

²⁶ Cf. above, manor.

²⁷ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, pp. 458–60.

²⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* vii. 191–3; *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 157–60.

²⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xi. 258–9.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/1–6.

³¹ e.g. *ibid.* IN 1/1; 1636, 1639, 1649, 1654; 2, 1695, 1705; 3, 1737, 1769.

³² *G.D.R.* vol. 140, 13 June 1639.

³³ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 542.

³⁴ *G.D.R.* vol. 241, 11 Jan. 1681/2.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 285b(1), f. 33.

³⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccc, 1796, 1798; *Glouc. Jnl.* 1 Oct. 1798.

³⁷ *Glouc. Jnl.* 12 Oct. 1801.

³⁸ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/1/8/11.

the market place, with the Revd. R. B. Blanche as its minister.³⁹ In 1892 there was no settled minister and the chapel was served from Cheltenham.⁴⁰ By 1900, when the church had 28 members, there was a settled minister again,⁴¹ and while one remained in post, until c. 1950, he also served the church at Chedworth.⁴² In 1964 declining membership at Northleach and the chapel's need of extensive repair led to it being put up for sale and to services being held in the Cotswold Hall. Later, until 1969, meetings were held in the flat of one of the few surviving members.⁴³ The chapel was later converted as a private house, preserving the narrow Gothic street front designed by J. R. Smith.⁴⁴ The burial ground at the site of the old chapel in West End remained in use by the congregation until the 1950s⁴⁵ and survived in 1997.

A group meeting at Northleach under a minister from Chalford in 1821⁴⁶ were probably Wesleyan Methodists, who in 1827 opened a small new chapel at Millend.⁴⁷ The chapel ran a Sunday school by 1833.⁴⁸ In 1851 on the Sunday of the ecclesiastical census 100 people, including the Sunday scholars, attended its afternoon service and 114 its evening service.⁴⁹ It was then a part of the Cheltenham Wesleyan circuit and members of the Cheltenham church often walked over to Northleach to hold Sunday services.⁵⁰ Attendance later fell, partly as a result of the opening of the new Congregational church, and the Wesleyan chapel closed in 1883.⁵¹ It was soon afterwards sold to the Primitive Methodists, who failed to sustain a membership at Northleach and sold it before 1889 to the Salvation Army, which also used it for only a short time. Before 1912 it passed to the Congregationalists who used it as an institute⁵² until c. 1923.⁵³

EDUCATION. The principal school at Northleach was a grammar school, which was founded in 1559 by a wealthy local landowner and sheep farmer, Hugh Westwood of Chedworth,⁵⁴ and in 1606 placed under the patronage and rights of visitation of Queen's College, Oxford. Its history up to 1877, when it was reorganized under a Scheme of the Endowed Schools Commissioners, is given in an earlier volume.⁵⁵ In 1885, under its new governing body, which included representatives of the

Northleach town charity trustees, it was teaching 30 boys on the foundation, together with some boarders; the endowment then produced an income of £708 a year.⁵⁶ The school was held in a building at the corner of High Street and Conduit Street (later Farmington Road) that had been acquired for it by the townspeople soon after 1560 under the terms of Westwood's will.⁵⁷ The boarders lodged at the headmaster's residence, College House, which is described above.⁵⁸ The school was closed by the governors c. 1912.⁵⁹

Under a Scheme of 1926 the grammar school endowment was used in the establishment of a county council secondary school for Northleach and district called Westwood's Grammar school. That school, which was co-educational, opened in 1927 in new buildings at the south-east end of the town.⁶⁰ In 1984, when it remained a grammar school, it had 305 on its roll.⁶¹ It was closed in 1988 and the pupils transferred to a new comprehensive school, the Cotswold school, at Bourton-on-the-Water.⁶²

The original grammar school building at Farmington Road, much altered and enlarged, was used as offices by the Northleach rural district between 1949⁶³ and 1974. The 20th-century school buildings at the south-east end of the town were replaced in the mid 1990s by a housing estate and leisure centre.

The wife of Sir John Atkinson (d. 1662) of Stowell⁶⁴ gave a meadow in Hampnett and 340 sheep-pastures, of a total value of £16 a year, to teach and apprentice eight poor children of Northleach. The gift was for a fixed term and the school, if ever established, lapsed during the 17th century.⁶⁵ Before his death in 1680 William Oldisworth of Fairford, who was lessee of the nearby manor of Coln Rogers,⁶⁶ supported a charity school for poor boys at Northleach, and in his will he instructed his sons to continue to pay £3 a year for teaching 6 boys reading, writing, and accounting.⁶⁷ Nothing further of that charity has been found, but George Townsend, who founded a number of charities including one to provide Oxford scholarships for boys from the Northleach grammar school, by will dated 1682 gave £4 a year for teaching Northleach children to read.⁶⁸ The endowment of Townsend's charities later increased in value, and by 1818 £10 a year each was paid to a master and mistress at Northleach, who were teaching

³⁹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 14 Aug. 1858; 16 June 1860; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1395, Northleach deeds 1850–67, deed 1861.

⁴⁰ *Northleach & Cotswold Almanack* (1892).

⁴¹ *Cong. Year Bk.* (1901), 265.

⁴² *Glos. R.O.*, D 2749/1–2.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 2.

⁴⁴ *Glouc. Jnl.* 14 Aug. 1858.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2749/1.

⁴⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccc.

⁴⁷ *Chelt. Jnl.* 11 June 1827; O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 10 (1884 edn.).

⁴⁸ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 322.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., HO 129/341/18/12.

⁵⁰ G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Wesleyan Methodism in Chelt. and District* (1912), 37.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 38, 43, 47; *Glouc. Jnl.* 8 Dec. 1883.

⁵² Judge, *Wesleyan Methodism*, 47; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 855.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2749/1, note at front; min. 15 Jan. 1924.

⁵⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* liv. 85–105.

⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Glos.* ii. 436–8.

⁵⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 539.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/8; O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 10 (1884 edn.).

⁵⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 539; above, intro.

⁵⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1914), 273.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* (1927), 283–4; (1931), 272.

⁶¹ List of schs. in *Glos.* 1984 (co. educ. cttee.).

⁶² *Educ. Services Dir.* 1988–9 (co. educ. dept.), 37, 41.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/7, pp. 4, 46–7; 100/8, p. 75.

⁶⁴ Cf. below, Stowell, manor.

⁶⁵ G.D.R., V 5/217t 2; Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 3, f.

⁶⁶ 155.

Above, Coln Rogers, manor.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/364 (P.C.C. 132 Bath), ff. 68–70.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 855/M 70.

12 boys and 12 girls.⁶⁹ By 1868 the £20 was paid to the managers of the town's National school in respect of 24 children educated there free of charge.⁷⁰

A school for the poor was opened at Northleach in 1831 in a new building paid for partly by a grant from the National Society. In 1833, supported by subscriptions and school pence, it had an attendance of 32 boys and girls.⁷¹ In 1868 the National school was supported by voluntary contributions, pence, and the payment from the Townsend charity, the vicar supplying a deficiency in funds.⁷² The building of a new school, on a site just outside the town, south of Millend, was begun in 1874; the site was given by Lord Sherborne and part of the cost was provided by the town charity trustees.⁷³ The school opened the following year with an attendance of c. 117.⁷⁴ It was enlarged to accommodate 200 children before 1897, when the average attendance was 144 in boys', girls', and infants' departments.⁷⁵ Average attendance at the school, called Northleach C. of E. school, remained at c. 140 during the early 20th century.⁷⁶ In 1997 it had 122 children on its roll.⁷⁷

A church Sunday school was opened in or before 1801⁷⁸ and one in connexion with the Wesleyan chapel before 1833. During the early 19th century the town and parish also had several small private schools.⁷⁹ A church school for Eastington was held in the new chapel built at Lower End before 1873 but it apparently did not survive the temporary closure of the chapel in the 1880s.⁸⁰

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. About 1530 William King, who is described as of Hampnett but had probably been at one time undertenant of the Northleach manor farm,⁸¹ gave a house in Northleach for use as a church house and market house.⁸² Also, in what was apparently a separate gift in 1541 or 1542, King gave other houses to support loans to tradesmen, either young men starting out in business or old men whose businesses had failed, and with the profits from the property another house was later bought.⁸³ In 1602 12 leading burgesses were appointed in the town court to manage the property,⁸⁴ and in 1604 the court acquired a chest with three keys, to be kept by separate key holders, for storing the title deeds and the bonds which secured the

tradesmen's loans.⁸⁵ It was decided that the interest received from the loans should be applied to the maintenance of the poor.⁸⁶ The town court subsequently administered King's charity together with other charities given later and other public assets under the general description of the town charities and town stock. The bailiff carried out the day-to-day administration and accounted to the court⁸⁷ and from the late 17th century he and the arbitrators granted leases of the property.⁸⁸

William Dutton (d. 1618) of Sherborne left the building known as the Great House, together with £200, to his heirs and to the bailiff and leading townsmen to be let out to tradesmen who could put the poor to work, preferably in clothmaking; £4 of the annual profits he assigned as a direct dole to the poor.⁸⁹ The house and stock were assigned to two clothiers in 1631,⁹⁰ but by the mid 1640s the house was occupied by several different tenants and the stock was out on loan to five or more people. The donor's son John Dutton apparently thought that the charity was being misdirected in 1646 when he ordered the bailiff to bring him the bonds for the loans, and in 1650 he reserved the right to curtail a lease that the town granted of part of the house.⁹¹ There is no evidence that the gift was used later to promote the cloth industry, though in 1670 the bailiff and court when granting a lease of the Great House to a single tenant made his tenure provisional in case a clothier should be found to take the house.⁹² The house later became the Lamb inn and, after John Dutton (later Lord Sherborne) rebuilt it under a lease in 1818, it had the sign of the Sherborne Arms. The £200 was applied indiscriminately with the other town stock,⁹³ and in 1736 £80 of it was added to £100 given to the poor by Joshua Aylworth and used to buy a meadow of 8 a. in Hampnett; £4 a year from the rent of the meadow was later distributed to the poor in respect of Aylworth's £100 while the residue was applied with the rest of the town stock.⁹⁴

William Edgeley, apparently in 1619,⁹⁵ gave the poor £15, which was used in 1628 to buy two burgages at Millend. It was intended to convert them as an almshouse for six inmates, but the scheme was conditional on acquiring additional property worth £10 a year as an endowment⁹⁶ and was apparently never

⁶⁹ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 305.; *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 118.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., ED 7/35/237; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 609.

⁷¹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 322; *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, Glos. 19-20.

⁷² P.R.O., ED 7/35/237.

⁷³ Glos. R.O., D 398/2, min. 28 Aug. 1874; 32; Glos. Colln. R 217.1 (1).

⁷⁴ P.R.O., ED 7/35/237(2).

⁷⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 256.

⁷⁶ *Bd. of Educ., List 21, 1911* (H.M.S.O.), 165; 1922, 106; 1938, 129.

⁷⁷ *Schools and Establishments Dir. 1997-8* (co. educ. dept.), 26.

⁷⁸ Glos. R.O., P 231/CW 4/1.

⁷⁹ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 305; *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 322; *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, Glos. 19-20.

⁸⁰ Above, church.

⁸¹ P.R.O., REQ 2/61/15 (deposition of Wm. Mabell).

⁸² Glos. R.O., D 398/10; *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 123, which was wrong in assuming the bldg. given by King was the mkt. ho. demolished in the early 19th cent.: above, intro.

⁸³ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 123.

⁸⁴ Glos. R.O., D 398/1, p. 325.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 341-2, 369, 404-5.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 335.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* D 398/1-4; cf. above, local govt.

⁸⁸ Glos. R.O., D 398/18-22.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 27.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 17.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 1, 501-2, 507, 511.

⁹² *Ibid.* p. 82.

⁹³ *Ibid.* D 398/23-4; *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 120.

⁹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 398/12.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 402-3; he was later a page to Queen Henrietta Maria (confusingly described as 'Queen Mary' in *ibid.* D 398/6 and *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 122).

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 398/6.

implemented. The houses remained part of the town property and were on lease for 6 guineas a year in the 1820s.⁹⁷ The townspeople bought another house with £21 from the town stock in 1611⁹⁸ and another in 1625 with £46, £20 of which derived from a gift by John Dutton of Sherborne.⁹⁹ Various sums were added to the town stock during the 17th and early 18th centuries, including £6 for loans to tradesmen given by Richard Hart in 1605 or 1606, two sums of £10 for the poor given by James Miller and his son John,¹ and £50 for apprenticeships left by Edward Carter (d. 1674), lord of Cold Aston manor.² The uses of the last gift were confirmed by the town court in 1726 and an apprenticeship was then made,³ but later Carter's gift seems to have been applied indiscriminately with the other town charities. Other assets administered by the bailiff and court were, from the early 17th century, the common called Northleach Downs⁴ and, from the mid 18th, the market tolls.⁵ In the 1820s the real property they held produced an annual rental of £113, £70 of it coming from the Sherborne Arms and the meadow in Hampnett.⁶

The bulk of the profits of the town charities and stock appears to have been used in the same way as was laid down for William King's charity in 1604, regardless of the individual intentions of the donors. In 1610 seven sums of 20s.–40s., at that date all presumably deriving from King's charity property, were out on loan, but in 1685 a total of £216 was out on the security of 27 separate bonds. By 1701 sums of up to £25 were sometimes given to individual tradesmen and a total of £201 was then out on 22 bonds.⁷ The tradesmen's loans were discontinued some time after 1745.⁸ The direct aid given to the poor out of the town charities was mainly in the form of doles of bread in the 17th century. A system introduced in 1608 of maintaining four town almspeople, who were to attend church each Sunday and receive a 2d. loaf,⁹ apparently gave way later to *ad hoc* doles of bread,¹⁰ but in 1651 there was a regular system again under which six paupers received 1s. worth of bread from the bailiff in church each Sunday.¹¹ In the 1740s £2 12s. was expended each year in bread and the poor also received the £4 cash paid in respect of the Aylworth charity.¹² From the 1620s the bailiff and court also made grants to the town's overseers of the poor.¹³

In the 1830s disquiet over the uses to which the bailiff and feoffees applied the charity funds and a new responsibility they had assumed under the will of Mary Allen (described below) prompted reform of the town charities. Following

an enquiry ordered by Chancery in 1831 the townspeople were allowed to make proposals for a new management scheme. That resulted in the creation of a new body of trustees who were to administer the old town charities and the Mary Allen charity in two separate accounts. The funds of the former were to be applied, subject to sums of £4 given to the poor in respect of the William Dutton and Joshua Aylworth bequests, to repairing the town property, paying off various loans (principally £500 which had been raised for buying out Lord Sherborne's lease of the Sherborne Arms), and building a new market house. After those obligations were met the trustees were to establish a school for the poor and provide other public buildings. A conveyance to new trustees under those terms was made in 1834.¹⁴ The obligation to provide a new market house was dropped in 1858 and a scheme devised then to fund a middle-class school in connexion with the Northleach grammar school¹⁵ was abandoned later. In 1859, however, the trustees, bought a house for use as a town reading room,¹⁶ and in 1874 they provided £499 towards the cost of building the new National school.¹⁷ In 1876, when the annual rental from property was £80 and the annual outgoings were the two sums of £4, then distributed in coal, £33 assigned to paying off a loan for the new school, and a variable sum for property maintenance, a good balance was being built up.¹⁸

In 1907 the assets of the town charities were £1,172 in stock, property producing a total annual rental of £51, and £275 cash in hand. A Scheme then created a separate educational foundation in support of the Northleach C. of E. school, endowed with the bulk of the stock and cash and administered by the trustees of the grammar school. By another Scheme in 1932 the town trustees took over the management of the Northleach almshouse of Thomas Dutton and they were empowered to devote their surplus income to the maintenance of that almshouse and one that they already administered as trustees of the Allen charity. A further Scheme of 1956 confirmed their powers to aid the almshouse charities and allowed them to use funds for other general purposes benefiting the town. It also created a new charity for the general benefit of the poor of the town, applying as an endowment £320 of the assets of the town charities and £360 of those of the Allen charity.¹⁹ In the late 1990s the trustees used their income from the old town charities mainly to supplement the funds for the two almshouses; in 1998 the annual income was £2,634, derived from the rents of their two remaining properties,

⁹⁷ 21st Rep. Com. Char. 122.

⁹⁸ Glos. R.O., D 398/7; cf. *ibid.* 1, p. 381.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* D 398/9; 21st Rep. Com. Char. 121–2.

¹ 21st Rep. Com. Char. 126.

² P.R.O., PROB 11/345 (P.C.C. 85 Bunce), f. 248 and v.

³ Glos. R.O., D 398/2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 447 sqq.; 4, acct. 1779; 21st Rep. Com. Char. 123.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 398/3–4.

⁶ 21st Rep. Com. Char. 124.

⁷ Glos. R.O., D 398/1, pp. 379, 617; 2, ct. Sept. 1701.

⁸ *Ibid.* 2, ct. 17 Oct. 1745.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1, pp. 369–70, 377.

¹⁰ e.g. *ibid.* pp. 434, 443, 447.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 516.

¹² *Ibid.* 2, ct. 1 Dec. 1744.

¹³ Above, local govt.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 398/13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 2, min. 21 Dec. 1858.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* mins. 27 June, 3 Nov. 1859.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* mins. 28 Nov. 1872, 28 Aug. 1874.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 5.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* D 3460/5/114.

Northleach Downs and the meadow in Hampnett, and from stock.²⁰

Thomas Dutton of Turkdean at his death in 1615 gave a house in East End at Northleach as the site for an almshouse for six inmates, each of whom was to have two rooms and a garden. For the maintenance of the building he gave a house in Oxford and to provide each almsperson with 20d. a week and a gown annually he planned an endowment of land worth £20, which he intended his brother and heir, William Dutton of Sherborne, would acquire using the profits of a manor in Turkdean. The almshouse was to be supervised by the bailiff, constables, and parish officers, who were to find suitable inmates, subject to the final choice of the Dutton family.²¹ No estate was ever bought as an endowment nor were the profits of the house at Oxford apparently ever applied, but the Duttons of Sherborne paid for repairs to the building and the almspeople's weekly dole out of their estates in general. The almshouse seems to have been only for women until the 1820s when it was planned to admit men as well; their weekly doles were raised to 2s. under a bequest by Mary Allen.²² Before 1932 the almshouse was endowed with £1,200 stock, presumably by one of the Lords Sherborne, and in that year it was transferred to the management of the town charity trustees. The Scheme of 1956 for the town charities provided that the six almspeople should contribute up to 5s. a week towards their support.²³ The almshouse, built on the south-west side of East End in or soon after 1615, is a gabled building with three entrances, each originally giving access to two lodgings. The interior was modernized in the early 1990s to accommodate four elderly residents, who paid the town charity trustees rents deemed appropriate under the 'fair rent' scheme. The other almshouse, that of the Allen charity, was modernized at the same time, and in 1998 the rents from both totalled £15,728; with £73 received in dividends from stock, the rent was applied by the trustees on paying off a large debt, incurred by the modernization of the two buildings, and paying fuel, water, and insurance bills.²⁴

Mary Harritts Allen (d. 1817), widow of the Revd. John Allen, a former master of Northleach grammar school,²⁵ gave by her will the bulk of her possessions for charitable purposes in Northleach; her real estate was successfully claimed under the provisions of the Mortmain Act of 1736 by the heir-at-law but her personal estate, amounting in value to £3,100, came to the town. The will provided for the support of an almshouse for six men which, presumably by an earlier agreement, was to be built by the bailiff and leading townspeople. Her

executors made a loan for that purpose to the townspeople, who completed and opened a row of six small cottages at Millend in 1818 and assigned a dole of 6s. a week to each inmate. Mary Allen also gave to the poor £4 in bread and £5 in fuel, added 4d. to the weekly dole of each of the Dutton almswomen, and gave £1 to the vicar or curate for a sermon.²⁶ Responsibility for the administration of the charity passed to the new town trustees in 1834.²⁷ In 1877, when the income of the Allen charity was £42 from stock and £18 from property, the almsmen each received 2s. 6d. a week and the other payments were made as laid down in the will.²⁸ In 1956 the endowment of the charity was £2,046 in stock, £360 of which was then applied to the new charity for the poor and £40 to support the payment for the sermon; from that time the occupants of the Allen almshouse were required to contribute up to 5s. a week.²⁹ In 1998 the almshouse was occupied by four tenants on the same basis as the Dutton almshouse.³⁰

George Townsend (d. 1683) out of the same endowment he gave for a Northleach charity school provided for 1s. a week in bread for the poor and £5 a year each to Northleach and four other places for apprenticeships.³¹ The charity's endowment was administered jointly for all the places benefiting, and in the early 19th century Northleach received an augmented sum of £15 for apprenticeships, besides the sum for bread;³² the charity then usually apprenticed one Northleach child each year, generally to masters in the local area of the Cotswolds.³³ In 1973, when the endowment was divided among the places benefiting, Northleach was assigned £74 in stock, the proceeds of which were directed to the general benefit of the poor of Northleach with Eastington.³⁴

Robert Charles (d. 1773) left 20s. in bread for the poor. The sum was later secured as a rent charge,³⁵ which was redeemed in 1968. John Harvey Ollney by will proved 1836 left £200 to Northleach to provide coal and blankets for the poor, and John Bedwell, a surgeon of the town, left £400 at his death c. 1890 to provide coal for the poor and Christmas dinner for the town's almspeople. By a Scheme of 1971 those three charities were amalgamated as a general relief in need charity to benefit the inhabitants of Northleach with Eastington.³⁶

James Miles by will proved 1905 left money to be invested by the town charity trustees for the benefit of Eastington's agricultural workers and their widows aged over 60 in the form of coal or other provisions; that use was confirmed by the Scheme of 1956, when the charity had an endowment of £900 stock. Albert Teall (d. 1917) left property at Eastington, which realized a

²⁰ Inf. from Mr. C. W. Smart, sec. to the trustees.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/27.

²² *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 116-17.

²³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/114.

²⁴ Inf. from Mr. Smart.

²⁵ *Inscrs. in church* (S. chapel and N. aisle).

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 398/13, 15; and for the almsho. cf. *ibid.* 2, min. 6 Feb. 1818 (after mins. 1873); 4, accts. 1817-18.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 13.

²⁸ *Ibid.* P 231/CH 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.* D 3469/5/114.

³⁰ See above.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 855/M 70.

³² *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 118; *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 15-17.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3576/2.

³⁴ *Ibid.* D 3469/5/114.

³⁵ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 118; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 286.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/114.

value of only £29, for the town charity trustees to distribute as they thought fit; the endowment, then £50 stock, was amalgamated with that of the town charities in 1956.³⁷

A gift of 10s. in bread for the poor made by

John Parker in 1692 could not be traced c. 1825, and a rent charge of 10s. for bread, given in 1771 by Simon Hughes, rector of Hampnett, was being paid then but was discontinued later.³⁸

NOTGROVE

THE RURAL parish of Notgrove lies 16 km. east of Cheltenham and 10 km. south-west of Stow-on-the-Wold and, for the most part, on the south side of the main road from Gloucester and Cheltenham to Bourton-on-the-Water. It comprised 1,724 a.³⁹ (698 ha.) and was roughly triangular in shape.⁴⁰ Notgrove was recorded in a mid 8th-century charter as 'Natangrafum' and its boundaries, some of which were included in a later Anglo-Saxon perambulation of an estate in Notgrove and Cold Aston to the east,⁴¹ remained unchanged until 1987 when a few houses forming an outlying part of Cold Aston village on the eastern boundary were transferred to Cold Aston parish.⁴² Those houses are included in this account of Notgrove.

On the north side of Notgrove the road from Cheltenham to Bourton-on-the-Water follows the route of an ancient trackway running close to a number of prehistoric remains, including those of a long barrow and a round barrow.⁴³ The track, which according to the Anglo-Saxon perambulation was a 'street' with 'Cynelm's stone' as a landmark on its course,⁴⁴ was later known as Stanborough (or Stamberrow) Lane, presumably meaning Stone Barrow Lane.⁴⁵ Its route forms Notgrove's long northern boundary save for a section in the north-east, near Upper Harford, where some land beyond the road was included in the parish. On the west the Notgrove boundary begins in the north at the head of the valley called in pre-Conquest charters Turkdean and descends the valley for over 2 km. before climbing its east side and turning south on Chalk hill, a place represented in the Anglo-Saxon survey by a landmark called 'cealcweallas'. The parish boundary then continues in a north-eastwards direction and descends into a tributary valley of the Turkdean valley perhaps near the place described in the Anglo-Saxon perambulation as 'the middle of the seven springs'.

After descending the tributary stream for a short distance the parish boundary resumes its north-eastwards course, ascending the far side of the valley and making several sharp turns near Cold Aston village.⁴⁶

The land, which rises from below 180 m. in the south to over 250 m. in the north, is open rolling countryside with valleys formed by small streams rising in the parish and flowing generally to the south or south-east. The parish is formed by the Inferior Oolite, which is overlaid in places by fuller's earth and capped on the higher ground by the Great Oolite.⁴⁷ In the 16th century, and probably much earlier, the economy was based on the traditional grain and sheep husbandry of the Cotswolds, and before inclosure in 1771 there were common downs in the north-west of the parish and extensive open fields in the east and west. The suitability of the countryside for hunting was noted in the later 18th century.⁴⁸ There were a few small areas of woodland in the parish before inclosure.⁴⁹ Several more had been planted by 1850⁵⁰ and the main estate included 18 coppices and plantations containing 23 a. in 1871.⁵¹ In the later 19th century a covert was planted on glebe land on the Salperton boundary in the north-west⁵² and in 1905 the parish contained 38 a. of woodland and plantations.⁵³ In the early 20th century more coverts and coppices were planted and a park was created on the south side of the village, in the centre of the parish.⁵⁴ In the 17th and 18th centuries there was a small park of less than an acre on the north side of the village.⁵⁵

In Notgrove 20 people were assessed for the subsidy in 1327⁵⁶ and over 24 people were assessed for the poll tax in 1381.⁵⁷ From the mid 16th century, when the number of communicants in the parish was estimated at 40 in 1551⁵⁸ and the number of households at 13 in 1563,⁵⁹ Notgrove's population grew slowly. It included

³⁷ Ibid. ³⁸ 21st Rep. Com. Char. 118.

³⁹ O.S. Area Bk. (1884). This account was written in 1996.

⁴⁰ O.S. Maps 6", Glos. XXVIII. NW., SW., SE.; XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁴¹ Cart. Sax. ed. Birch, i, pp. 239-40; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 35-6.

⁴² The Cotswold (Parishes) Order 1986; O.S. Map 1/25,000, sheet 45 S. (1998 edn.).

⁴³ Trans. B.G.A.S. lvi. 1-2; lxxxix. 86, 126; R.C.H.M. Glos. i. 88, 91.

⁴⁴ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 178.

⁴⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/R1 109; cf. ibid. photocopy 1072: surv. and map of Notgrove manor 1669.

⁴⁶ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 178, 180; for the Turkdean valley, below, Turkdean, intro.

⁴⁷ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁴⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 582.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, map (copy) of par. 1770.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Notgrove tithe papers, map of par. c. 1848.

⁵¹ Ibid. D 1388/SL 5, no. 54.

⁵² O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW. (1883 edn.); for the glebe, Glos. R.O., Q/R1 109.

⁵³ Acreage Returns, 1905.

⁵⁴ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW. (1903, 1924 edns.).

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., photocopy 1072; D 4431, list of tenants 1720 [2/26]: the nos. given here in square brackets to identify the docs. in that uncat. collection may not be the final references; D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, surv. of par. 1770.

⁵⁶ Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327, 12.

⁵⁷ Poll Taxes, ed. Fenwick, i. 259, 289.

⁵⁸ E.H.R. xix. 110.

⁵⁹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 16v.

52 communicants in 1603⁶⁰ and comprised 30 families in 1650⁶¹ and an estimated 150 people *c.* 1710.⁶² In the mid 1770s it was 218⁶³ but by the late 18th century it was in decline, falling to 214 in 1801 and 166 in 1831. By 1851 it had risen again to 195 but for the next century it was always well below that figure and it dropped as low as 124 in 1931. There was a slight recovery after the Second World War, the population in 1961 being 158, but another decline was accentuated by the transfer of several houses to Cold Aston in 1987 and the population in 1991 was 105.⁶⁴

Stanborough Lane, the ancient trackway on the north side of Notgrove, was known as Gloucester way in 1619⁶⁵ and it was the principal road between Gloucester and Bourton-on-the-Water in the later 18th century.⁶⁶ Its importance increased *c.* 1980 when traffic bound for Stow-on-the-Wold was diverted along it from a road further north in Naunton.⁶⁷ In the Middle Ages the main east-west road through Notgrove ran south of the parish church and village.⁶⁸ It was part of a highway to Cheltenham in the late 16th century⁶⁹ and it was used by local traffic in the mid 18th century.⁷⁰ On the east side of the parish it incorporated the route from Cold Aston known in 1705 as Ash way⁷¹ and designated in 1771 a bridleway.⁷² Later, after 1796, that section was abandoned and a new path following field boundaries was formed;⁷³ an avenue of trees was planted along the path in the mid 20th century.⁷⁴ On the west side of the parish, west of the Turkdean road, the old Cheltenham road followed the route, south-westwards, known as Wain way in 1530⁷⁵ and then ran west across the southern part of Salperton parish.⁷⁶ Its course was diverted just short of the Notgrove boundary before 1771 when the inclosure commissioners confirmed Wain way as a public road to Salperton village.⁷⁷ That way had become a bridleway by the mid 19th century.⁷⁸ The section of the old road between the church and the Turkdean road was closed to the public in 1910 during the creation of the park south of the village.⁷⁹ The Turkdean road, running north-south through the parish, was in 1619 part of a way to Cirencester⁸⁰ passing west of Turkdean

village where it was abandoned evidently in the later 18th century.⁸¹ Among other roads recorded in 1619,⁸² the Wincombe way in the east of the parish ran north-eastwards from Cold Aston and was part of the main route between Cold Aston and Notgrove village in the mid 18th century.⁸³ Aywell way ran westwards from the village to Salperton. Both it and a route northwards to Aylworth, in Naunton, were footpaths in 1770.⁸⁴

The section of the Banbury and Cheltenham railway opened in 1881 crossed the north-western corner of the parish and included a station for Notgrove 1½ mile from the village.⁸⁵ Both station and line closed in 1962.⁸⁶

Notgrove village stands in the centre of the parish at the head of a small valley. Most of the cottages are scattered around a sloping green, at the bottom of which rises a stream flowing south-eastwards, and there are also cottages on the hillside to the south. The medieval church and the Manor, the latter occupying the site of the medieval manor house, stand further south at the end of the village. The Glebe House, lower down to the north of them, is the former rectory.

The village, which in 1669 had *c.* 25 dwellings,⁸⁷ comprises mainly stone cottages and former farmhouses built in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁸⁸ Among them is a row of three cottages near the church and a solitary dwelling west of the green. An enlarged 17th-century farmhouse on the west side of the green was occupied as two cottages in 1871.⁸⁹ High House, at the north end of the village, is a four-storeyed building with a sundial dated 1800 on its main front⁹⁰ and is said to have once been a wool store.⁹¹ From the early 18th century the village was almost wholly owned by the Pyrke family⁹² and by the mid 19th century, after a long period of neglect, some buildings, notably the church and manor house, had fallen into serious disrepair.⁹³ D. F. Vigers, who became rector in 1858, carried out some improvements, including the rebuilding of the church and the planting of trees, many of them in the churchyard,⁹⁴ and in the early 20th century the landowner C. G. Cunard (d. 1914), who created the park on the

⁶⁰ *Eccl. Misc.* 73.

⁶¹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁶² Atkyns, *Glos.* 588.

⁶³ Rudder, *Glos.* 583.

⁶⁴ *Census*, 1801–1991.

⁶⁵ G.D.R., V 5/219t 2.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 109.

⁶⁷ Personal observation.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 1072.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* D 269c/T 20.

⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.* P 2.

⁷¹ G.D.R., V 5/219t 3.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 109; cf. *ibid.* D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, map of par. 1770.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Q/RI 12; D 75/P 1; D 1388, Notgrove tithe papers, map of par. *c.* 1848; O.S. Maps 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. SE., SW. (1883 edn.).

⁷⁴ O.S. Maps 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. SE., SW. (1924 edn.).

⁷⁵ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (BA 2636)/178, no. 92510; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, map of par. 1770.

⁷⁶ Below, Salperton, intro.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 109.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* D 1388, Notgrove tithe papers, map of par. *c.* 1848.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Q/SRh 1910 B/3.

⁸⁰ G.D.R., V 5/219t 2.

⁸¹ Below, Turkdean, intro.

⁸² G.D.R., V 5/219t 2.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2231.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, map of par. 1770; Q/RI 109.

⁸⁵ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.*, revised C. R. Clinker (1964), ii. 315; O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. SW. (1883 edn.).

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2871/2/26.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* photocopy 1072.

⁸⁸ Cf. below, Plate 20.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 5, no. 54.

⁹⁰ The dial also bears the initials 'WC'.

⁹¹ *Glos. Colln. prints* 206.3 (i–iv).

⁹² Below, manor.

⁹³ Christ Church, Oxf., MS. Estates 28, ff. 174, 180; *Church Builder*, Jan. 1872, 147–8.

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, mem. at end of vol.

south side of the village, employed a local mason versed in the traditional style of building to design a pair of cottages placed next to new allotment gardens on the west side.⁹⁵ New building in the mid 20th century included a pair of cottages on the east side of the green in 1937⁹⁶ and another pair on the west side in 1948 or 1949.⁹⁷ Since the Second World War many of the older cottages and houses have been restored⁹⁸ and among new farm buildings erected in the later 20th century were large ranges east of the green.

In the north-east of the parish, at the head of a small valley opening to the south-east, a farmstead stood in its own closes in 1669.⁹⁹ Known in 1766 as the Folly¹ (later Folly Farm), it remained part of the Notgrove estate until at least 1871.² The farmhouse may date from before 1669 and another house was built to the west in 1938, when the farm had two owners.³ Under the Bartlett family, which acquired the farm before 1959,⁴ the land south-east of Folly Farm was landscaped with ponds from 1970 as a reserve for rare species of wild and domestic fowl,⁵ and in 1996 the land immediately north of the farmstead included a camping site and a garden centre.

Elsewhere, following the inclosure of the rest of the parish in 1771 a few outlying barns were built⁶ but most of the land continued to be farmed from houses in the village.⁷ In the 1870s there was a cottage at Kitehill barn in the west⁸ and in the 1930s and 1940s a farm labourer lived at Pountwell barn in the south.⁹ In the late 19th century two houses were built at the railway station in the north-west corner of the parish.¹⁰ After the Second World War the Northleach rural district council built three pairs of houses just outside Cold Aston village on the north-east side of the road to Notgrove, one pair being completed in 1947 and the others in 1951.¹¹ A bungalow was built there later and a pair of cottages, erected to the west *c.* 1959 by the owners of Folly farm, was a single dwelling in 1996.¹²

Notgrove village apparently did not have a public house at any time after the mid 18th century. A wake commemorating the parish church's dedication was held on the Sunday after the feast of St. Bartholomew (24 Aug.) in the early 18th century.¹³

In the 18th and 19th centuries none of the principal landowners lived in the parish and

many of the rectors were non-resident.¹⁴ D. F. Vigers, who took up residence on acquiring the living in 1858, was active in the parish and built a schoolroom in a new wing at the rectory. A few years after Vigers's death in 1906 C. G. Cunard became the most influential figure in the parish and he was responsible for, among other things, providing a piped water supply to houses on his estate.¹⁵ After the First World War the principal landowners were the Andersons, who took an active part in parish affairs. A building in the grounds of the Manor was used as a village hall before 1959 when Sir Donald Anderson re-erected a wooden hut, brought from a London dock for that purpose, south-west of the village green.¹⁶ In 1996 meetings were also held in the building at the Manor and in the former schoolroom at the Glebe House.¹⁷ In 1996 there was a cricket ground in a field on the west side of the village.

MANOR. About 740 A.D. Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, granted 20 *cassati* at Cold Aston and Notgrove to Osred, a member of the Hwiccan royal family. The estate, of which Notgrove apparently accounted for 8 *cassati*, was given, possibly in 743, to the church of Worcester¹⁸ and in 1086 Shelin held five hides at Notgrove from the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor.¹⁹ In 1095, following the death of Bishop Wulfstan, Shelin's son Robert owed a relief for a knight's fee²⁰ and later the manor of *NOTGROVE*, so called by the early 13th century,²¹ was held as a member of Withington manor for a knight's fee.²² In 1166 the earl of Gloucester had an intermediate lordship over Notgrove.²³ That lordship evidently passed to Hugh de Barevill, who held the fee from the bishop in 1208,²⁴ but it lapsed before the later 13th century.²⁵

John Shilling (Eschelling or Eskelling), the holder of the Notgrove estate under the earl of Gloucester in the late 12th century,²⁶ granted two ploughlands, representing the manor, to Alice Giffard in dower. On her death Walter Shilling took possession of the estate but his right to the manor was contested by John Shilling's son and heir John, who in 1231 was said to hold half of the estate, including the manor house. In 1234 John son of Geoffrey, who claimed the manor under a grant *c.* 1207 to his

⁹⁵ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW. (1903, 1924 edns.); *Country Life*, 21 Nov. 1914, 680.

⁹⁶ Date on bldg.

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/8, f. 52; DA 31/132/4.

⁹⁸ Inf. from Mr. D. Acland, of the Manor, Notgrove; cf. Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/9, p. 278; DA 31/115/3, pp. 49, 142.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., photocopy 1072.

¹ Ibid. D 182/III/148.

² Ibid. D 1388/SL 5, no. 54.

³ Inf. from Mr. T. W. Bartlett, of Folly Farm; Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/5, p. 296; DA 31/516/2/2, pp. 36–7.

⁴ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/9, p. 976.

⁵ Inf. from Mr. Bartlett.

⁶ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, map of par. 1770; Greenwood, *Map of Glos.* (1824); O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁷ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 5, no. 54.

⁸ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, Fd 2/16.

⁹ Glos. R.O., P 233/IN 1/8.

¹⁰ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW. (1883, 1903 edns.).

¹¹ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/7, pp. 23, 39; 8, ff. 188, 395.

¹² Ibid. 9, pp. 915, 964, 976, 1095; O.S. Map 1/2,500, SP 1219 (1979 edn.).

¹³ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 250.

¹⁴ Below, manor; church.

¹⁵ Richardson, *Wells and Springs of Glos.* 127.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 3168/4/47/57.

¹⁷ Inf. from Mr. R. Steel, of Notgrove.

¹⁸ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 239–40; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 35–6.

¹⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

²⁰ J. H. Round, *Feudal Eng.* (1895), 308–12.

²¹ B.L. Add. MS. 28024, f. 135v.; *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 337.

²² *Red Bk. of Worc.* 354–5, 414; *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239, 279.

²³ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 418, 432.

²⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 38.

²⁵ Cf. *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239; below, this section.

²⁶ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 432; cf. B.L. Harl. Chart. 49.H.40.

father Geoffrey son of Peter, earl of Essex, by the younger John Shilling,²⁷ quitclaimed the two ploughlands to Walter and John Shilling in return for a grant of the advowson of Notgrove church.²⁸ Bartholomew de Turberville held the manor from the bishop of Worcester in 1284²⁹ and Thurstan de Turberville held it in 1299.³⁰ In 1303 the holder was Thomas of Rodborough,³¹ and the following year Bartholomew de Turberville's son Edmund confirmed Thomas and his wife Joan in possession of the manor.³² Thomas died *c.* 1306³³ and Joan remained lady of Notgrove in 1336.³⁴ Another Thomas of Rodborough held the manor in 1346³⁵ and, having repudiated a settlement of it made in 1359, died seised in 1367. Following Thomas's death John Browning the elder and his wife Alice held the manor by grant of Thomas's brother William, and in 1393, the year after Alice's death, the heir to the estate was William's grandson Richard Browning, the son of another John Browning.³⁶ Richard died a minor in 1400 leaving his sister Cecily, also a minor, as his heir.³⁷ Cecily married Guy Whittington³⁸ (d. 1441) of Pauntley³⁹ and in 1448 she settled the reversion of Notgrove manor on the marriage of her grandson William Whittington and Elizabeth Arundel. Elizabeth survived William (d. 1470) and was succeeded by their son John (d. 1525).⁴⁰ The manor passed to one of John's younger sons Alexander (d. 1579), who was succeeded by his grandson John Whittington, a minor.⁴¹ John dealt with the manor in 1637,⁴² but by that time he had settled it on his son Edmund (fl. 1660) and the reversion on the marriage of Edmund's daughter Catherine and George Talbot.⁴³ The estate, in which Catherine's second husband, Christopher Roper, acquired an interest in 1658, passed *c.* 1663 to her daughter Sarah (often called Catherine) Talbot and her husband Sir Clement Clerke, Bt.⁴⁴

The Clerkes, by whose grant George Skipp had an interest in the manor by 1669,⁴⁵ fell heavily into debt and mortgagees took possession of the manor before 1690.⁴⁶ Sir Clement and his

wife both died in 1693 and their son Sir Talbot Clerke⁴⁷ sold the equity of redemption to Ebenezer Sadler. In 1700 Clerke and Sadler agreed to sell the manor to Thomas Pyrke of Littledean, and after Pyrke's death that year they conveyed it to his sister and heiress Mary Young⁴⁸ and she, unable to pay the purchase price, conveyed it to her father Thomas Pyrke.⁴⁹ He died in 1702 and under his will his son Nathaniel held the manor until his own son Thomas reached 25 years of age in 1711 or 1712. From Thomas (d. 1752)⁵⁰ the manor passed with his Littledean estate in turn to his widow Dorothy (d. 1762), who bought adjoining land in Notgrove, and his grand-nephew Joseph Watts. Joseph, who changed his surname to Pyrke, died in 1803 leaving the manor, subject to the life interest of his wife Charlotte (d. 1835), to his son Joseph (d. 1851). In 1871 the younger Joseph's son and heir Duncombe⁵¹ sold the Notgrove estate comprising almost the entire parish;⁵² part including the manorial rights was acquired by the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford,⁵³ and the rest by Corpus Christi college, Oxford.⁵⁴ Corpus Christi bought the Christ Church share of the estate in 1877⁵⁵ and sold the principal house and most of the land to Cyril Grant Cunard in 1908.⁵⁶ Cunard, whose grandfather had founded the trans-Atlantic shipping line,⁵⁷ added the Notgrove glebe to his estate by purchase in 1909.⁵⁸ He died in 1914 and his widow Beatrice sold his estate to Sir Alan Garrett Anderson in 1918, a few months after her marriage to W. H. Curran. Sir Alan, who in 1920 and 1921 purchased those parts of the Notgrove estate retained in 1908 by Corpus Christi college,⁵⁹ was a shipowner, becoming a director of the P. & O. company and M. P. for the City of London 1935–40, and he died in 1952.⁶⁰ He passed the estate to his younger son Donald,⁶¹ who was knighted in 1954.⁶² In 1968 the estate, to which land in Turkdean had been added, was acquired from Sir Donald by C. H. Kleinwort for his daughter Elizabeth and her husband David Acland and in 1996 it comprised just under 1,500 a. (607 ha.).⁶³

²⁷ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 337, 528; xiv. 4, 330–1; B.L. Add. MS. 28024, f. 135v.

²⁸ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/9, no. 142.

²⁹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239.

³⁰ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355.

³¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 246.

³² P.R.O., CP 25/1/75/39, no. 235.

³³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* liv. 256, 355.

³⁴ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 275; Bodl. MS. Willis 16, p. 325.

³⁵ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 279.

³⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xvii, p. 129; cf. B.L. Sloane Chart. xxxiii. 40.

³⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xviii, p. 122.

³⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1405–9, 17.

³⁹ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 80.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., C 142/46, no. 22, which says the man. was held from Temple Guiting man.; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xl. 116–17, 120–1.

⁴¹ P.R.O., C 142/44, no. 156; Hockaday Abs. cccii.

⁴² P.R.O., CP 25/2/422/13 Chas. I Mich. no. 26.

⁴³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, abs. of Jos. Pyrke's title to Notgrove estate [9/61]; lease 24 May 1660 [12/3].

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* D 1438, Notgrove manor deeds 1658–1774; *Hist. MSS. Com.* 17, 13th Rep. V, *House of Lords*, pp. 184–5; *G. E.C. Baronetage*, iii. 216.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 1072; cf. *ibid.* D 4431, abs. of Jos. Pyrke's title [9/61].

⁴⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 17, *House of Lords*, pp. 184–5.

⁴⁷ *G.E.C. Baronetage*, iii. 216.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, deed 28 Sept. 1700 [2/56]; D 543, mem. 9 Sept. 1700.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* D 4431, deed 2 May 1702 [2/59].

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* D 1438, wills 1702–1852; Bigland, *Glos.* i. 452.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 182/III/148; D 1438, abs. of title 1869; *V.C.H. Glos.* v. 164.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 5, no. 54.

⁵³ Christ Church, Notgrove deeds 1, 8.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 182/III/148; P 233/IN 1/1, mem. 1871.

⁵⁵ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fd 2/16.

⁵⁶ *Country Life*, 21 Nov. 1914, 678, 680.

⁵⁷ Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 640; *D.N.B.* s.v. Cunard, Sir Samuel.

⁵⁸ *G.D.R.*, F 4/6/21.

⁵⁹ Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 640; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/115.

⁶⁰ *D.N.B.*

⁶¹ Inf. from Mr. D. Acland, of the Manor, Notgrove.

⁶² Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 2660.

⁶³ *The Times*, 19 Nov. 1968; inf. from Mr. and Mrs. Acland.

The Manor (formerly Notgrove Manor) stands on the site of the ancient manor house recorded in 1231.⁶⁴ The house, for which Sir Clement Clerke was assessed on six hearths in 1672,⁶⁵ was occupied by two tenants in 1666⁶⁶ and under the Pyrkes half of it was a farmhouse. The other half, which a lease of 1700 reserved to the Pyrkes,⁶⁷ was abandoned, falling into ruin by the mid 19th century. The house, the east wing of which was shortened when rebuilt in the 1870s,⁶⁸ remained an L-plan farmhouse until the 1900s. Although the house has been extensively rebuilt in the 20th century one room in the main north-south range, 'in farmhouse days a medley of kitchen offices',⁶⁹ dates probably from the late 16th century or the early 17th; it has a large 17th-century fireplace opening and two mulioned windows. After he acquired the house in 1908 C. G. Cunard remodelled it to plans by A. N. Prentice. An entrance hall with an open timber roof and a first-floor gallery was created in the north end of the north-south range, the range was extended southwards to include a new drawing room, and a west block containing a dining room, a kitchen, and other service accommodation was added.⁷⁰ The east wing was rebuilt again soon after its destruction by fire in 1936. Also in the 1930s the service block was extended at the north-west corner. In the later 1960s the house was much reduced in size; the southern end of the main range was demolished and the east wing was truncated, its western end being remodelled as an entrance hall incorporating the doorway, decorated with a phoenix, from the 1930s rebuilding. At the same time an upper floor was inserted in the former entrance hall, a fireplace from the library (in the demolished part of the east wing) was re-used on the ground floor, and the main staircase was moved. Other changes have included the insertion of a new kitchen on the north side between the east wing and the west service block and the conversion of the former kitchen as a garage. In the 1990s a conservatory was erected in the south-west angle in front of the dining room, which retains paneling fitted in the 1930s.⁷¹

The grounds of the house were also redesigned in the years after 1908; a pergola was constructed to the west of the house⁷² and a road to the village from the Turkdean road became a private carriage way to the house with entrance gates and a lodge⁷³ displaying a rainwater head

dated 1910. In the late 20th century the gardens were simplified and all but one bay of the pergola demolished. The thatched roof of a small octagonal building erected north-east of the house for C. G. Cunard was renewed in 1996.⁷⁴ Of the other outbuildings a coach house and an adjoining cottage were converted as a farmhouse in the mid 20th century.⁷⁵

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1400 the lord of the manor's possessions in Notgrove were said to include three ploughlands of hilly ground, 4 a. meadow, 20 a. pasture, and 10s. rent.⁷⁶ No other early documentary evidence for agriculture in Notgrove has been found. In the mid 17th century some, if not all, tenants on the manor had leases for 99 years or lives and owed heriots either in cash or kind.⁷⁷ From c. 1663, to facilitate the inclosure of the manorial demesne, the tenants were induced to surrender their estates and take new leases for years or lives. The mortgagees who took possession of the estate before 1690 temporarily turned many tenants out of their holdings or obliged them to hold at rack rent.⁷⁸ The demesne, which comprised 467 a. in 1669,⁷⁹ was occupied by five tenants in 1700.⁸⁰ In 1720 there were 21 or more leaseholders on the manor, many of them with perhaps only a cottage and a garden. At the same time, excluding the rector's glebe, freehold tenements in the parish perhaps numbered only one or two and comprised a few acres.⁸¹ All the holdings of 16 tenants listed in 1767 were presumably leaseholds, described in 1770 as lifeholds, and most were of less than 30 a. The largest rents were for farms centred on the manor house and on Folly Farm.⁸² Pleydalls farm, which perhaps originated as a separate estate, was held with the manor in 1637⁸³ and was known as Village farm later.⁸⁴

The traditional sheep and grain husbandry of the Cotswolds was presumably practised in Notgrove before the later 16th century when several large flocks, one belonging to the lord of the manor, were kept there for at least part of the year.⁸⁵ Sheep belonging to non-parishioners were pastured in Notgrove during the summer long before 1754⁸⁶ when the rector was engaged in a suit to safeguard his income from lamb and wool tithes.⁸⁷ In 1619 two large arable fields occupied much of the east and west sides of the

⁶⁴ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiv. 331.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, lease 20 Jan. 1666 [17/35].

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* lease 23 Dec. 1800 [15/85]; D 1438, misc. and estate papers.

⁶⁸ *Glos. N. & Q.* i. 365-6.

⁶⁹ *Country Life*, 21 Nov. 1914, 682.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 678-82; *Building News*, 6 May 1910.

⁷¹ Inf. from Mr. and Mrs. Acland; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, p. 671.

⁷² *Country Life*, 21 Nov. 1914, 683.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SRh 1910 B/3; O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1903, 1924 edns.).

⁷⁴ Inf. from Mrs. Acland.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, p. 43.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xviii, p. 122.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, deeds 28 Nov. 1656 [15/80]; 24

May 1660 [12/3].

⁷⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 17, 13th Rep. V, *House of Lords*, pp. 184-5; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, deed 20 Jan. 1666 [17/35].

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 1072.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* D 4431, deed 23 Dec. 1700 [15/85].

⁸¹ *Ibid.* list of tenants 1720 [2/26]; cf. *ibid.* photocopy 1072.

⁸² *Ibid.* D 1438, misc. and estate papers; D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, surv. of par. 1770.

⁸³ *Ibid.* D 4431, abs. of Joseph Pyrke's title to Notgrove estate [9/61].

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* D 1438, abs. of Duncombe Pyrke's title to Notgrove estate 1869.

⁸⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccvii; P.R.O., C 3/185/14.

⁸⁶ G.D.R., V 5/219t 3.

⁸⁷ B.L. Add. MS. 36067, ff. 101v.-103.

parish. If the rector's glebe was typical the land of occupiers was divided almost equally between the fields and scattered in strips mostly of an acre, there being *c.* 38 acres to a yardland.⁸⁸

The manorial demesne, although it apparently included recently inclosed land in 1658,⁸⁹ mostly comprised open-field land until *c.* 1663 when Sir Clement Clerke began to consolidate and inclose it.⁹⁰ Differences between Clerke and George Skipp on the one hand and the rector on the other apparently led to the destruction of some inclosures and remained unresolved in 1673.⁹¹ After the inclosure in 1669 of 267 a., including land at Pountwell in the south and at Upper Harford in the north-east,⁹² the area south of the village and the north-east corner of the parish were given over to demesne closes, covering 476 a. in all, and the east and west fields were left with 384 a. and 404 a. respectively. Outlying land (290 a.) adjoining Stanborough Lane and Salperton in the north and west was retained as common pasture organized as four pastures. The largest comprised 195 a. on Turk hill in the north-west corner, and 61 a. to the south, on the Salperton boundary, was used mainly to pasture horses. The other pastures, including the Stone Barrow Downs, were in the north,⁹³ in an area known later as Stamberrow Down.⁹⁴ In the mid 17th century each yardland was apparently allowed to pasture 50 sheep and some cattle and horses in the fields and commons.⁹⁵ The allowance for sheep was later raised to 60 but it had been reduced by agreement to 40 by 1705.⁹⁶ In 1719 the lord of the manor granted a lease of customary common rights for two cows.⁹⁷

Apart from 5 a. of the glebe adjoining the downs inclosed in 1695 or 1696,⁹⁸ little further inclosure took place before 1771 when the open fields and commons were inclosed under a private Act. On the eve of inclosure Joseph Pyrke, the lord of the manor, held 436 a. in old closes, most of that land being devoted to arable and 63 a. and 37 a. to pasture and meadow respectively.⁹⁹ The inclosure award, under which some old closes were exchanged, dealt with 1,108 a. and allotted 553 a. to Joseph Pyrke for the land he had in hand and 310 a. to the rector for his glebe and part of his tithes. Ten leaseholders received allotments, the largest being 103 a. and the others between 1 a. and 22 a., and 8 a. was given to the parish as a source of furze and fuel for the poor.¹

Although several barns were built in the new fields, the farms, except Folly farm, continued to be centred on farmsteads in the village.² Almost every family in the parish depended on agriculture for its livelihood,³ and in 1851 the three principal farmers were said between them to employ nearly 100 labourers and two smaller farmers also hired labour.⁴ In 1848 the manorial estate included farms of 709 a. and 518 a. and the rector's glebe, 309 a., was the third largest farm.⁵ By 1857 the largest holding (Folly farm) had been almost halved in size to leave the manorial estate divided into farms of 512 a., 391 a., 302 a., and 70 a.⁶ There were fewer farms in the late 19th century;⁷ in 1896 four tenanted farms had a total area of 1,452 a.⁸ After the First World War P. W. Cory farmed much of the parish as manager for Sir Alan Anderson⁹ and by the later 1920s Folly farm, the only large holding not belonging to Anderson, was worked by its owners.¹⁰ In 1926 two farms with over 300 a., one of them occupied by a tenant, and a farm with under 20 a. were returned for Notgrove.¹¹ The Andersons continued to run the Notgrove estate as a single farm after the Second World War, as did the Aclands in 1996.¹² In 1956, when at least 23 agricultural labourers still had regular employment in the parish, three smaller farms, two with over 300 a. and one with under 30 a., were also returned for Notgrove.¹³ By 1996 Folly farm had been broken up by sales and part of it was included in Aston farm on the Sezincote estate.¹⁴

A few years after the parliamentary inclosure it was observed that most land was arable or permanent pasture, that better methods of husbandry were producing good crops of corn, and that large flocks of sheep were being kept.¹⁵ In 1801 some 601 a., over a third of the parish, was planted with corn and root crops, mostly wheat and barley but also high proportions of oats and turnips.¹⁶ The area devoted to those crops was greater in 1866, when 1,243 a., including some fallow, was returned as arable and only 172 a. as permanent grassland. As part of the crop rotation a third of the arable land was under clover or grass.¹⁷ The livestock returned in 1866 included 843 sheep, 134 beef and dairy cattle, and 55 pigs.¹⁸ Although fewer ewes were kept in the parish in 1896 the area used for grazing gradually increased in the late 19th century¹⁹ and the early 20th, and in 1926, when at least 600 a.

⁸⁸ G.D.R., V 5/219t 2.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1438, Notgrove manor deeds 1658–1774.

⁹⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 17, *House of Lords*, pp. 184–5.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 1, f. 19.

⁹² *Ibid.* D 1438, Notgrove manor deeds, deed 4 Oct. 1699.

⁹³ *Ibid.* photocopy 1072.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Q/RI 109.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* D 4431, deed 24 May 1660 [12/3].

⁹⁶ G.D.R., V 5/219t 3; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 543, Notgrove deeds.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, deed 26 Mar. 1719 [15/25].

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* P 233/IN 1/1, mem. at front of vol.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* D 1388, Notgrove incl. papers, surv. of par. 1770.

¹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 109.

² Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824); Greenwood, *Map of Glos.* (1824); O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

³ *Census*, 1811; 1831.

⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1970.

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, summary from surv. 1848.

⁶ *Ibid.* D 1438, abs. of title to Notgrove estate 1869; Christ Church, MS. Estates 28, ff. 175–6.

⁷ P.R.O., RG 11/2562; RG 12/2037.

⁸ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

⁹ Inf. from Mr. D. Acland, of the Manor, Notgrove.

¹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927–39 edns.); *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/2/2, pp. 35–7.

¹¹ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/19.

¹² Inf. from Mr. Acland.

¹³ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/247.

¹⁴ Inf. from Mr. A. Bullock, of Aston Farm, Cold Aston.

¹⁵ Rudder, *Glos.* 582.

¹⁶ *1801 Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 175.

¹⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

of the parish was permanent grassland, 687 ewes and 194, mostly beef, cattle were returned as well as 501 pigs and 76 fowls.²⁰ Under P. W. Cory poultry farming became a substantial enterprise on the Notgrove estate before the Second World War.²¹ In 1956, when the livestock returned for Notgrove included 572 ewes, 333 cattle, 20 pigs, and 13,607 fowls, 378 a. in the parish was returned as permanent grassland, at least 797 a. was used for pasture and rough grazing and 462 a. for growing cereals, and 27 a. was fallow.²² In the late 20th century more land was devoted to cereals²³ and in 1996 the Notgrove estate also raised dairy and beef cattle and sheep.²⁴

In the mid 8th century a track known as mill way led from Notgrove's north boundary to, it has been suggested, a mill at Lower Harford, in Naunton.²⁵ Personal-name evidence suggests that a miller lived in Notgrove in 1381²⁶ but no evidence of a mill working there has been found.

Inhabitants of Notgrove pursuing non-agricultural occupations included a tailor in 1608,²⁷ a weaver in 1666,²⁸ a baker in 1758,²⁹ and a carpenter in 1816.³⁰ A few village trades were represented in the parish in the mid 19th century³¹ and a carpenter and wheelwright remained in business there until after the Second World War.³² A number of people staffed the Manor in the early 20th century and a stud groom and a gamekeeper were among estate employees in the 1920s and 1930s. Earlier game rearing and preservation are indicated by the presence of a gamekeeper in 1818.³³ Building trades were represented by two masons in 1608³⁴ and a slater in 1654,³⁵ and several stonemasons lived in Notgrove in the mid 19th century.³⁶ Stone and Cotswold slates have been quarried in several places in the parish.³⁷ A quarry in the north-west corner, on the Salperton boundary, was the subject of a lease in 1656³⁸ and it produced paving slabs and roofing slates as well as building stone in 1865.³⁹ A limekiln built there after the railway opened in 1881 was disused in 1900.⁴⁰ Notgrove had at least one village shop in 1856 and three shopkeepers were recorded in 1894 and a post office in 1897. Most of the shops

had closed by the late 1930s⁴¹ but the village retained a post office in 1996.

In the late 19th century a few people worked at the station in the north-west corner of the parish⁴² and several businesses operated from its yard. Two coal merchants and F. J. Comely, a corn merchant, had depots there in 1894.⁴³ Comely's successors also acted as agricultural valuers and insurance agents.⁴⁴ The yard included a cattle pen in 1900⁴⁵ and retained facilities for handling coal, grain, and stone in the late 1930s,⁴⁶ when the Comelys remained in business along with one coal merchant.⁴⁷

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1299 Notgrove was under the frankpledge jurisdiction of the bishop of Worcester's court at Withington.⁴⁸ The court, which in the 16th century attempted to ensure that roads were repaired⁴⁹ and dealt with pleas of assault and bloodshed in Notgrove,⁵⁰ continued to swear in a tithingman or constable for the parish until at least 1818.⁵¹ A breach of the pound was presented in 1545⁵² and an overburdening of common land in 1590.⁵³ Notgrove manor court was convened in 1803⁵⁴ and perhaps until at least 1847, when a meeting was held in the building used as the court house,⁵⁵ but none of its records is known to have survived. Stocks and a pound were repaired out of the parish rates *c.* 1774.⁵⁶

Notgrove had one churchwarden in 1498.⁵⁷ Although there were sometimes two churchwardens in the 16th century and later,⁵⁸ the parish often had one churchwarden for long periods and in the 1880s and 1900s the office was unfilled. The churchwardens' accounts survive from 1768.⁵⁹ The earliest surviving records of parish government begin in 1736 with the accounts of the overseers of the poor. In some years there was only one overseer. Relief usually took the form of a weekly dole, given to six women in 1736, and the parish also maintained several cottages apparently as poorhouses and paid for the cutting of furze as fuel and for medical and funeral expenses. The cost of relief, £36 in 1736,⁶⁰ increased throughout the 18th cen-

²⁰ Acreage Returns, 1905; P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/19.

²¹ Inf. from Mr. Acland.

²² P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/247.

²³ Cf. *ibid.* MAF 68/5953/14/198 and 247; MAF 68/6005/14/198.

²⁴ Inf. from Mr. Acland.

²⁵ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 178; cf. *V.C.H. Glouc.* vi. 84.

²⁶ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289.

²⁷ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 267.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, deed 20 Jan. 1665/6 [17/35].

²⁹ *Ibid.* deed 7 Dec. 1758 [2/1/27].

³⁰ *Ibid.* P 233/IN 1/8.

³¹ P.R.O., HO 107/351; HO 107/1970; RG 9/1789.

³² *Kelly's Dir. Glouc.* (1939), 280; G.E. Payne, *Glouc.: a Surv.* (Glouc. [? 1946]), 172.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/8.

³⁴ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 267.

³⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4431, deed 20 Feb. 1654 [9/79].

³⁶ P.R.O., HO 107/1970.

³⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 5, no. 54.

³⁸ *Ibid.* D 4431, deed 25 Mar. 1712 [6/29].

³⁹ Christ Church, MS. Estates 28, f. 174.

⁴⁰ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXVIII. 9* (1884, 1902 edns.).

⁴¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glouc.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁴² *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/8; P.R.O., RG 12/2037.

⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Glouc.* (1894), 253.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* (1897), 258; (1906), 264.

⁴⁵ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXVIII. 9* (1902 edn.).

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/2/2, p. 37.

⁴⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glouc.* (1939), 280.

⁴⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 354–5; cf. below, Withington, local govt.

⁴⁹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (BA 2636)/178, no. 92510.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 19, no. 43766.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 19, no. 43767; 20, no. 43769; 22, no. 43775; 151, nos. 47948–52.

⁵² *Ibid.* 19, no. 43766.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 20, no. 43769.

⁵⁴ *Glouc. Jnl.* 19 Sept. 1803.

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/OV 2/2.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* OV 2/1.

⁵⁷ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 42.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* xxxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 19; xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 55; lxiv, 1642 visit. f. 13.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/CW 2/1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* OV 2/1.

ture. The rise became steeper at the end of the century, and in 1814, when 20 people received regular and 7 occasional assistance, it was £252.⁶¹ The cost had been halved by the late 1820s and it remained at £120 or less in the early 1830s.⁶² Notgrove became part of Stow-on-the-Wold poor-law union under the Act of 1834.⁶³ In 1935 it was transferred from Stow-on-the-Wold rural district to Northleach rural district⁶⁴ and in 1974 it was included in Cotswold district.

CHURCH. On architectural evidence Notgrove church dates from the 12th century.⁶⁵ The first known presentation to it was made in 1284.⁶⁶ The living, which was a rectory,⁶⁷ was united with Cold Aston in 1908⁶⁸ and Turkdean was added to the united benefice in 1967.⁶⁹ From 1986 Notgrove was one of several parishes served by a priest-in-charge resident in Northleach.⁷⁰

In 1234 Walter Shilling, acting also for John Shilling, conveyed the advowson of Notgrove church to John son of Geoffrey⁷¹ (d. 1258).⁷² In 1284 the patronage belonged to John's son Richard⁷³ (d. 1297) and in 1299 the advowson was assigned to Richard's eldest sister Maud de Beauchamp, dowager countess of Warwick. After Maud's death in 1301⁷⁴ it descended with the earldom of Warwick.⁷⁵ In 1338 the earl, Thomas de Beauchamp, was licensed to grant the advowson to Little Malvern priory (Worcs.) and the priory to appropriate the church,⁷⁶ but he retained the advowson at his death in 1369.⁷⁷ In 1422, when the earl, Richard de Beauchamp, was overseas, the patronage was exercised by his attorneys.⁷⁸ In 1454 and 1467 Richard Neville, who had the earldom in the right of his wife, presented to the living⁷⁹ and in 1482 the next vacancy was filled by Edward IV by reason of his custody of Edward, the infant son and heir of George Plantagenet, duke of Clarence.⁸⁰ By the next vacancy, in 1494, the patronage had passed with the Warwick estates to the Crown⁸¹ and it remained with the Crown.⁸² In 1655 it was exercised by the Lord Protector. From the 18th century the Lord Chancellor presented on

the Crown's behalf⁸³ and he was sole patron of the united benefice created in 1908.⁸⁴ In 1967, as patron of Turkdean, the bishop acquired the right to present at every third turn.⁸⁵

Notgrove rectory was valued at £6 13s. 4d. in 1291.⁸⁶ In 1340 the rector held a ploughland in demesne.⁸⁷ The glebe was later described as four yardlands and in 1619 comprised c. 155 a.⁸⁸ In 1705 the tithes were paid to the rector in kind apart from moduses for milk and calves and for non-parishioners' sheep summering in Notgrove.⁸⁹ At inclosure in 1771 the tithes were commuted for 188 a. and £6 18s. 5d. in rent charges and the rector was also awarded 121 a. for glebe.⁹⁰ The land was sold in 1909.⁹¹ The value of the benefice, £15 6s. 8d. in 1535, when it was farmed,⁹² had risen to £80 by 1650⁹³ and £150 by 1750.⁹⁴ It was £287 in 1856.⁹⁵

The rectory house stood on the steep hillside some way north of the church.⁹⁶ The main east-west range, of three bays plus a west cross wing, was built in the 17th century. Thick west and south-east walls may be the remains of the rector's earlier house said, in 1619, to contain c. 6 bays.⁹⁷ By the early 19th century the house was occupied as a farmhouse by the tenant of the glebe⁹⁸ and in 1810, according to a datestone, the west wing was extended slightly southwards.⁹⁹ In the 1860s the ground floor was entered via a through-passage, perhaps in the 17th-century or earlier position. The passage opened west into a dining room with a south-facing study, stairs, and cellars beyond and east into a kitchen, from which a back kitchen projected north and a dairy or larder south; a loft over the dairy had been used before 1858 as a wool store. In 1869 and 1870 D. F. Vigers, the rector, remodelled the house as his residence to designs, by W. H. Knight, which included extending the east wing a few feet southwards to accommodate a bay-windowed drawing room and an upper bedroom, adding a porch and lobby west of the drawing room, and building a passage along the north side of the main range to connect the west end of the house with a principal staircase, which replaced back stairs in the back kitchen. A level garden was created in front

⁶¹ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172-3; 1818, 146-7.

⁶² *Poor Law Returns* (1830-1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁶³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 321.

⁶⁴ *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii).

⁶⁵ Below, this section.

⁶⁶ *Reg. Giffard*, 236.

⁶⁷ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 176; *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 77; Hockaday Abs. ccclii.

⁶⁸ G.D.R., D 17/7/3.

⁶⁹ Ibid. V 7/1/56.

⁷⁰ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994-5), 103.

⁷¹ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/9, no. 142.

⁷² *Complete Peerage*, v. 433.

⁷³ *Reg. Giffard*, 236.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1296-1302, 287; *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 369-70.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 402; xviii, p. 161; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Clifford, f. 96; for the earldom, *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 370-95.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, 89.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii, p. 310.

⁷⁸ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Morgan, ii, f. 7v.

⁷⁹ Ibid. *Reg. Carpenter*, i, ff. 122, 212.

⁸⁰ Ibid. *Reg. Alcock*, f. 108v.

⁸¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 465.

⁸² *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Ghinucci, f. 50; *E.H.R.* xix.

110; *Eccl. Misc.* 73; B.L. Add. Ch. 1363.

⁸³ Hockaday Abs. ccclii; Rudder, *Glos.* 583.

⁸⁴ G.D.R., D 17/7/3.

⁸⁵ Ibid. V 7/1/56; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1967-8), 54; *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994-5), 103.

⁸⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

⁸⁷ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 411.

⁸⁸ G.D.R., V 5/219t 1-2.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 3.

⁹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 109.

⁹¹ G.D.R., F 4/6/21.

⁹² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 440.

⁹³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁹⁴ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 72.

⁹⁵ Ibid. vol. 384, f. 152.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, photocopy 1072.

⁹⁷ G.D.R., V 5/219t 2.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 4; P.R.O., HO 107/1970.

⁹⁹ The initials on the datestone are apparently those of Ric. Wetherell, Notgrove's rector 1810-58: Hockaday Abs. ccclii; Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 525-6.



1. SEVENHAMPTON: LOWER SEVENHAMPTON FROM THE SOUTH-WEST, C. 1940



2. DOWDESWELL: PEGGLESWORTH HOME FARM IN 1932



3. SALPERTON PARK AND CHURCH IN THE LATE 18TH CENTURY



4. DOWDESWELL: SANDYWELL PARK, c. 1850



5. WHITTINGTON COURT: THE SOUTH FRONT



6. SEVENHAMPTON: BROCKHAMPTON PARK FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



7. SHIPTON: NORTH FARM FROM THE WEST



8. EASTINGTON MANOR



9. SHIPTON OLIFFE MANOR: THE WEST FRONT



10. FARMINGTON LODGE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



11. WITHINGTON COURT: THE SOUTH FRONT, WITH THE OLDER, NORTH RANGE VISIBLE



12. NORTHLEACH: TUDOR HOUSE (FORMERLY THE CROWN INN)



13. NORTHLEACH: WALTON HOUSE (FORMERLY THE KING'S HEAD INN)



14. NORTHLEACH: THE PRISON FROM THE CHELTENHAM ROAD,
BEFORE THE CELL BLOCKS WERE DEMOLISHED IN 1937



15. NORTHLEACH: SHOWING BURGAGE PLOTS ON THE NORTH-WEST SIDE OF HIGH STREET BETWEEN THE WALTON
ESTATE (*foreground*) AND THE MARKET PLACE



16. HAMPNETT: TEAMS OF HORSES IN THE VILLAGE IN THE 1930S



17. DOWDESWELL: HOME FARM AND THE CHURCH IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY



18. COLD ASTON: SHEEP SHEARING AT ASTON FARM, LITTLE ASTON, IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY



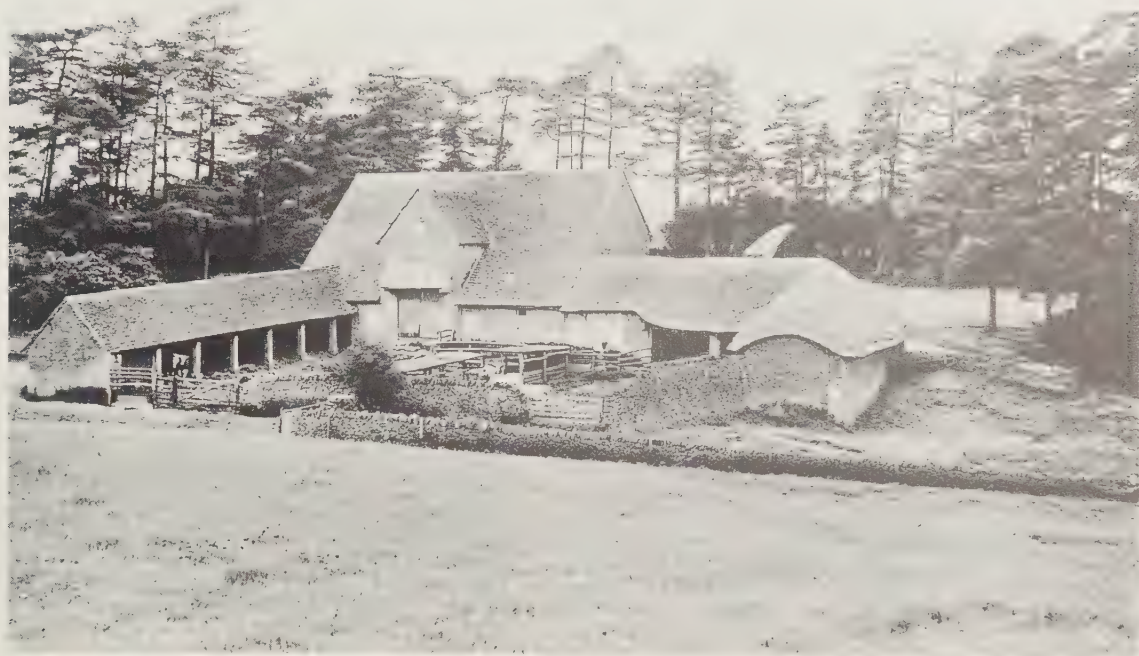
19. EASTINGTON: PRIZE RAMS AT BROADFIELD FARM, 1850



20. NOTGROVE. COTTAGES



21. WHITTINGTON: COTTAGES IN THE VILLAGE



22. HAMPNETT: FURZENHILL BUILDINGS IN 1934



23. HAMPNETT: COTTAGES IN THE VILLAGE IN 1934



24. DOWDESWELL: BARN AT HOME FARM



25. WITHINGTON: UPPER ROOM IN MEDIEVAL WING
OF THE RECTORY



26. NORTHLEACH: ROOF OF ANTELOPE HOUSE



27. DOWDESWELL: STAIRCASE
AT EIGHT GABLED HOUSE



28. UPPER FLOOR, EIGHT GABLED HOUSE



29. SHIPTON: NORTH FARM, PRINCIPAL GROUND-FLOOR ROOM



30. WITHINGTON: CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST



31. NORTHLEACH: CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH



32. WHITTINGTON: BARN AT WHITTINGTON COURT



33. SEVENHAMPTON: CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH



34. SEVENHAMPTON: CHURCH, SHOWING BUTTRESSES FOR INSERTED TOWER



35. HAMPNETT: CHURCH LOOKING EAST, SHOWING 19TH-CENTURY DECORATION



36. COLN ROGERS: MEDIEVAL GLASS, DEPICTING
ST. MARGARET, IN CHURCH



37. FARMINGTON: CAPITAL OF NAVE ARCADE IN CHURCH



38. NOTGROVE: MONUMENT OF 1630 IN CHURCH



39. SHIPTON OLIFFE: CHURCH FROM THE WEST



40. EASTINGTON: LOWER END,
WITH FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIEVAL DWELLINGS VISIBLE NORTH-WEST OF THE HAMLET (*on right*)



41. WHITTINGTON: SHOWING FOUNDATIONS OF MEDIEVAL STREET AND DWELLINGS SOUTH-EAST OF THE VILLAGE

**The .v. year of our soueraigne lord kyng
Edward the sixte. Raffe brodehurst halfe.**

Wylliam Wylliams }
Thomas plockitt } consules

Wylliam Wapde
Wylliam Wyllson
John Wallis
Wylliam Wapde
Robert Alwoods
Thomas Woburne

These are the apothecaries for the year.

For the first time the accounts of the
apothecaries for the year of the
sixth year of the king.

Wylliam Wapde

Item James Wyndome for his standunge — viij
Item broome of burford for his standunge — viij
Item hodeles draper of worchester standunge — viij

Item Wyndome brutes of burton of the water — viij
Item John harrne brutes of worchester for his standunge — viij

- 1 The xij day of January we did admit lammance of
baste to be abele to breware and his fine to be — viij
- 2 Item the same day we did admit moragon wyllis
to occupie the occupacion of smelters crasse and his fine — viij
- 3 Item the firste day of march we did admit Robert
Alfode to occupie the occupacion of glouers crasse and his fine — viij
- 4 Item the same day we did admit Thomas Dostles
to occupie the occupacion of glouers and his fine to be — viij

of the house, the earth removed being used to landscape other parts of the grounds. At the same time Vigers extended the north-east wing to provide a first-floor schoolroom with an open arch-braced roof.¹ After Vigers's death in 1906 the house was unoccupied and in 1909 it was sold with the glebe land.² The outbuildings include an eight-bayed barn higher up to the west, on the opposite side of the lane; recorded in 1619³ the barn was reroofed in the 19th century.

John of Windsor, who was granted the rectory *in commendam* in 1284,⁴ later became rector but was held in the Tower of London in 1294 on a charge of felony.⁵ John of Cerney, instituted in 1303, resigned the rectory the same year but he regained it in 1304 and was later made a deacon.⁶ His successor in 1306 held the living for six months *in commendam*.⁷ In 1321 an assistant was appointed to help a blind and senile rector⁸ and in 1336 a new rector was licensed to be absent for a year.⁹ A later rector was licensed in 1391 to be non-resident for three years.¹⁰ Most of the mid 16th-century rectors were evidently absentees employing curates in their place.¹¹ Under Richard Mounslow, rector 1541–58, several former monks of Winchcombe, where he had been the last abbot, served the cure; the curate in 1551 was knowledgeable on the main points of Church doctrine.¹² Edward Savacre, who as rector in 1579 was dispensed to be absent for seven years for study, acquired another benefice and in 1584 Thomas Cole was presented to Notgrove in his place.¹³ Despite opposition from Savacre's supporters, including members of the Whittington family, Cole was inducted in 1586 but he was expelled from the rectory house and until his death in 1592 was prevented from serving the cure; Rowland Whittington who took part of the tithes employed a minister.¹⁴ Savacre regained the living in 1593. Robert Scudamore, rector from 1641, retained the living in 1650¹⁵ but Robert Rowden, rector in 1654, was ejected in favour of William Dickins, the Lord Protector's nominee in 1655.¹⁶ Dickins's successor was ejected in 1660 and later ministered to Congregational churches in Tewkesbury and Chipping Campden.¹⁷ The next two rectors, Samuel and James Michell, were father and son and pluralists. James was succeeded in 1687 by George Yardley, who, although he was also vicar of Mickleton from 1707, apparently lived in

Notgrove until his death in 1746.¹⁸ The rectors in the late 18th century and early 19th, among them the divine and poet George Butt (1783–7) and Richard Wetherell (1810–58), were non-resident and employed curates, several of whom also lived outside Notgrove.¹⁹ In the mid 1820s, when the curate was resident, two Sunday services were conducted in summer and one in winter.²⁰ Duncan Firmin Vigers, rector from 1858, took up residence and carried out improvements in the church and churchyard and built a schoolroom.²¹ After his death in 1906 the parish was without a resident clergyman.²² In 1996 a service was held in the church on most Sundays.

Notgrove church, on a site where a cinerary urn and other Roman pottery have been found,²³ was called St. Mary's in 1494²⁴ but its dedication was to *ST. BARTHOLOMEW* in the early 18th century and later.²⁵ A small building of coursed rubble, it has a chancel with north vestry, a nave with north transept, narrow north aisle, and south porch, and a west tower with spire. Part of the fabric, including the nave arcade, dates from the 12th century, but the church was extensively remodelled in the 14th century, when the chancel was rebuilt, the chancel arch widened, and the short transept and the tower with its short, recessed octagonal spire were added: in the early 18th century the transept belonged to the lord of the manor.²⁶ Among other 14th-century features are the reredos with canopied niche and three oggee arches on the east wall, the aumbry below it, and the transept window with ballflower ornament. The chancel north wall has, like the east wall, remained windowless. In the late 15th century or the early 16th the nave windows were replaced, the nave's south doorway was rebuilt, and the porch was added. The mullioned windows in the north aisle are of the 17th century.

In the mid 19th century, after years of neglect, the nave was in a dangerous state²⁷ and in the years 1871–3 the church was restored by the Revd. D. F. Vigers to plans by J. E. K. Cutts. The work on the chancel, completed in 1871, included widening the chancel arch and raising the floor. The restoration of the other parts of the church, during which the aisle and part of the south wall were rebuilt, was paid for partly by Christ Church and Corpus Christi colleges, Oxford, and began in 1872. At the same time

¹ G.D.R., F 4/1; Glos. R.O., P 233/IN 1/1, mem. at end of vol., May–July 1869.

² G.D.R., D 17/7/3; F 4/6/21.

³ Ibid. V 5/219t 2.

⁴ *Reg. Giffard*, 226, 236.

⁵ P.R.O., JUST 3/87, rot. 23.

⁶ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 31, 96, 109, 122.

⁷ Ibid. 150, 176.

⁸ *Reg. Cobham*, 28.

⁹ *Reg. Montacute*, pp. 50–1.

¹⁰ *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 102.

¹¹ Hockaday Abs. xlii, 1563 visit. f. 33; xliii, 1566 visit. f. 21; xlv, 1572 visit. f. 28.

¹² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 72, 86–7; Hockaday Abs. ccii, 1545; *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. ccii; G.D.R., B 4/1/1945.

¹⁴ P.R.O., C 78/105, no. 11.

¹⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccii.

¹⁶ Ibid.; *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 177.

¹⁷ *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews, 159.

¹⁸ Hockaday Abs. ccii; Glos. R.O., P 233/IN 1/1.

¹⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccii; G.D.R. vols. 319–20; vol. 382, f. 38; Rudder, *Glos.* 778; for Butt, *D.N.B.*; for Wetherell, *Alum Oxon.* 1715–1886, iv. 1531.

²⁰ G.D.R. vol. 383, no. cclxvi.

²¹ Glos. R.O., P 233/IN 1/1, mem.; *Church Builder*, Jan. 1872, 148.

²² G.D.R., D 17/7/3.

²³ R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i. 88.

²⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1485–94, 465.

²⁵ Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 3, f. 210v.; Rudder, *Glos.* 583.

²⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* 588.

²⁷ *Glos. N. & Q.* i. 366; cf. *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 99–100.

Vigers built the vestry in the angle of the chancel and transept. During the restoration, which revealed that the chancel's side walls were once decorated with a painted flower motif,²⁸ the remains of a 14th-century niche and crucifix were placed on the external east wall and architectural fragments, including the head of a 12th-century window, were reset in the porch.

The font has a 12th-century tub-shaped bowl.²⁹ The upper part of the chancel screen incorporates 14th- or 15th-century carving and the pulpit 17th-century woodwork. The south side of the nave contains pews installed in 1619³⁰ and lengthened a little in 1872 and 1873. The rest of the nave and the aisle were seated with chairs from 1873³¹ and were partly pewed in the mid 20th century, beginning in 1937; some of the pews were memorials to members of the Anderson family.³² In 1909 the chancel was given new pews and a new organ was built between it and the vestry, all at the cost of C. G. Cunard. The organ, a memorial to Cunard's brothers-in-law J. A. and S. V. Gibbs,³³ was replaced in 1973³⁴ and the new instrument was replaced in 1985 by a pipe organ from a chapel in Ruardean.³⁵

In the porch is a 14th-century stone coffin, and the transept contains two 14th-century priests' effigies, both of which were in the churchyard before 1895.³⁶ Three effigies in the chancel date from the late 16th century and the early 17th and are believed to represent members of the Whittington family;³⁷ one of those monuments, to a lady,³⁸ is on a base dated 1630. Among the chancel monuments moved in 1871 were floor tablets to the rectors William Dickens (d. 1659), Samuel Michell (d. 1665), and James Michell (d. 1687).³⁹ The vestry window contains 14th-century stained glass depicting the Virgin and Child.⁴⁰ All but one of the windows on the south side of the church contain later 19th-century stained glass. Those on the north side of the aisle are filled with glass made in 1996 by Rodrick Friend of Edge, in Painswick, to a design, inspired by Elizabeth Acland, depicting the four seasons in local agricultural scenes.⁴¹ A

tapestry covering the reredos and imitating its outline was worked from 1936 to a design by Colin Skelton Anderson and was completed in 1954.⁴² The church has a bell cast c. 1350 by John of Gloucester and another probably of c. 1600; a third bell was recast in 1779 by Thomas Rudhall.⁴³ The church plate was melted down in 1871 to make a new chalice and paten.⁴⁴ The churchyard contains the remains of a stone cross. The surviving parish registers begin in 1660 for baptisms and burials and 1679 for marriages.⁴⁵

NONCONFORMITY. Several, if not all, of the seven nonconformists recorded in Notgrove in 1676⁴⁶ were Baptists. Prominent among them was William Evans⁴⁷ and in 1705 his widow's house was registered as a Baptist place of worship.⁴⁸ The Notgrove Baptists, at least some of whom attended meetings in Bourton-on-the-Water,⁴⁹ numbered 10 in 1735.⁵⁰ In 1727, and again in 1740, a house in Notgrove was registered for their use⁵¹ and in 1784 they held services, apparently jointly with the Naunton Baptists, at Folly Farm. In 1795 at least 12 Notgrove people were members of the Bourton Baptist church⁵² but houses registered in 1802 and 1825 were served from the Naunton chapel.⁵³ In the early 20th century many, perhaps a majority, of the villagers attended the Naunton meeting.⁵⁴ Several Notgrove residents contributed to the building in 1852 of a new Baptist chapel at Stow-on-the-Wold.⁵⁵

EDUCATION. Notgrove had a Sunday school supported by voluntary contributions in 1818⁵⁶ and 10 children attended a day school there at their parents' expense in 1833.⁵⁷ In 1841 the villagers included a schoolmistress⁵⁸ and in 1847 a master taught 38 children in day and Sunday schools held in the church and supported partly by subscriptions.⁵⁹ There was a village schoolmistress in 1861.⁶⁰ In 1869 and 1870 the rector D. F. Vigers built a schoolroom as part of an

²⁸ *Church Builder*, Jan. 1872, 148–51, 154; Jan. 1873, 21–2; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* vii. 31–2; *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, mem. 1871–3.

²⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxxvi. 160, 169, and plate at pp. 176–7.

³⁰ Date with churchwardens' names on front pew.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, mem.

³² G.D.R., F 1/1/1937/64; inscs. carved on pews.

³³ G.D.R., F 1/1/1909/41; Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 48, 640.

³⁴ G.D.R., F 1/1/1973/656a.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 1985/2657; inf. in church: the Ruardean organ had formerly been in Hope Mansell church (Herefs.).

³⁶ Roper, *Glos. Effigies*, 651–3; *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, mem.; in the mid 17th cent., according to a story in 1680, the use of an effigy as a drinking trough provoked a disturbance among cattle and led to its return to the churchyard: Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 250.

³⁷ Roper, *Glos. Effigies*, 654–8.

³⁸ Above, Plate 38.

³⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 291; *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, mem.

⁴⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlvii. 329 and plate at pp. 336–7.

⁴¹ Inf. from Mrs. Acland, of the Manor, Notgrove.

⁴² Notice in church.

⁴³ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 467–8; cf. Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 250; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlii. 165.

⁴⁴ *Church Builder*, Jan. 1872, 148–51; *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 161.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1.

⁴⁶ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 540.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1686–7, p. 323.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 3.

⁴⁹ Cf. T. Wray and D. Stratford, *Bourton on the Water* (Stroud, 1994), 29, 31.

⁵⁰ G.D.R. vol. 285b(1), f. 30.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 3; Hockaday Abs. ccii.

⁵² Hockaday Abs. ccii; *Glos. R.O.*, D 289/16.

⁵³ Hockaday Abs. ccii; cf. F. E. Blackaby, *Past and Present Hist. of Stow Baptist Church* (Stow-on-the-Wold, 1892), 20.

⁵⁴ G.D.R., D 17/7/3.

⁵⁵ Blackaby, *Stow Baptist Church*, 26.

⁵⁶ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 305.

⁵⁷ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 323.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

⁵⁹ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846–7, *Glos.* 14–15.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., RG 9/1789.

extension of the rectory house⁶¹ and started a school on the National plan. The school, which in 1885 had an average attendance of 21,⁶² remained under Vigers's management until its closure in 1903, and local farmers contributed £10 (from 1896 £16) a year towards its cost by a voluntary rate.⁶³ Following the school's closure Notgrove children attended the Cold Aston school⁶⁴ and, for a time, the Turkdean school.⁶⁵

CHARITY FOR THE POOR. In 1771 the inclosure commissioners set aside 8 a. in the

north-west corner of the parish for growing furze and wood for fuel for the poor.⁶⁶ In 1834, when the land had almost ceased to yield fuel, it was divided into small plots assigned to each house and from 1842 it was let as allotments.⁶⁷ The allotment rents, intended under an Act of 1832 for buying fuel for the poor,⁶⁸ were collected until after 1894⁶⁹ and the land was later leased to a farmer. For part of the 20th century the charity was not distributed and, following its revival, a Scheme of 1972 allowed its income, then £1.50 a year, to be used for other purposes than fuel.⁷⁰

SALPERTON

SALPERTON, which lies 13 km. east of Cheltenham, ceased to exist as a civil parish in 1935 when it was united with Hazleton, to the south.⁷¹ The ancient parish, known by the 18th century also as Cold Salperton from its bleak situation high on the uplands of the Cotswolds,⁷² was 1,401 a. (567 ha.) in area⁷³ and roughly rectangular in shape.⁷⁴ Bounded on the west by an ancient salt way between Droitwich (Worcs.) and the river Thames at Lechlade⁷⁵ and on the east by the course of the stream in the top part of the valley called Turkdean in pre-Conquest charters,⁷⁶ it extended northwards to an ancient trackway leading eastwards towards Bourton-on-the-Water.⁷⁷ Elsewhere it was bounded by field boundaries.

The high downland of Salperton drains principally into the narrow valley of a small stream which curves through the ancient parish from north-west to south-east down to the valley on the eastern boundary. The lowest point of the parish, at just under 180 m., is at the south-eastern corner; above the central valley the land rises to over 260 m. in the north and south-west of the ancient parish. The land is formed mostly by the Inferior Oolite, which in a few places is overlaid by fuller's earth, and the high ground of the north and west is formed by the Great Oolite with its Cotswold slate beds.⁷⁸ Much land in the parish was in open fields or common

downland⁷⁹ and after their inclosure in the 1770s the higher land was mostly in tillage.⁸⁰ From the late 18th century, possibly from the 1770s, the south-western part of the parish was formed into a park for a new mansion called Salperton Park. Ornamental clumps of trees were planted in walled squares⁸¹ before the diversion of a number of roads in 1796 facilitated further development of the park,⁸² and plantations were established along much of the park's perimeter before the mid 1820s.⁸³ A little new woodland was planted elsewhere in the parish later in the 19th century,⁸⁴ and in 1905 Salperton contained 65 a. of woodland and plantations.⁸⁵ In the late 20th century over 40 more acres were planted, mostly on the edges of the park and as covers for pheasant and partridge.⁸⁶

The Domesday survey of 1086 enumerated 22 people in Salperton.⁸⁷ The population of the parish remained small later in the Middle Ages, 10 people being assessed for the subsidy in 1327,⁸⁸ perhaps more than 26 people paying poll tax in 1381,⁸⁹ and 9 households being recorded in 1563.⁹⁰ A claim that there were *c.* 100 communicants in 1551 was clearly an exaggeration;⁹¹ in 1603 the number of communicants was put at 40.⁹² For much of the 17th century the population was very small, 13 families being recorded in 1650⁹³ and 17 householders being listed in the hearth-tax return of 1672,⁹⁴ and *c.* 1710 it was

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/IN 1/1, mem. 27 May 1869; *Church Builder*, Jan. 1872, 148; for the rectory ho., above, church.

⁶² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 541.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4901/1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* S 24/1, p. 75.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* S 341/4, pp. 4–5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Q/R1 109.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* P 233/OV 2/2.

⁶⁸ Poor Allotments Act, 2 Wm. IV, c. 42.

⁶⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 233/VE 2/1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* D 3469/5/159.

⁷¹ *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii). This account was written in 1996.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 4; *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(1), f. 31; Rudder, *Glos.* 637.

⁷³ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884).

⁷⁴ *O.S. Maps 6"*, *Glos.* XXVII. SE.; XXVIII. NW., SW. (1883 edn.).

⁷⁵ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁷⁶ For the Turkdean valley, below, Turkdean, intro.; cf. Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 178, 180.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 4–5.

⁷⁸ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2.

⁸⁰ Below, econ. hist.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 3; GPS 280/4, reproduced above, Plate 3.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SRh 1796 A/1–4.

⁸³ Greenwood, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton and Hampen papers 1782–1866.

⁸⁵ Acreage Returns, 1905.

⁸⁶ *Glos. Colln. RR* 258.1.

⁸⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 169.

⁸⁸ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁸⁹ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289, 313.

⁹⁰ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C.* 790, f. 17.

⁹¹ *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

⁹² *Eccl. Misc.* 75.

⁹³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁹⁴ *P.R.O.*, E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.



FIG. 12

about 60.⁹⁵ The population rose throughout the 18th century, when new cottages were built,⁹⁶ and was 186 in 1801. Thereafter it fluctuated, reaching a peak of 216 in 1831 and usually being below 150 in the later 19th century. After the First World War it declined to 92 in 1931⁹⁷ and the decline continued in the later 20th century. In 1995, when some cottages were unoccupied, the village had 35 permanent residents.⁹⁸

The salt way on Salperton's western boundary may have been the route on the west side of the parish known as Greenway in the late 13th century.⁹⁹ In the mid 18th century it carried traffic between Winchcombe and both Northleach and Cirencester.¹ The ancient trackway marking the parish's northern limit was part of a way from Gloucester and Cheltenham to Bourton-on-the-Water until the late 18th or early 19th century when that section of the road was abandoned in favour of a route further north in Hawling.² The other roads in Salperton, as mapped in 1741, were not thoroughfares of great significance and most linked the village in the centre of the parish with nearby towns and villages.³ South-west of the village the road to Hampen, and beyond that to Gloucester and Cheltenham, was known as Littleton way. The way to Hazleton led south from the village and west of the church, and the road to Cirencester branched south-westwards from it to join the salt way in Hazleton. Further south the Hazleton road was crossed by a road running east-west between Cold Aston and Andoversford and forming in 1597 part of the highway from Notgrove to Cheltenham.⁴ In 1796, as part of the development of the park in the south-west of the parish, the Hazleton road was diverted away from Salperton Park house and the church to begin at a junction with the Hampen road, and a new road was built between it and the salt way to replace both the Cirencester and the Andoversford roads.⁵ In the north of the parish the road to Stow-on-the-Wold was diverted slightly to the west and the road to Winchcombe, further to the west, was designated a bridleway at inclosure in the 1770s.⁶ In the east the route of the road to Bourton-on-the-Water was altered slightly in 1876 to make way for a section of the Banbury and Cheltenham railway.⁷ The road was later

reduced to a footpath, as were the Cold Aston road and the southern part of the Hazleton road. The railway was opened across the northern part of the parish in 1881 with Notgrove station a mile from Salperton village.⁸ The line was closed in 1962.⁹

Salperton village, where in the early 17th century it seemed that several cottages had been abandoned long before,¹⁰ comprises two separate groups of buildings. The southern, smaller settlement, which includes the church at its southern end, comprised three families and was known as the Upper Town *c.* 1703.¹¹ A farmhouse north of the churchyard, the principal residence of the rectory estate, was enlarged in the later 18th century to form the Browne family's mansion known as Salperton Park.¹² A farmhouse to the north-west, perhaps the site of the medieval manor, was acquired by John Browne under the inclosure award of 1780¹³ and was demolished during an extension of the mansion's grounds.¹⁴ Another farmhouse, to the north-east,¹⁵ was occupied by farm labourers after T. B. Browne built a new farmhouse, Cotswold Lodge, next to it in the 1850s.¹⁶ Two matching barns of *c.* 1700 north of the old farmhouse also remained in 1996, when a wing of Salperton Park and a range of a stable block built to the north in 1901 were occupied as cottages.¹⁷

The village proper, sheltering in the central valley some distance north of the church, had eight families and was called the Lower Town *c.* 1703.¹⁸ It extends northwards along the valley beside the route of the old Winchcombe road and while some buildings appear 17th-century in the gabled Cotswold style, most houses and cottages date from the 18th century.¹⁹ One of the northernmost cottages was built in a corner of the open field on the east side of the valley.²⁰ John Browne, who bought the few cottages not already part of his estate, continued demolition, rebuilding and new building in the early 19th century and divided at least one farmhouse into cottages.²¹ To the south, Village (formerly Lower) Farm,²² occupying the site of a farmhouse recorded in 1624,²³ was rebuilt in the 1770s²⁴ and overlooks a group of barns at the entrance to the village from the south-west, on the Hampen road. The house below Village

⁹⁵ Atkyns, *Glos.* 634.

⁹⁶ G.D.R. vol. 285b(1), f. 31; Rudder, *Glos.* 638.

⁹⁷ *Census*, 1801–1931.

⁹⁸ *The Times*, 30 Aug. 1995.

⁹⁹ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, p. 973.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2–3.

² *Ibid.* P 3; D 363/P 4–5; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* T 20.

⁵ *Ibid.* Q/SRh 1796 A/1–4.

⁶ *Ibid.* D 269c/P 2–3; P.R.O., CP 43/790, Carte rott. 87d–88d.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RUM 408.

⁸ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.*, revised C. R. Clinker (1964), ii. 315; O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2871/2/26.

¹⁰ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, Fc 8/3, f. 64.

¹¹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 253.

¹² Below, manor.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2–3; D 1388, Beale Browne fam., surv. of Salperton par. 1780; P.R.O., CP 43/790, Carte rot. 89d.

¹⁴ Cf. O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1883 edn.).

¹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* D 1388, Beale Browne fam., partics. of cottages in Salperton 1861; Salperton est. papers 1866–99 (copy deed 24 July 1866).

¹⁷ Below, manor.

¹⁸ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 253.

¹⁹ Cf. Rudder, *Glos.* 638.

²⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2.

²¹ *Ibid.* D 1388, Beale Browne fam., partics. of cottages in Salperton 1861; Salperton papers 1866–99 (copy deed 24 July 1866).

²² O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1883 edn.).

²³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 20.

²⁴ *Ibid.* D 269c/P 2–3; D 1388, Beale Browne fam., surv. of Salperton par. 1780.

Farm incorporates the remains of a long range which was once three cottages and before that included an alehouse called the Bell;²⁵ a bell and the initials of John and Mary Dyer are carved on a datestone of 1752.²⁶ To the north-east a house with a brick garden front of the early 18th century and attics with dormers was part of a copyhold estate owned in 1741 by Henry Freeman²⁷ and in 1769 by John Chandler;²⁸ it also has a datestone of 1767. In 1861 there were 36 cottages in the main part of the village.²⁹ One or two at the northern end were demolished in the later 19th century to make way for the railway³⁰ and several had been amalgamated by the mid 20th century to form larger dwellings.³¹ There was some new building in the later 20th century but the main part of the village contained only 25 dwellings in 1994.³²

Very few dwellings were built in outlying parts of the parish. Farhill Farm, in the south-east, is a small farmhouse built after inclosure, in the late 18th century or the early 19th.³³ Some farm buildings recorded from 1781 at a place later called Crows' Castle, in the east of the parish on the Bourton road,³⁴ were pulled down in the early 20th century³⁵ and the remaining buildings there, including in the 1930s a small farmhouse,³⁶ were demolished after the Second World War.

An alehouse in Salperton was suppressed in 1672.³⁷ The Bell, which adopted that name in or before 1752,³⁸ was described in 1769 as an inn³⁹ and later as an alehouse.⁴⁰ It had closed by 1850.⁴¹

From the mid 18th century virtually the whole parish belonged to an estate centred on the house known as Salperton Park.⁴² The Browne family, later owners of the estate, and their successors played an influential role in the life of the local community. In the early 20th century G. L. F. Harter provided a piped water supply to the village.⁴³ Before the advent of mains electricity in the mid 1950s the village received electricity generated at Salperton Park.⁴⁴ For much of the 1950s and the 1960s, in the time of Sir Edward Hulton, part of Salperton Park accommodated an estate social club.⁴⁵

In 1919 a wooden Calvary was erected south-west of the village, at the corner of the Hampen road and the road up to the church, as a memorial mainly to members and relatives of the Harter family killed in the First World War.⁴⁶ The memorial reflects the taste of Frances Harter, wife of G. L. F. Harter, and her Roman Catholicism was a source of conflict between the family and the rest of the parish for many years.⁴⁷

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. At Salperton an estate of 10 hides belonging to Wulfward in 1066 was held by Hugh L'Asne in 1086.⁴⁸ The estate, the later manor of *SALPERTON*, evidently passed to Peter Corbezon (Peter of Studley), who in the mid 12th century granted the church and land at Salperton to a priory he had founded in Worcestershire. Peter moved the priory to Studley (Warws.) and increased its endowment. His son Peter Corbezon transferred the patronage of the house to William de Cauntelo,⁴⁹ who in 1236 had an overlordship in Salperton presumably by virtue of a grant also of the manor.⁵⁰ From William (d. 1239) the overlordship descended to his grandson George de Cauntelo and at the division of George's estates following his death in 1273 it was assigned to his nephew John of Hastings.⁵¹ Its later descent has not been traced and in the early 15th century the manor was held directly from the Crown.⁵²

In 1195 Ralph de Limesi held a knight's fee in Salperton evidently by inheritance through his mother.⁵³ In 1223 Ralph's daughter Margery and her husband Walter Comyn claimed that during his lifetime Ralph had granted Margery half a knight's fee in Salperton. That claim was denied by Ralph's son Ralph de Limesi⁵⁴ and in 1225 the Comyns and he were parties to a suit concerning $\frac{3}{4}$ knight's fee in Salperton.⁵⁵ Robert the dyer (*tingtor*) of Winchcombe held half a knight's fee in Salperton from William de Cauntelo in 1236⁵⁶ and Robert son of Ralph and his wife Felice quitclaimed a ploughland there to Margery and Walter Comyn in 1241.⁵⁷ In 1254 the Comyns, whose estate was later rep-

²⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., val. of T. B. Browne's ests. 1850; surv. of Salperton par. 1780; D 269c/P 3.

²⁶ Ibid. Q/AV 2, rot. 3; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 224.

²⁷ Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 2.

²⁸ Ibid. D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752-1862 (rental 1769).

²⁹ Ibid. partics. of cottages in Salperton.

³⁰ Ibid. Q/RUM 390.

³¹ Ibid. D 4858/2/4/1948/2.

³² Glos. Colln. RR 258.1-2.

³³ Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 3; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

³⁴ Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 3; Q/RUM 293.

³⁵ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW. (1883-1924 edns.).

³⁶ Glos. R.O., DA 31/516/1/2, p. 40; Kelly's *Dir. Glos.* (1935), 297; (1939), 303.

³⁷ Glos. R.O., Q/SO 1, f. 4v.

³⁸ Above, this section.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752-1862 (rental 1769).

⁴⁰ Ibid. surv. of Salperton par. 1780.

⁴¹ Ibid. val. of T. B. Browne's ests. 1850.

⁴² Below, manor.

⁴³ Richardson, *Wells and Springs of Glos.* 140.

⁴⁴ Inf. from Mr. E. Hulton (son of Sir Edward Hulton), of Turkdean.

⁴⁵ E. E. Reynolds, *Notes on Hist. of Salperton* (1956; copy in Glos. R.O., PA 280a), 23; Glos. R.O., D 3168/4/7/74.

⁴⁶ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 589.

⁴⁷ Nat. Soc. files, Salperton; cf. below, educ.

⁴⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 169.

⁴⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (1), 185-7; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 60-1, according to which the priory had 100 a. (later 200 a.) in the par.

⁵⁰ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 440, 444.

⁵¹ Sanders, *Eng. Baronies*, 39-40; *Cal. Pat.* 1374-7, 270-1.

⁵² P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 217.

⁵³ *Pipe R.* 1195 (P.R.S. N.S. vi), 178.

⁵⁴ *Cur. Reg. R.* xi. 191-2.

⁵⁵ Ibid. xii. 85.

⁵⁶ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 440.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/14, no. 258.

resented by $\frac{3}{4}$ knight's fee held from George de Cauntelo,⁵⁸ acknowledged an estate of 2 ploughlands, 64 a., and 40s. rent in Salperton to be the right of Felice, wife of Robert son of Nicholas, and in return were granted it by the service of 12 marks a year and scutage.⁵⁹ Margery conveyed the manor of Salperton to her sons Thomas and Robert and in 1284 Thomas held half a knight's fee from his brother William.⁶⁰ Walter of Cheltenham, described as lord of Salperton in the late 13th century, held land by grant from Thomas and Robert Comyn⁶¹ and in the early 14th century he and Thomas Comyn granted lands making up the manor to Cirencester abbey,⁶² from whom Thomas held the half knight's fee in 1303. Although another Thomas Comyn was said to hold the estate in 1346,⁶³ the abbey held the half knight's fee in 1402⁶⁴ and retained the manor until the Dissolution.⁶⁵ In the early 16th century part of the manor formed an estate of 200 a. held by the Cassey family, owners of Cassey Compton.⁶⁶

In 1551 the Crown granted Salperton manor to the college of St. Mary at Winchester (Hants)⁶⁷ and the college, commonly known as Winchester college,⁶⁸ retained it until the mid 19th century.⁶⁹ By the mid 17th century the manor was farmed under leases granted by the college for terms of 20 years and renewed every few years. At his death in 1637 the lessee Richard Browne of Bishop's Norton left the manor to his second son John, a minor,⁷⁰ who held it in 1659.⁷¹ It was later acquired by the Roberts family of Cheltenham⁷² and in 1694 it belonged to George Roberts.⁷³ On George's death in 1711⁷⁴ the manor passed to his daughter Mary (d. 1717) and her husband Richard Cossley, a Gloucester goldsmith. In 1727 Richard's mortgagees sold the manor to his son William but Richard (d. 1742)⁷⁵ continued to hold the manor court in 1733.⁷⁶ In 1747 William, who had purchased Salperton rectory,⁷⁷ sold his estate to Thomas Fane of Bristol and in 1752 Fane, who later became earl of Westmorland,

sold it to Thomas Browne,⁷⁸ a grandson of the John Browne mentioned above.⁷⁹

Thomas bought most of the remaining freehold land in the parish⁸⁰ and in 1770 he settled his Salperton estate on the marriage of his son John and Mary Beale.⁸¹ They both died in 1782 and the estate passed to their infant son John,⁸² who in 1798 bought an adjoining estate at Hampen.⁸³ John (d. 1850) was succeeded by his son Thomas Beale Browne, who in 1866 purchased the freehold of the manor from Winchester college. T. B. Browne (d. 1888)⁸⁴ fell into debt and the estate, which became the subject of litigation, was conveyed in 1886 to trustees and was sold in 1891 to Richard Allen and Richard Stratton.⁸⁵ They sold it in 1900 to G. L. F. Harter⁸⁶ (d. 1920), whose son and heir F. J. C. H. Harter took possession in 1932.⁸⁷ On his death in 1938 the estate reverted to his mother Frances⁸⁸ and in 1951 she sold the bulk of it in two parts to Edward Hulton, a magazine publisher. Hulton, who was knighted in 1957,⁸⁹ added several cottages by piecemeal purchases⁹⁰ and in 1981 he sold the estate to Victor Watkins.⁹¹ Members of the Houghton family bought the estate from Watkins in the mid 1990s, when it included the entire village and nearly the whole of the ancient parish of Salperton.⁹²

In the late 13th century Walter of Cheltenham held a moiety of the manor house (*curia*) by grant from Robert Comyn.⁹³ The house was presumably near the church, perhaps on the site of the manor farmhouse, the freehold of which passed to John Browne under the inclosure award of 1780.⁹⁴ The farmhouse, which stood north-west of Browne's mansion (later called Salperton Park), and its outbuildings⁹⁵ were demolished, probably soon afterwards, for an enlargement of the mansion's grounds.⁹⁶

A priest recorded at Salperton in 1086 evidently had land there.⁹⁷ Following the appropriation of Salperton church at the time of Peter Corbezon's grant of the church and land in the mid 12th century,⁹⁸ Studley priory owned two

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1374-7, 270-1.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., CP 25/1/74/20, no. 419.

⁶⁰ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 969-70; *Feud. Aids*, ii, 238.

⁶¹ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 960, 962, 964-70, 972-4.

⁶² *Ibid.* pp. 961-3, 967-9; *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 46, 218.

⁶³ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 246, 278.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 217.

⁶⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 465.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., C 142/24, no. 50; for the Cassey Compton est., below, Withington, manors.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1550-3, 160.

⁶⁸ *V.C.H. Hants*, v, 14.

⁶⁹ Below, this section.

⁷⁰ G.D.R. wills 1637/47; Bigland, *Glos.* ii, 289.

⁷¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 21.

⁷² Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 224.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* P 78/1/IN 1/4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* D 269c/T 8; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii, 151.

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/M 2.

⁷⁷ Below, this section.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 8; *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 576.

⁷⁹ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i, 184.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 11-13.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* D 1388, Beale Browne fam., draft abs. of title 1840; Salperton papers 1752-1862 (rental 1769).

⁸² *Ibid.* D 269c/F 3.

⁸³ Below, Shipton, manors.

⁸⁴ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i, 184; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton est. papers 1866-99 (copy deed 24 July 1866).

⁸⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., bankruptcy papers 1886; Salperton est. papers 1891-1907.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* D 4858/2/4/1948/2.

⁸⁷ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), i, 1065; Nat. Soc. files, Salperton.

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 5102/15; D 4858/2/4/1948/2.

⁸⁹ E. E. Reynolds, *Notes on Hist. of Salperton* (1956), 22-3; *Who's Who* (1977), 1197-8.

⁹⁰ Inf. from Mr. E. Hulton, of Turkdean.

⁹¹ *Farmers Weekly*, 2 Oct. 1981; *The Independent*, 24 May 1994.

⁹² *Glos. Colln.* RR 258.1-2; inf. from Mr. J. Houghton, of Salperton Park.

⁹³ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 965-6.

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., surv. of Salperton par. 1780; P.R.O., CP 43/790, Carte rot. 89d.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 1-3; for Salperton Park, below, this section.

⁹⁶ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVIII. SW. (1883 edn.).

⁹⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 169.

⁹⁸ Above, this section.

yardlands and the tithes of the parish⁹⁹ and retained the inappropriate rectory until the Dissolution.¹ The impropriation was valued at £.40 in 1603.² The Crown, which in 1537 leased the rectory to Thomas Chandler for 21 years,³ sold it in 1543 to Richard Andrews⁴ and he sold it immediately to Henry Heydon of Watford (Herts.).⁵ In 1548 Henry granted it for life to Thomas Chandler (d. 1550) with remainder to his son Thomas Heydon⁶ and, although in 1563 Richard Heydon was said to own the impropriation,⁷ Thomas Heydon was the owner in 1566.⁸ In 1569 Francis Heydon, another son of Henry, sold the rectory to William Fawkes⁹ (d. 1589). His son and heir William¹⁰ was granted seisin in 1598, some time after he came of age,¹¹ and in 1625 he sold a long lease to Robert Veysey (d. 1635) of Chimney, in Bampton (Oxon.), and the reversion to Robert's trustees. In 1630 the rectory was settled on Robert with reversion to his nephew Robert Veysey (d. 1666) of Oxford and in 1695 the younger Robert's son and heir Sunnybank Veysey sold it to John Burford. After John's death in 1702 it was assigned to his sister Catherine and her husband John Bee¹² (d. 1728 and 1731 respectively).¹³ They were succeeded by their son John (fl. 1736) and in 1743 his son and heir John Bee of Andover (Hants) sold the estate to William Cossley,¹⁴ the lessee of Salperton manor.¹⁵ The rectory, which included the house later called Salperton Park,¹⁶ then descended with the manor.¹⁷ Under the inclosure award of 1780 the tithes were commuted for 212 a. and 13s. 11d. in rent charges and a further 86 a. was allotted to John Browne for the rectorial glebe.¹⁸

Salperton Park is a small country house of several periods. The west end of the east range, facing the church, incorporates a three-room 17th-century farmhouse with five gables and chamfered beams, one of which bears the date 1616 with the initials of William Fawkes. A date of 1616 is also carved on a jamb in the room above. A description of the house as a new built mansion in 1769¹⁹ undoubtedly refers to its enlargement in Palladian style by Thomas Browne. The main, west block was five bays wide by one deep and two and a half storeys high. Its west front had a three-bayed central

pediment, alternating pediments above the first-floor windows, and a rusticated ground floor.²⁰ There was a service wing in the north-east angle of the building and stabling in an extension of the east range.²¹ In 1826 the west front had been altered by the addition of a pedimented porch and a two-storeyed north wing,²² both evidently the work of Richard Pace (d. 1838) of Lechlade for they are the only features drawn accurately on the elevation of Salperton Park, dated 1817, illustrated on his firm's trade card. The matching south wing, also shown on the trade card,²³ was built later, perhaps after Pace's death;²⁴ both wings had trellised parapets c. 1880.²⁵ Other work perhaps associated with Pace was a partial refacing of the east range's south front.²⁶ One or two early 19th-century fireplaces were re-used when the house was remodelled and enlarged in 1900 and 1901 by F. W. Waller for G. L. F. Harter. The entrance hall and flanking rooms in the centre of the 18th-century house were thrown into one drawing room with a large bay in place of the porch, the entrance was transferred to a new north block, incorporating a billiard room, and a large top-lit staircase hall was inserted to link north, west, and east ranges, in place of the pantry and service rooms. The additions, both internally and externally, were in free Jacobean and 18th-century styles. At the same time the stables in the east range were converted as servants' quarters, extensions to the stables and a coach house to the south were demolished, and a new stable block incorporating a cottage on one side of its yard was built north of the house.²⁷ In the 1950s Edward Hulton, who lived in the village, converted the house as flats with part of the ground floor as a social club and the servants' accommodation at the east end as three cottages.²⁸ In the 1980s the main part of the building was restored as a house but the east end remained cottages and in 1996 there were also two cottages in the stable block to the north.

In 1185 the Knights Templar had 1½ yardland in Salperton by the gift of Peter of Studley. They annexed the land to the manor of Guiting²⁹ and it passed with that manor to Corpus Christi college, Oxford, in 1517.³⁰ From 1752 the land was farmed under leases by the Browne family

⁹⁹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 237; *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 412.

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 439; iii. 86.

² *Eccl. Misc.* 75, which incorrectly gives the Crown as the owner.

³ Hockaday Abs. cccxxix.

⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), p. 529.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 530; P.R.O., CP 40/1120, Carte rot. 2.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 266; Hockaday Abs. cccxxix.

⁷ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 17.

⁸ Hockaday Abs. xliii, 1566 visit. f. 20.

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 9.

¹⁰ P.R.O., C 142/278, no. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.* C 60/426, no. 10.

¹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 9; *V.C.H. Oxon.* 82, 102.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 280/IN 1/1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* D 269c/T 9; Hockaday Abs. cccxxix, 1736.

¹⁵ Above, this section.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* D 1388, Beale Browne fam., surv. of Salperton par. 1780; Salperton est. papers 1866–99.

¹⁸ P.R.O., CP 43/790, Carte rott. 82d.–83, 86d.–87.

¹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752–1862 (rental 1769).

²⁰ *Ibid.* GPS 280/4, reproduced above, Plate 3.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 3.

²² *Griffith's New Hist. Description of Chelt. and Vicinity* (1826), plates at pp. 100–1.

²³ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 116; for the trade card, *ibid.* plate facing p. 93.

²⁴ Cf. *Glos. Colln.* 32481(47)A.

²⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, GPS 280/1–2.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 3; *Glos. Colln.* 32481(47)A.

²⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/643.

²⁸ Reynolds, *Salperton*, 23.

²⁹ *Rec. of Templars in Eng. in Twelfth Cent.* ed. B. A. Lees (Brit. Acad. Rec. Social and Econ. Hist. ix), 49; cf. *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, pp. 253–4.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 321; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* x, p. 173; Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, F 1, cap. 2, no. 5; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 244.

as part of its estate.³¹ The college was allotted 31 a. in the north of the parish by the inclosure award of 1780³² and it retained that land until 1943.³³

ECONOMIC HISTORY. Of ten ploughteams recorded on the Salperton estate in 1086 three belonged, with 11 *servi*, to the demesne and the others to 10 *villani* and a priest.³⁴ The area under arable cultivation had contracted by 1220 when only four ploughteams were recorded in Salperton.³⁵ The manorial demesne was farmed in the late Middle Ages³⁶ and under a lease of 1538 the rent was increased to produce about a fifth of the total profits of the manor.³⁷ The demesne remained in the hands of a farmer in the early 17th century,³⁸ and in 1735 it was represented by 346 a. held by the lessee of the manor under Winchester college.³⁹

There is no evidence of tenants on the rectory estate, which was farmed in 1535⁴⁰ and 1569.⁴¹ In 1185 two tenants paid the Templars 7s. for their land in Salperton⁴² and in 1535 Corpus Christi college received 5s. 4d. in rent for the same land;⁴³ the college took the same rent from a copyhold tenant in the early 17th century.⁴⁴ Cirencester abbey received £3 12s. 3d. in assized rents from free and customary tenants on its manor in 1535.⁴⁵ A few years later the assized rents on the manor yielded £3 10s. 1d., with three free tenants contributing 8s. 1d. and seven copyholders the rest. Most of the copyhold tenements were held for three lives and in the 1550s six of them comprised 16 arable yardlands between them, one having 4 yardlands, three 3 yardlands each, one 2 yardlands, and one 1 yardland. Of the freeholders one had 3½ yardlands and the others 1 yardland each.⁴⁶ A yardland was later reckoned to comprise only c. 20 a.⁴⁷ Copyholders' heriots were paid in kind (oxen) in 1570⁴⁸ and in cash in the 1720s.⁴⁹ In 1608 the copyhold land belonging to the manor covered 22½ yardlands and remained divided between seven estates, two of which were in the same ownership. Those estates were virtually intact in 1692⁵⁰ and apparently in 1740, when they

comprised 476 a. At the latter date seven freehold estates, covering 214 a. and including those of the lay rector and of Corpus Christi college, were also held from the manor.⁵¹ Shortly after he became the principal landholder in Salperton in 1752⁵² Thomas Browne bought most of the freehold and copyhold estates⁵³ and by 1769 his estate, which comprised virtually the whole parish, included two farms of 671 a. and 568 a. respectively.⁵⁴ Copyhold tenure was extinguished in Salperton in 1866 when Winchester college sold the manor to Thomas Beale Browne.⁵⁵

The area of arable land may have been reduced before 1220⁵⁶ to create new sheep walks on the downs surrounding the village. Shepherds were recorded in Salperton from 1327.⁵⁷ Cirencester abbey may have retained a flock and a sheephouse there when it first leased the demesne to a farmer, but in 1535 another tenant had the sheephouse and a right to pasture 300 sheep on the stubble fields and downs of the parish, and contributed just over half of the abbey's profits from Salperton. Under a lease of 1538 the farmer of the demesne was entitled to keep 20 wethers with the flock⁵⁸ and in the 1560s the tenant of the rectory estate, which had common rights for 200 ewes and a bell wether, was regularly presented in the manor court for exceeding that number.⁵⁹

In the later 16th century the right to run 300 sheep continued to be held separately from the demesne⁶⁰ but by the late 17th century it belonged to the lessee of the manor under Winchester college.⁶¹ In the mid 12th century Salperton had an east and a west field⁶² and in the mid 13th century, when north and south open fields were also recorded, the west field touched the salt way on the boundary of the parish.⁶³ The arable was again cultivated on a two-field system in the early 17th century with an east or lower field and a west or upper field covering between them much of the parish. Although most land was in strips of ½ a. or ¼ a., in some places there were blocks comprising 3 a. or 4 a.⁶⁴ Areas of waste land in the open fields of the mid 16th century were used as leys and, despite a request in 1562 that they be divided

³¹ Glos. R.O., D 269c/T 10; D 1388, Beale Browne fam., surv. of Salperton par. 1780.

³² P.R.O., CP 43/790, Carte rot. 86d.

³³ Reynolds, *Salperton*, 18–19.

³⁴ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 169.

³⁵ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 309.

³⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 465.

³⁷ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17671, p. 8; 17684; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rott. 48–9.

³⁸ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17677, 17682.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 1–2.

⁴⁰ *Valor Eccl.* iii. 86.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., D 269c/T 9.

⁴² *Rec. of Templars in Eng. in Twelfth Cent.* ed. B. A. Lees (Brit. Acad. Rec. Social and Econ. Hist. ix), 49.

⁴³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 244.

⁴⁴ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 7/12; Fc 8/3, f. 63.

⁴⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 465.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rot. 48 and d.; Winchester Coll. Mun. 17671, pp. 3–5, 7–8; 17679.

⁴⁷ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, ff. 63–67v.; Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752–1862 (draft presentments 1775).

⁴⁸ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17662.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., D 269c/M 2.

⁵⁰ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17663.

⁵¹ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, ff. 63–67v.; Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 2.

⁵² Glos. R.O., D 269c/T 8–9; above, manor.

⁵³ Glos. R.O., D 269c/T 11–13, M 4–5.

⁵⁴ Ibid. D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752–1862.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Salperton est. papers 1866–99 (copy deed 24 July 1866).

⁵⁶ Above, this section.

⁵⁷ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12; Smith, *Men and Armour*, 271.

⁵⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 465; Winchester Coll. Mun. 17671, pp. 9–10.

⁵⁹ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17660, 17662, 17672.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 17675, 17677.

⁶¹ Glos. R.O., D 269c/T 8, T 26.

⁶² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327–41, 60–1.

⁶³ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 973–6.

⁶⁴ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, ff. 63–67v.; cf. Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 2.

up and allotted to the copyholders, were used as common pasture before the corn had been harvested.⁶⁵ Five acres of meadow were recorded in Salperton in 1086⁶⁶ and the Nattocks, a meadow in the valley on the east side of the parish, was mentioned in the late 13th century.⁶⁷ Later Cirencester abbey granted the first hay crop from the Nattocks as feed for the flock of 300 sheep mentioned above and by 1535, to compensate for a shortage of meadow land in Salperton, it assigned 16 loads of hay from a meadow in Latton (Wilts.) as winter feed for those sheep.⁶⁸ The latter entitlement was commuted for a cash rent in 1857⁶⁹ and was relinquished in 1866.⁷⁰ In the late 16th century Salperton's meadows included the Lamp Acre, in the south of the parish by the Notgrove–Cheltenham road, and, to its west, a lot meadow which extended across the road to the parish's southern boundary.⁷¹ Corpus Christi college's tenant shared the fourth cock of the lot meadow with one of Winchester college's tenants.⁷²

Among closes in Salperton in the later 1530s one called Nutcroft, used as a winter fold for the flock of 300 sheep mentioned above,⁷³ was next to the church. Most early closes were in the south of the parish and were created, some at least by the late 16th century, to allow for the separate cultivation of the manorial demesne.⁷⁴ The lot meadow, or perhaps what remained of it after part had been inclosed for the demesne, was inclosed and divided between the freeholders and copyholders before 1740. At that time the open fields covered large areas on opposite sides of the village, the lower field to the east descending to the floor of the central valley and the upper field to the west extending to Pen hill at the south-western corner of the parish, and they were divided into narrow strips save in the few places where the lay rector and some other landholders had consolidated parts of their holdings. Scattered in the village and the fields were many small commons and roadside wastes, most on the east side of the parish and some on steep hillsides. The larger commons, lying beyond the fields, included Upper Downs (106 a.), a cow common, in the north, Old Down (40 a.), a horse common, in the west, Upper and Lower Mickle hill (29 a.) forming the north side of the central valley in the east, and the Furze hills (59a.) overlooking the valleys in the south-east.⁷⁵ In 1712 twelve landholders, including the lessee of the manor and the lay rector, reached

an agreement for growing corn on Old Down, Mickle hill, and four smaller commons (one of which was called St. John's green) for four or five years. By the agreement, which permitted the lessee of the manor to cultivate certain other common land for the same period and he and the other landholders to inclose some land adjoining Nutcroft for good, the landholders were to withhold 5 sheep from the commons for every acre of common land they ploughed. At that time each yardland had pasture rights for 20 sheep.⁷⁶ Later the stint was 25 sheep, 1½ cow, and 1 horse for every yardland.⁷⁷ In the mid 18th century the commons were managed by two or three shepherds or herdsmen.⁷⁸ Pasture rights in the open fields and commons belonged to the freeholders and the copyholders save in the Furze hills. There they were reserved for sheep of the lessee of the manor and of the freeholders, and the manor and the rectory estate had the right to pasture 10 and 3 cows respectively on one hill in one year and on the other hill in the next.⁷⁹

Inclosure of the open fields and commons took place in or soon after 1776⁸⁰ and was ratified by commissioners appointed under an Act of 1780. The commissioners' award dealt with 1,382 a. and recorded a few exchanges involving some farmhouses and cottages as well as land. It allotted 368 a. to Winchester college and 31 a. to Corpus Christi college but the principal beneficiary was John Browne, the lessee under both colleges and the holder of nearly all the freehold and copyhold land in the parish; as a result of the award his estate comprised 1,344 a. Two other freeholders received allotments of 6 a. and 1 a. and five more owned only their cottages and gardens.⁸¹ Immediately after inclosure most of the downland was put down to tillage⁸² and in the early 19th century over half of the families in the parish were entirely dependent on agricultural work.⁸³ In 1851 the largest farm in the parish employed 33 labourers.⁸⁴ An area between the village street and the Stow-on-the-Wold road was laid out as allotment gardens in the late 19th century.⁸⁵

For much of the 19th century, and presumably from soon after inclosure, there were three main farms on the Salperton estate. The home farm had 540 a. in 1782⁸⁶ and 401 a. in 1850. The other farms in 1850 comprised 746 a. worked from a house in the village and 174 a. centred on a farmhouse at Farhill.⁸⁷ The following year T. B. Browne leased the home farm to

⁶⁵ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17662, 17672.

⁶⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 169.

⁶⁷ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 962–3; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 2.

⁶⁸ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17671, pp. 9–10; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 465.

⁶⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton draft leases 1831–76; rentals 1850–85.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* copy deed 29 Aug. 1866.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* D 269c/T 20; cf. *ibid.* P 1–2.

⁷² Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, f. 67v.

⁷³ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17671, pp. 9–12.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 1; cf. *ibid.* T 20.

⁷⁵ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 14/12; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/P 1–2; for the fields and commons, above, Fig. 12.

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/E 1.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752–1862 (draft presentments 1775).

⁷⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 638.

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752–1862 (draft presentments).

⁸⁰ Winchester Coll. Mun. 17663; Rudder, *Glos.* 637–8.

⁸¹ P.R.O., CP 43/790, Carte rott. 82–91; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., surv. of Salperton par. 1780; for the Act, *Glos. R.O.*, AP 32.

⁸² Rudder, *Glos.* 637–8.

⁸³ *Census*, 1811; 1831.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁸⁵ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1883, 1903 edns.).

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton and Hampen papers 1782–1866.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Salperton est. papers 1840–50.

a tenant and took Farhill farm in hand, leasing it out again in 1862. The home farm was taken back in hand in 1856 but it was let out again from 1883,⁸⁸ and in 1890 Cotswold Lodge farm (352 a.), Village farm (650 a.), and Farhill farm (110 a.) were all occupied by tenants.⁸⁹ The three farms remained roughly the same size in the early 20th century. According to a return of 1926 the estate also included four smaller agricultural tenancies, of which only one had over 50 a., and the only freehold farm in the parish comprised only a few acres.⁹⁰ The estate retained its three principal farms until after the Second World War,⁹¹ but in the late 20th century it was managed as a single farm, which in 1994 provided work for eight full-time employees.⁹²

In 1797 the farmland on that part of the Salperton estate held under Winchester college included 722 a. arable, 151 a. pasture, and 3 a. meadow.⁹³ Although only 523 a., mostly growing wheat, barley, oats, and turnips, was reported to be under arable cultivation in 1801,⁹⁴ farming in the parish remained predominantly arable until the later 19th century. In 1866 only 143 a. of permanent grass was returned compared with 1,191 a. cropped with corn, roots, and grass seeds.⁹⁵ In the 1850s and 1860s T. B. Browne bred and ran large flocks of sheep on his Salperton and Hampen estates and planted a large area of swedes and turnips as winter feed.⁹⁶ The number of sheep in Salperton in 1866 was estimated at 779, compared with 99 cattle, including 9 milk cows, and 65 pigs.⁹⁷ In 1851 Browne, who had established a flax mill at Hampen,⁹⁸ planted a small area of flax in Salperton.⁹⁹ In the later 19th century, when fewer sheep and more cattle were reared in Salperton, a large area was laid down as permanent grassland. A return of 1896 listed 362 sheep and 177 beef and dairy cattle and 822 a. of permanent grass and 503 a. of rotated crops.¹ By 1905 the area of permanent grass had been reduced² and in 1926 the recorded area was 685 a., which was mostly pasture, 37 a. was rough grazing, 505 a. was under crops, and 45 a. lay fallow; 243 ewes and 115 cattle were returned in the parish and pigs and poultry were also raised commercially.³ In the 1990s the Salperton estate was run principally as an arable and dairy farm

and as a game shoot but it also supported a large flock of breeding ewes.⁴

Although there is little documentary evidence for non-agricultural occupations in Salperton before the mid 19th century, the villagers, a small, relatively isolated community, included a number of craftsmen and tradesmen in earlier times. A carpenter and a mason were recorded in 1608⁵ and a cordwainer in 1739.⁶ No record of a mill in Salperton has been found; the road leading north from the village towards Guiting Power and Stow-on-the-Wold was known as mill way in the early 17th century.⁷ There was a malthouse in 1756⁸ and a brewery and shop in 1769.⁹ The presence in 1791 of at least two butchers¹⁰ indicates the continuing importance of animal husbandry after the inclosure of the 1770s. In 1811 eleven families were engaged in trade, manufacture, or handicraft.¹¹ Among the residents in 1851 were four stonemasons, two blacksmiths, a baker and maltster, two waggoners, and an engine driver presumably operating agricultural machinery. There were also two grocers, one of them trading also as a mercer and the other as a butcher.¹² The village retained a smithy until the 1930s and a bakery in 1939. It usually had at least one shop in the late 19th century and the early 20th and there was a post office in 1910. One shopkeeper ran a weekly carrying service to Cheltenham until the early 1930s.¹³ A post office open in the 1950s also served as a general store in the late 1960s.¹⁴ It closed and in 1996 the village was without shops.

At least one slater lived in Salperton in 1381¹⁵ and stone slates were purchased there *c.* 1420 for a farm building on Winchcombe abbey's Yanworth estate.¹⁶ In the early 17th century part of Salperton's east field was known as free quarry furlong.¹⁷ In the later 19th century, when there were a few small quarries in Salperton,¹⁸ field names showed that one or more limekilns had once operated in the parish.¹⁹ Quarrying continued intermittently in Salperton until after the Second World War with stone from a quarry opened in the north in 1946 being used for roofing slates.²⁰

One of several ventures by T. B. Browne providing work for local people was a brickworks at the north end of the village;²¹ it presumably

⁸⁸ Ibid. rentals 1850–85.

⁸⁹ Ibid. D 269c/E 3.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁹¹ Glos. R.O., PA 280/2.

⁹² Glos. Colln. RR 258.1; inf. from Mr. J. Houghton, of Salperton Park.

⁹³ Glos. R.O., D 1041, surv. of Salperton manor.

⁹⁴ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 170.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 269c/C 3, F 15.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/25/23.

⁹⁸ Below, Sevenhampton, econ. hist.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., rentals 1850–85.

¹ P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2.

² Acreage Returns, 1905.

³ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴ Glos. Colln. RR 258.1; inf. from Mr. Houghton.

⁵ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 271.

⁶ Glos. R.O., D 269c/T 22.

⁷ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, ff. 64v.–65v.; cf. Glos. R.O., D 269c/P 2.

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 269c/M 5, m. 2.

⁹ Ibid. D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton papers 1752–1862.

¹⁰ Ibid. D 269c/T 14–15.

¹¹ *Census*, 1831.

¹² P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

¹³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

¹⁴ Inf. from Mr. E. Hulton, of Turkdean.

¹⁵ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 678/rolls/101, rot. 15.

¹⁷ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fc 8/3, f. 63v.

¹⁸ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVIII. SW. (1883 edn.).

¹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., partic. of Village farm 1885.

²⁰ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/4, p. 353; W. J. Arkell, *Oxford Stone* (1947), 146.

²¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 350; Glos. R.O., Q/RUm 293.

employed all 5 brickmakers lodging in the parish in 1851²² and continued in production in 1872.²³ Browne also started a sugar beet factory and an apiary, both short lived.²⁴ In 1851 two game-keepers lived in Salperton.²⁵ Game shooting was on a modest scale in the mid 20th century, when the Salperton estate usually employed a game-keeper,²⁶ and was developed commercially from the 1980s with new woodland being created to benefit the shoot.²⁷ In the mid 1990s, when few villagers were employed by the estate, some residents ran businesses from their homes and others worked in nearby towns.²⁸

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1286 the Templars claimed view of frankpledge, at Temple Guiting, for their tenants in Salperton²⁹ but in the later Middle Ages the view for Salperton, presumably the whole parish, was held in the hundred court.³⁰ The manor court was mentioned in 1535³¹ and its earliest surviving records include a court roll from the years 1552–62 and papers for courts held in 1566 and 1570. In those years the court convened apparently as need arose and primarily to deal with tenurial matters and to regulate activity in the open fields, notably the exercise of common rights. On two occasions it elected two haywards or overseers of the fields.³² Court rolls also survive from the years 1722–33, 1752–6, and 1775–7, when the court was held by the lessees of the manor or their trustees and dealt with the surrender and admission of the customary tenants. Once most of the holdings of the manor had passed into the hands of the lessee, by the 1770s, the work of the court was much reduced but it continued to meet until 1828 or later.³³

Salperton had two churchwardens in 1498³⁴ and 1563,³⁵ but by the later 17th century there was usually only one churchwarden.³⁶ The amount spent by the parish on poor relief was small, rising from £10 in 1776 to £84 in 1803, when 18 people were helped, 14 of them on a regular basis.³⁷ The number on permanent relief had more than halved by 1813 and the annual cost that year was £55.³⁸ The annual cost was

well under £80 in the late 1820s, falling to £45 in 1828, but on the eve of the reform of the poor law in 1834 it rose to £138.³⁹ Salperton was included in Northleach poor-law union in 1836⁴⁰ and in Northleach rural district in 1895.⁴¹ From 1974 it was, as part of Hazleton civil parish, in Cotswold district.

CHURCH. There was a priest at Salperton in 1086⁴² and the church there was granted to Studley priory (Warws.) in the mid 12th century.⁴³ The priory appropriated the living and in the later Middle Ages, no vicarage having been assigned,⁴⁴ the church was served by chaplains or curates⁴⁵ appointed presumably by the priory. After the Dissolution the right to nominate curates passed with the inappropriate rectory to lay ownership.⁴⁶ Following endowments in the early 18th century the benefice became a perpetual curacy⁴⁷ (later a vicarage).⁴⁸ The patronage, which descended with the rectory and belonged to the Browne family from 1752,⁴⁹ was conveyed by Richard Allen and Richard Stratton to the bishop in 1892.⁵⁰

In 1937 Salperton benefice was united with Hawling.⁵¹ In 1953 that union was dissolved and Salperton was united with Hazleton and Compton Abdale.⁵² At another reorganization of benefices in 1962 Salperton, Hazleton, and Shipton Oliffe with Shipton Solers were united⁵³ and from 1975 Salperton ecclesiastical parish was merged with that of the Shiptons as part of a new united benefice including Dowdeswell.⁵⁴ In the mid 1990s Salperton was served by a priest-in-charge living in Shipton Oliffe village.⁵⁵

In 1540 the curate serving Salperton church received a stipend from the lessee of the rectory estate.⁵⁶ The stipend, which was later paid by the owner of the estate, was £7 in 1603⁵⁷ and had been raised to £8 by 1650;⁵⁸ it remained a charge on the Salperton estate in the late 19th century.⁵⁹ Joshua Aylworth by deed of 1715 gave £200 in trust to augment the curate's income. The gift, together with Aylworth's gifts for three other Cotswold benefices, was used to buy land in Arle, near Cheltenham,⁶⁰ and provided an

²² P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

²³ Glos. R.O., Q/RUM 390.

²⁴ *Chelt. Examiner*, 18 Feb. 1891; for Browne's flax mill at Hampen, below, Sevenhampton, econ. hist.

²⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

²⁶ Inf. from Mr. Hulton.

²⁷ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach, and from Mr. Houghton; Glos. Colln. RR 258.1.

²⁸ Inf. from Mr. Houghton.

²⁹ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 245.

³⁰ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 620.

³¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 465.

³² Winchester Coll. Mun. 17660, 17662, 17672.

³³ Glos. R.O., D 269c/M 2–6, T 21.

³⁴ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 42.

³⁵ Ibid. cccxxix.

³⁶ Ibid. lxxviii, 1661 visit. f. 29; G.D.R., V 5/258t 1–3.

³⁷ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

³⁸ Ibid. 1818, 146–7.

³⁹ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁴⁰ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., DA 31/300/2.

⁴² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 169.

⁴³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327–41, 60–1.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Polton, f. 128v.

⁴⁵ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 42; xxvi, 1534 subsidy, f. 7.

⁴⁶ Above, manor; *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

⁴⁷ Hockaday Abs. cccxxix; G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 171.

⁴⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 628.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 3, f. 211; Hockaday Abs. cccxxix; above, manor.

⁵⁰ G.D.R. vol. 402, f. 122v.

⁵¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 230, 303.

⁵² *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 233.

⁵³ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1970), 56–7.

⁵⁴ G.D.R., V 7/1/69.

⁵⁵ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994–5), 21, 105.

⁵⁶ Hockaday Abs. xxviii, 1540 stipendiaries, f. 3; cccxxix, 1537.

⁵⁷ *Eccl. Misc.* 75.

⁵⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92; G.D.R., V 5/258t 1–2.

⁵⁹ Glos. R.O., D 269c/E 3.

⁶⁰ B.L. Lansd. MS. 988, ff. 281v.–282.

additional income of c. £5 in 1735⁶¹ and £12 15s. in 1807.⁶² Queen Anne's Bounty made grants to augment the curacy in 1737 and 1752 and added £200 to a similar gift by John Browne in 1779.⁶³ Further augmentations were secured in 1817 and 1826,⁶⁴ and 18 a. in Bourton-on-the-Water was bought for the benefice in 1818⁶⁵ and 16 a. in Westcote before 1828.⁶⁶ The benefice's value in 1856 was £95.⁶⁷

A chaplain residing in Salperton in 1221 was arrested for homicide.⁶⁸ In 1551 Salperton's curate could not recite the Ten Commandments.⁶⁹ Several curates in the later 16th century had a second cure elsewhere⁷⁰ and in 1572 it was reported that no sermons had been preached at Salperton for two years and that cattle were allowed to graze in the churchyard.⁷¹ Preaching was also neglected in 1576,⁷² and in 1593 the then curate was described as a sufficient scholar but no preacher.⁷³ In 1576 the curate was said to have played bowls in the churchyard on a Sunday.⁷⁴ After the Restoration, there being no house attached to the curacy,⁷⁵ the church was usually served by clergy from nearby parishes and for much of the 18th and 19th centuries the Sunday service was held alternately in the morning and afternoon.⁷⁶ Edward Iles, curate in 1680, was vicar of Cold Aston⁷⁷ and the next two curates, in the 1720s and the early 1730s, were successive vicars of Turkdean.⁷⁸ Between 1768 and 1808 Salperton was served with Sevenhampton by John Lawrence (also rector of Hawling from 1772).⁷⁹ R. J. Dawes, perpetual curate of Salperton 1837–40, was perhaps the only incumbent to live in the parish. His successor W. P. Mellersh,⁸⁰ who was also perpetual curate of Compton Abdale,⁸¹ lived at Shipton while he was curate there.⁸² He had taken up residence in Cheltenham by 1870,⁸³ and his successors at Salperton also lived in the town until after the First World War. E. A. T. Lowndes, vicar 1922–37, was also vicar of Compton Abdale, where he resided.⁸⁴ In 1995 one Sunday service a month was held in the church.⁸⁵

In 1549 an acre of land in Salperton which had formerly supported a lamp in the parish church was granted by the Crown to William Sawle and William Bridges.⁸⁶

The church of *ALL SAINTS*, which bore that dedication by 1750⁸⁷ but was called St. Peter's in the late Middle Ages,⁸⁸ is a small building of limestone rubble and ashlar and comprises chancel, nave with north porch and south vestry, and west tower. The chancel and nave date from the early 12th century, as two north windows in the chancel, the chancel arch, and the arch of the nave's original north doorway show. The porch was added in the late 14th century or the early 15th, with an ogee niche (reset in the 19th century) in its east wall and a new doorway to the nave made within the earlier opening. The tower was also added about that time; it fell down c. 1700⁸⁹ and was rebuilt.⁹⁰ Some windows were replaced in the 16th century.

A west gallery had been erected by the late 18th century, when the fittings included new pews,⁹¹ and the church remained cluttered in the mid 19th century, when windows in the chancel were obscured by memorials to members of the Browne family. The gallery was removed and the memorials blocking windows were moved in 1885 when the church was restored to plans by J. C. P. Higgs of London.⁹² During the restoration, which was partly paid for by W. H. Gore-Langton, grandson of John Browne (d. 1782),⁹³ the church was reroofed and repewed, the north wall of the nave was rebuilt with the old masonry reassembled and a large plate-tracery window inserted, the porch was rebuilt, and the vestry was added.

The church has a 19th-century font and a wooden pulpit installed in 1968.⁹⁴ An early wall painting is visible north of the tower arch at the west end of the nave⁹⁵ and a medieval sculptured stone has been placed below the tower against the west wall. There are memorials to members of the Browne family, dating from the later 18th century and including early 20th-century glass, in both chancel and nave; among the wall monuments moved from the chancel to the nave in 1885 is that to John and Mary Browne (both d. 1782).⁹⁶ The churchyard monuments include two late 17th-century tombchests with arcaded decoration on their sides. The church's three bells⁹⁷ were recast in 1720 by Abraham Rudhall

⁶¹ G.D.R. vol. 285b(3), pp. 45–6.

⁶² Ibid. V 5/258t 2.

⁶³ Hodgson, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1826), 191, 324.

⁶⁴ Ibid. (1845), pp. cxiii, ccvi, cclxxvi.

⁶⁵ Glos. R.O., D 4084, Cold Salperton curacy deeds.

⁶⁶ G.D.R., V 5/258t 3.

⁶⁷ Ibid. vol. 384, f. 171.

⁶⁸ *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, p. 44.

⁶⁹ *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

⁷⁰ Hockaday Abs. xliii, 1566 visit. ff. 3, 20; G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 202v.; cf. below, Sevenhampton, church.

⁷¹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxix.

⁷² G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 202v.

⁷³ Hockaday Abs. lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 10.

⁷⁴ *Com. for Eccl. Causes, 1574* (B.G.A.S. Records Section, x, 1972), 119.

⁷⁵ G.D.R. vol. 285b(2), p. 13; P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/12/23.

⁷⁶ G.D.R. vols. 397, f. 74; 383, no. cclxx; P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/12/23.

⁷⁷ G.D.R., V 1/104; Hockaday Abs. cvi.

⁷⁸ G.D.R., V 1/104; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278.

⁷⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxix, cccxxxii, cccxxxix.

⁸⁰ Ibid. cccxxxix.

⁸¹ Ibid. clxviii.

⁸² Ibid. cccxxxvii; below, Shipton, churches.

⁸³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 498, 628.

⁸⁴ Ibid. (1885–1939 edns.); above, Compton Abdale, church.

⁸⁵ *The Times*, 30 Aug. 1995.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1549–51, 99.

⁸⁷ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 73; Rudder, *Glos.* 638.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 266.

⁸⁹ Atkins, *Glos.* 633–4.

⁹⁰ Rudder, *Glos.* 638.

⁹¹ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 224.

⁹² G.D.R., F 1/4; *Glos. N. & Q.* v. 190.

⁹³ Plaque in chancel; cf. Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i. 184.

⁹⁴ G.D.R., F 1/1/1968/79.

⁹⁵ W. Hobart Bird, *Mural Paintings in Glos. Churches*, 27.

⁹⁶ Cf. Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 224.

⁹⁷ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 253.

and, as a chime, in 1952 following a fire in the tower.⁹⁸ A clock dated 1959 on the tower's north face was not working in 1996. The plate includes a chalice of 1747 and an unmarked paten.⁹⁹ The parish registers survive from 1629, with a few entries for the years 1617 and 1618 and some gaps before 1666.¹

NONCONFORMITY. Four nonconformists were recorded in Salperton in 1676.² William Preston, a farmer, was the most prominent resident not attending the parish church in 1686,³ and he or his son, also William,⁴ later subscribed to the building of a Baptist chapel in Bourton-on-the-Water.⁵ At least one Salperton resident in 1735 was a Baptist.⁶

A brick building of the 1920s near Village Farm was used as a Roman Catholic chapel by the Harters and later by the Hultons. It was demolished in the 1960s.⁷

EDUCATION. Two small day schools were started in Salperton in 1821. They were presum-

ably a single enterprise and in 1833 they taught 13 boys and 13 girls at parental expense.⁸ In 1847 a dame school taught 12 children and a Sunday school supported by subscriptions taught 39.⁹ In the mid 1850s a day school, supported by T. B. Browne,¹⁰ was held in the stable of the former Bell alehouse.¹¹ The school had adopted the National plan by 1863¹² and it occupied a room above a laundry in 1881¹³ and a new building near the former Bell from 1888. Under the management of the owners of the Salperton estate and the vicar, it was known as Salperton C. of E. school in the mid 1890s when its income came mainly from voluntary contributions.¹⁴ The average attendance rose from 18 in 1885¹⁵ to 30 in 1904¹⁶ and was only slightly less in 1933¹⁷ when the estate's owner F. J. C. H. Harter, a Roman Catholic, gave notice of his intention to close the school.¹⁸ The school remained open, however, until 1946 when the ten children on the roll were transferred to Sevenhampton school.¹⁹

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. None known.

SEVENHAMPTON

SEVENHAMPTON is a rural parish high on the Cotswolds 9 km. east of Cheltenham. The ancient parish contained 3,377 a.²⁰ (1,367 ha.) mostly in a long and relatively thin band of land extending eastwards from the edge of the Cotswold escarpment to Hampen, in the south-east. On the west the parish boundary on the scarp above Prestbury and Charlton Kings was in 1732 a way to Winchcombe²¹ and on the east, where Sevenhampton had a peninsulated part extending northwards, the boundary followed ancient routes including, in the northern part, a salt way recorded in the 10th century.²² The river Coln, rising at springs in Sevenhampton and Charlton Abbots, to the north,²³ bisects the parish from north to south, and streams flowing from some of its sources marked short sections of Sevenhampton's long northern boundary.

The other boundaries were field boundaries. In 1935 the northern tongue of land was included in the new civil parish of Sudeley, leaving Sevenhampton with 2,843 a.²⁴ (1,151 ha.), and in 1987 land at Hampen was transferred from Shipton to Sevenhampton, making part of the boundary between the two parishes a disused railway line²⁵ and increasing Sevenhampton's area to 1,162 ha.²⁶ This account deals with Sevenhampton as it was constituted before 1935.

The river Coln, which in 1531 was called Senhampton brook,²⁷ has cut a narrow valley through the centre of the parish at c. 180 m. Short valleys run at right-angles into the central valley and at the western end of the parish the upper part of a tributary stream runs southwards in a deep valley at Puckham. The south-eastern part of the parish includes the upper part of a

⁹⁸ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 535; cf. D. Verey, *Glos.*: i, *The Cotswolds* (The Buildings of Eng., ed. N. Pevsner, 1970), 385 n.

⁹⁹ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 179.

¹ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 233; *Glos. R.O.*, P 280/IN 1/1-3.

² *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 540.

³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1686-7, p. 323.

⁴ *G.D.R. wills* 1701/178.

⁵ T. Wray and D. Stratford, *Bourton on the Water* (Stroud, 1994), 29.

⁶ *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(1), f. 21.

⁷ Inf. from Mr. E. Hulton, of Turkdean.

⁸ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 325; cf. *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. cclxx.

⁹ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, *Glos.* 14-15.

¹⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 350.

¹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., val. of T. B. Browne's ests. 1850; partics. of cottages at Salperton 1861.

¹² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 334.

¹³ *P.R.O.*, RG 11/2560.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ED 7/35/277; for a view of the 1888 schoolroom, D. Viner, *Northleach to Stow on the Wold in Old Photos.* (1987), 67.

¹⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 560.

¹⁶ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 188.

¹⁷ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1932 (H.M.S.O.), 117.

¹⁸ *Nat. Soc. files*, Salperton.

¹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, S 280/2; S 285/1, p. 460.

²⁰ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1885); this account was written in 1997.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 254a/SD 1.

²² *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, p. 496; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 188, 195.

²³ Cf. Rudge, *Agric. of Glos.* 29.

²⁴ *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii).

²⁵ The Cotswold (Parishes) Order 1986; *O.S. Map* 1/25,000, sheet 45 N. (1998 edn.).

²⁶ *Census*, 1981-91.

²⁷ *P.R.O.*, C 115/83, f. 105.

wider tributary valley, known as Hampen bottom, running south-westwards. Above the valleys the land rises steeply to over 280 m. and in the far west it reaches 310 m. near the highest point of the Cotswold escarpment. In the northern peninsulated part of the parish, comprising White hill and, to the north, Bepidge hill, the land falls away steeply to the north-west. Near the summit of Bepidge hill, known as Grim's hill in the 10th century,²⁸ Roel Camp is a prehistoric earthwork, probably an Iron-Age hillfort.²⁹ While the soil of the Coln valley is formed by the Upper Lias clay and the Midford Sand, most of the higher land of the parish is on the Inferior Oolite. Some high ground is formed by overlying strata of fuller's earth and the Great Oolite and an area in the west towards Puckham by a large outcrop, defined by faults, of the Cotswold slate or tile beds at the base of the Great Oolite.³⁰ The parish has been much quarried and the numerous abandoned quarries include extensive slate workings in the west.

Settlement in the parish is scattered, with several clusters of cottages in the Coln valley and a number of isolated farmsteads on the higher downs. The parish name, first recorded in 1086 and with later variants including Senhampton and Sennington, indicates seven settlements.³¹ Some of the isolated farmsteads cover Roman sites and there were several small hamlets or farmsteads in the west of the parish in the early Middle Ages.³² The village of Brockhampton on the north side of the parish above the Coln had probably become the principal or largest settlement in the parish by 1327 when parishioners were assessed for the subsidy under the heading of Brockhampton with Sevenhampton.³³ With its own open fields and commons in the northern part of the parish,³⁴ Brockhampton was sometimes accounted a separate manor by the later 16th century³⁵ and it had clearly defined boundaries including, on the west, the river Coln.³⁶

Sevenhampton formed part of the bishop of Hereford's estate at Prestbury in 1066 and remained part of the estates of that see until the mid 16th century. In the later Middle Ages the parish included a number of open fields and commons and, in the west, extensive woodland centred on the valley at Puckham. The northern part of the parish, which had been included in the boundaries of a wood described in the 10th century,³⁷ retained several wooded areas in the 17th century³⁸ but Bepidge wood, comprising

32 a. on the northern boundary, was the only woodland there in the early 19th century.³⁹ Puckham woods (or wood), which were partly in Prestbury parish, were presumably represented in 1086 by woodland recorded on the bishop of Hereford's Prestbury estate.⁴⁰ The bishop had established a warren in the woods by the 1270s⁴¹ and the episcopal estate derived an income from sales of wood and undergrowth in the later Middle Ages.⁴² Under a lease of 1565 the large timber trees were reserved and only two fellings were permitted during the 21-year term.⁴³ In 1575 the woods contained 214 a. divided into 13 'sales' or coppices, including Annis wood⁴⁴ which was among woodland in several ownership in the late 14th century.⁴⁵ Puckham woods were intercommoned by the tenants of Sevenhampton and Prestbury manors until the mid 17th century when, under an agreement of 1657 giving the woods' area as c. 320 a., the warren was destroyed, c. 40 a. on the east side of the valley was allotted to the lord of Sevenhampton and c. 100 a. on the west side, mostly in Sevenhampton, to the lady of Prestbury. The rest of the woods were divided into separate commons for Sevenhampton and Prestbury respectively, the division evidently following the parish boundary. Under the agreement the lady of Prestbury had liberty to dispose of the coney in that part of the woods belonging to her manor;⁴⁶ the land assigned to her became farmland known as Puckham warren.⁴⁷ A wood called Prior's grove was retained in hand by Llanthony priory in 1418.⁴⁸ By agreement in 1563 it was to be divided between the two owners of the former priory estate and felled⁴⁹ but in the later 17th century the eastern part of Puckham woods included an area called Prior's coppice.⁵⁰

Inclosure of the open fields and commons was a piecemeal process completed in 1818 by parliamentary inclosure.⁵¹ The area of woodland in Sevenhampton, which was increased in the 19th and 20th centuries, was 226 a. in 1905.⁵² Many of the new plantations created before the First World War were in the northern part of the parish⁵³ and the later plantations included a belt of woodland along the parish boundary west of Puckham.⁵⁴ In the mid 1720s Sir William Dodwell began walling in c. 80 a. west of the Syreford-Winchcombe road for a park in front of his house (later Brockhampton Park). The park, the creation of which was completed after

²⁸ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i. p. 496; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 191.

²⁹ R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i. 112; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cii. 232.

³⁰ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.); W. Dreghorn, *Geol. Explained in the Severn Vale and Cotswolds* (1967), 136-8.

³¹ *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 177-8; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cx. 225.

³² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ciii. 12-13; cx. 225.

³³ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

³⁴ Below, econ. hist.

³⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 30; below, manors.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

³⁷ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 191-3.

³⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 23, M 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 123.

⁴⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁴¹ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i. 166.

⁴² B.L. Add. MS. 6165, p. 166; Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9 and d.

⁴³ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 17; *Cal. Pat.* 1569-72, p. 255.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 24v.

⁴⁵ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 37, T 63.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* D 184/P 1; D 855/T 17.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., C 115/76, f. 119.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 27.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* T 39, T 63.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 123.

⁵² Acreage Returns, 1905.

⁵³ O.S. Maps 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.); 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE.* (1883, 1903, 1923 edns.).

⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.* Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NW.* (1923 edn.).

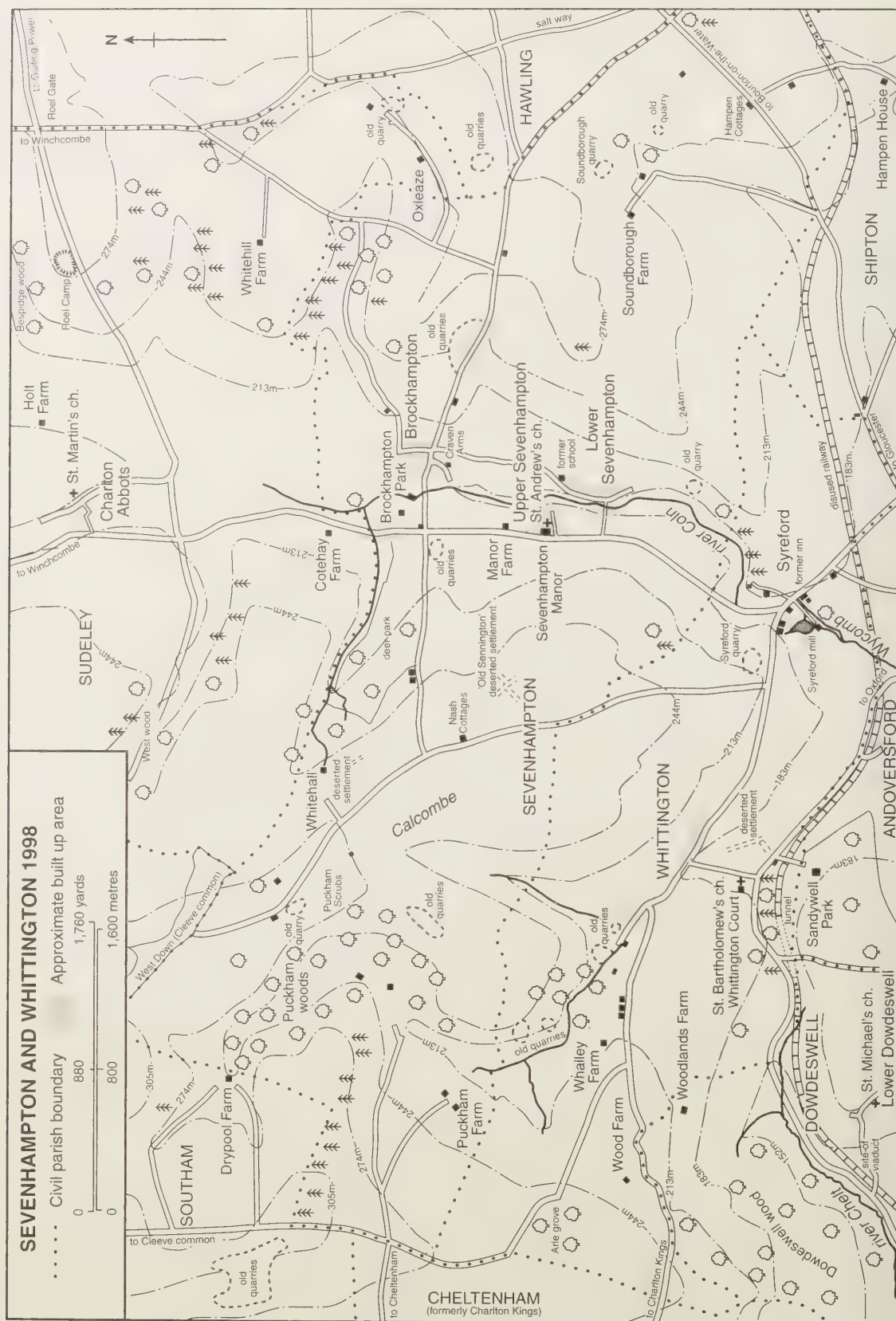


FIG. 13

Dodwell's death in 1727,⁵⁵ contained an avenue of trees aligned on the house.⁵⁶ A herd of deer established in the park by the 1870s⁵⁷ dispersed during the Second World War and the few remaining deer were removed in the early 1950s.⁵⁸ In the late 1990s an equestrian centre was built in the park.⁵⁹

According to the Domesday survey of 1086 there were 24 tenants in Sevenhampton.⁶⁰ Parts of the parish were depopulated in the early 14th century⁶¹ and 21 persons in Brockhampton and Sevenhampton were assessed for a subsidy in 1327.⁶² There were said to be 20 households in the parish in 1563⁶³ and the number of communicants was estimated at 140 in 1551⁶⁴ and 125 in 1603.⁶⁵ A hearth-tax return for 1672 named 24 householders in Sevenhampton and Brockhampton.⁶⁶ The parish's population, which c. 1710 was reckoned at 180,⁶⁷ increased in the 18th century⁶⁸ and was 349 in 1801. After falling slightly in the first decade of the 19th century, it resumed its rise and in 1851 it stood at 553. In the later 19th century the population declined and in 1901 it was 400. The boundary change of 1935 was only partly responsible for a further decline from 422 in 1921 to 308 in 1971. Thereafter the population rose to 376 in 1991.⁶⁹

In the later Middle Ages roads and paths crossing or touching the parish were used by travellers to and from Winchcombe and the pilgrimage centre of Hailes to the north. In 1531 a route in or near the centre of the parish was known as Hailes way⁷⁰ and in 1611 a man was presented in the manor court for having ploughed up an old footpath to Hailes. The market way recorded in 1626⁷¹ probably followed the route of the road from Syreford, in Whittington, to Winchcombe, which ran northwards through the centre of the parish and was known in 1638 and later as the port way.⁷² In the mid 19th century the road linked Winchcombe with the Cheltenham–London road at Andoversford.⁷³ It remained the most important south–north route through the parish in the late 20th century.

A lane running south of Puckham woods was part of a highway from Stow-on-the-Wold in 1387 or 1388⁷⁴ and was known as the white way in 1652.⁷⁵ In the mid 18th century it was part of

a route to Cheltenham which, in the east of the parish, ran down through Brockhampton from a road junction on the boundary with Hawling.⁷⁶ In the mid 1720s Sir William Dodwell diverted the section of the lane between Brockhampton village and the port way southwards away from his house⁷⁷ and probably moved the section west of the port way similarly to create the park mentioned above. In the west of the parish the lane once took a shorter route from east to west⁷⁸ but by the early 19th century its course followed a road from Syreford running north–westwards near Whitehall and turned south–westwards to rejoin the route south of Puckham woods.⁷⁹ The road from Syreford was turnpiked in 1794 as part of a route over the hills to Gotherington, in Bishop's Cleeve.⁸⁰ Either it or a route between Cheltenham and Winchcombe crossing the north–west corner of Sevenhampton was the way across West Down, the part of Cleeve common touching Sevenhampton, said in 1803 to be much used for driving cattle to fairs and markets.⁸¹ Both routes were confirmed in 1818 as public ways to Winchcombe⁸² even though most traffic between Cheltenham and Winchcombe presumably used the road through Prestbury village turnpiked in 1792.⁸³ Many ancient routes and paths throughout the parish were formally closed to the public in 1818. Among them was Blind Lane, which ran along the north side of the park and north of Whitehall from the port way to West Down.⁸⁴ In the later 19th century the road north–westwards from Syreford was primarily a way to Cleeve common, and the routes to Cheltenham at the west end of the parish survived only as tracks.⁸⁵

On the east side of the parish the salt way provided a route northwards to Winchcombe and Chipping Campden and southwards to Northleach and Cirencester. The Campden road, which ran north–eastwards from Syreford⁸⁶ and crossed the Cheltenham road at a place known in the later 18th century as Harolds cross,⁸⁷ joined the salt way south of Roel Gate. It was confirmed as a public way in the early 19th century⁸⁸ but the section south–west of Harolds cross had declined in status to a track by the end of that century.⁸⁹ The road crossing the salt way at Roel Gate, described as a way to Cheltenham and Stow-on-the-Wold in the mid

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 5.

⁵⁶ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁵⁷ Kelly's *Dir. Glos.* (1879), 734.

⁵⁸ Inf. from Mr. S. Webb, of Deer Park Cottages, Brockhampton; cf. *Glos. Countryside*, Oct.–Dec. 1950, 343–4.

⁵⁹ Inf. from Mrs. V. Logue, of Whitehall Farmhouse, Sevenhampton.

⁶⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁶¹ P.R.O., E 179/113/12, rot. 6d.

⁶² *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁶³ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 22v.

⁶⁴ *E.H.R.* xix. 104.

⁶⁵ *Ecll. Misc.* 79.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

⁶⁷ Atkyns, *Glos.* 858.

⁶⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 647.

⁶⁹ *Census*, 1801–1991.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., C 115/83, f. 105.

⁷¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁷² *Ibid.* T 35, T 59; Q/RI 123.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Q/RUM 130; *Glos. and Worcs. Roads Act*, 3 & 4 Wm. IV, c. 11 (Local and Personal).

⁷⁴ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 56; T 63, plan of Calcombe field.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* D 363/P 4–5.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* D 444/T 59; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁷⁸ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁸⁰ *Glos. and Worcs. Roads Act*, 34 Geo. III, c. 135.

⁸¹ Whittington Ct. MSS. (in possession of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Stringer), Sandywell est. partic. 1803, f. 10.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁸³ *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 70.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁸⁵ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NW.* (1884 edn.).

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 363/P 4–5; D 1930.

⁸⁷ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁸⁹ O.S. Maps 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE., SE.* (1883 edn.).

18th century,⁹⁰ was of local significance in the early 19th century.⁹¹ Of two routes running across the south-eastern corner of the parish near Hampen in the late 17th century Gloucester way, descending to the lower part of Hampen bottom,⁹² was the principal road between Stow and Gloucester⁹³ and part of a turnpike from 1755 until 1877.⁹⁴ The other route, known both as Stow way and Cheltenham way, followed a course further north through Hampen bottom.⁹⁵ It had been abandoned by the mid 18th century when the road along the boundary with Hawling was a way to Cheltenham.⁹⁶ The Banbury and Cheltenham railway, part of which crossed the south-eastern corner of the parish at Hampen,⁹⁷ opened in 1881⁹⁸ and was in use until 1962.⁹⁹

Sevenhampton parish church, situated at Upper Sevenhampton on the western side of the Coln valley below the Syreford-Winchcombe road, was built before the mid 12th century. To the west stands a 17th-century manor house and to the east, on a lane descending towards the river, is a cluster of smaller houses. The oldest house, with a two-gabled south front, dates from the 17th century. A church house built in the early 16th century¹ stood at the south-western corner of the churchyard and was later converted as a poorhouse. In the mid 19th century it was demolished, the site being incorporated in the burial ground,² and several houses and a tithe barn immediately east of the churchyard were pulled down to make way for a new vicarage house.³ A pair of estate cottages was built on the south side of the lane in the later 19th century. In the later 20th century four houses were built near by on the Syreford-Winchcombe road, one on the site, south of the church lane, of a swimming pool belonging to the manor house⁴ and two north of the manor house. Manor Farm, further north, is a mid 19th-century farmhouse with an earlier barn among its outbuildings.⁵

The hamlet of Lower Sevenhampton, further down the Coln valley, is the settlement known in 1270 as Clopley.⁶ That name, sometimes given as Clopton in the late 17th century and the early 18th,⁷ does not survive. The hamlet stands on both sides of the river with most of its houses above the eastern bank,⁸ where a lane

runs northwards past a small green to Brockhampton. It has several 17th- and 18th-century houses and cottages. Some are in the gabled Cotswold style and nearly all have been enlarged. In 1997 one range of a house had a thatched roof. A small 18th-century farmhouse (formerly Lower Farm) at the south end of the lane,⁹ on or near the site of a house belonging in 1531 to an estate in Clopley called Reeves,¹⁰ was enlarged several times in the 20th century. To its east a large barn built in the 18th century was partly demolished in the later 20th century. In the mid 19th century a pair of cottages was built on the river's eastern bank at the north end of the hamlet and, in 1870, a school was built by the Brockhampton lane a short distance from the hamlet. A new house was built at the north end by the lane in the early 20th century.¹¹ In the later 20th century Lower Sevenhampton grew slightly and some of its older buildings, including a barn and the school, were converted as houses. In 1997 most of the new houses, including some bungalows, filled the east side of the lane as far as the former school to the north.

Brockhampton village, in the Coln valley on the north side of the parish, became the largest settlement in Sevenhampton, possibly before the early 14th century.¹² Situated on the hillside east of the river, the village, which has the same name as several other places in the county, was known as Brockhampton in the Wold in the later 14th century.¹³ In the early 18th century it contained 18 houses.¹⁴ At that time there was a watering place by a ford on the river¹⁵ and a spring known as Dunn (later Dunny) well just below the village.¹⁶ In the later 18th century a close in the centre of the village and on the south side of the lane to the river was known as May Pole close.¹⁷ Among the houses dating from the 17th century, an L-shaped farmhouse (formerly Upper Farm) with an east front was rebuilt with three storeys in the early 19th century¹⁸ and was later divided into two dwellings. Brockhampton Court, lower down on the north side of the lane, is a mid 17th-century house built with a three-gabled front and, following its enlargement in the mid 19th century, was for a time a farmhouse.¹⁹ The northernmost house in the village, occupied as two dwellings in 1997, is of three storeys and its north front, which is not gabled,

⁹⁰ Glos. R.O., D 363/P 5.

⁹¹ Ibid. Q/RI 123.

⁹² Ibid. D 444/T 56, T 66.

⁹³ Ibid. D 1930.

⁹⁴ Glos. and Warws. Roads Act, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 56, T 66.

⁹⁶ Ibid. D 363/P 5.

⁹⁷ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁹⁸ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.*, revised C. R. Clinker (1964), ii. 315.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 2871/2/26.

¹ Ibid. D 444/T 44.

² Ibid. T 82; D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840-76.

³ Ibid. Q/RI 123; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁴ Inf. from Mr. T. Jackson, of Sevenhampton; cf. *Glos. Countryside*, Oct.-Dec. 1965, 114-15.

⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 123; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/1/74/29, no. 669; *Reg. Cantilupe*, 40-1.

⁷ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 40.

⁸ Above, Plate 1.

⁹ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates surv. 1804, f. 6.

¹⁰ *Reg. Bothe*, 255-6; Glos. R.O., Q/RNc 4/2.

¹¹ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1903, 1923 edns.).

¹² Above, this section.

¹³ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

¹⁴ Atkyns, *Glos.* 858.

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 59, deed 7 June 1708.

¹⁶ Ibid. T 60, deed 27 Feb. 1719/20; Whittington Ct. MSS., box 8, deed 2 Dec. 1725.

¹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 63.

¹⁸ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, pp. 19-20; Sandywell estates surv. 1804, f. 11.

¹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 2582/19.

has a window dated 1703; the north range incorporates some 17th-century fittings.²⁰ In 1859 a row of six cottages was built in the centre of the village.²¹ A nonconformist chapel was also built in the mid 19th century. A brewery established in the village in the later 19th century²² had a tall brick chimney, which remained an unusual landmark in the valley in 1997. In the later 20th century several outbuildings and the chapel were converted to residential use.

In the early 20th century Fairfax Rhodes, owner of the Brockhampton estate, provided several new buildings in the village, including on the east side a pair of cottages in 1904 and a house in 1928,²³ and in the late 1940s and early 1950s Northleach rural district council built three pairs of houses to the east on the lane up to Brockhampton Quarry.²⁴ Brockhampton Park, a 19th-century mansion north-west of Brockhampton village, stands west of the river Coln on the site of an earlier country house and until the 1960s its grounds included the park west of the Syreford-Winchcombe road.²⁵ In the early 20th century three stone estate cottages, including a pair, were built west of the road and north of the park²⁶ and in 1969 a pair of cottages was built further south, within the park.²⁷ In the late 20th century outbuildings in the grounds east of the road and north of the mansion were converted for residential use and some new houses were built there.

The hamlet of Brockhampton Quarry was established at quarry workings on the hillside south-east of Brockhampton village by 1616²⁸ and it contained 8 houses *c.* 1710.²⁹ Most of the surviving cottages date from the 18th and 19th centuries. The oldest are at the upper end of the hamlet and many are on the lane to the village, which was a route to Cheltenham in the mid 18th century.³⁰ In the years after 1818 cottages were built lower down the hill, on the south side of the lane,³¹ and in 1834 a nonconformist chapel was erected there. A cottage was built at the bottom of the hamlet in 1913³² and a house lower down towards the village is dated 1933.³³ Several new houses were built in the hamlet in the late 20th century.

By 1732 there was a farmstead high up on the east side of the parish at place known at that time as Starveall³⁴ and later as Oxleaze. The two-storeyed stone farmhouse, in 1803 'very old and indifferent' with bulging side walls and with two barns and two stables among the stone outbuildings,³⁵ was rebuilt in the early 19th century. In the late 20th century it became a private residence and the extensive ranges of farm buildings were converted as houses. A pair of 19th-century cottages to the north-east³⁶ was occupied as a single dwelling in 1997. Some way to the north-west, a small stone farmhouse and a barn were built on the top of White hill shortly after 1818.³⁷ The farmhouse, which was derelict in 1934,³⁸ was rebuilt in 1936.³⁹ Two bungalows were built south-west of Oxleaze at Harolds cross in the 20th century.

In the south-east of the parish a farmstead was established at Soundborough, in the upper part of Hampen bottom, by John Hincksman on land awarded to him at the parliamentary inclosure.⁴⁰ The oldest surviving range incorporates a barn dated 1817 with Hincksman's initials; the end of that range and a nearby stable building were converted as cottages in the 1980s. The principal house, above and to the south-west, dates from the 1830s⁴¹ and a pair of later cottages, lower down the valley, from before the early 1880s.⁴² In 1340 Hampen, as a hamlet of Sevenhampton, was depopulated if not deserted⁴³ and in the 18th century its principal farmsteads were on estates in Compton Abdale and Shipton Oliffe.⁴⁴ The only building there belonging to Sevenhampton in 1818 was a barn on the parish boundary higher up on Hampen hill.⁴⁵ In 1850 that site contained a new factory and two cottages built by T. B. Browne, the owner of the Hampen estate.⁴⁶ The factory, with its tall stack, was abandoned in the late 19th century and was demolished in the later 20th century.⁴⁷ Browne also built a row of six cottages near by on the Gloucester road.⁴⁸ The row, partly of brick, was later reduced to five cottages and was acquired by the rural district council.⁴⁹ In the 1960s a private bungalow was built in the fields to the north-east.⁵⁰

²⁰ Dept. of the Environment, 'List of Bldgs. of Special Archit. or Hist. Interest' (1987), p. 46; the window also bears the inits. 'AC'.

²¹ Date on bldg.; the inits. 'WA', among those carved with the date, may be for William Allsop, a local carpenter: *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 351; *Glos. R.O.*, reg. wills 1864, f. 403 and v.

²² Below, econ. hist.

²³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/19.

²⁴ *Ibid.* DA 31/100/8, ff. 22, 43; DA 31/115/3, p. 32; P 285a/PC 1/1.

²⁵ Inf. from Mr. Webb.

²⁶ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE.* (1903, 1923 edns.).

²⁷ Inf. from Mr. Webb.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 285/IN 1/1, burial 6 Feb. 1616/17.

²⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 858.

³⁰ Above, this section.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Craven fam., Brockhampton deeds 1818-44; *ibid.* 1819-45; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 123; O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE.* (1883 edn.).

³² *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/19.

³³ Date on ho. with inits. including those of G. S. Heaven; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/516/2/4, p. 17.

³⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/Z 1, acct. 1725-38; cf. *ibid.* D 269c/T 22, T 11; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

³⁵ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell est. partics. 1803, f. 19.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123; D 2582/19; O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE.* (1883 edn.).

³⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123; O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

³⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/19.

³⁹ Date, with the inits. of Cyril Aveling Shute, on ho.; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/7204.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁴¹ Inf. from the Hon. R. I. H. Wills, of Soundborough; below, manors.

⁴² O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SE.* (1883 edn.).

⁴³ P.R.O., E 179/113/12, rot. 6d.

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930; below, Shipton, intro.; manors.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.* D 269c/L 1.

⁴⁷ Below, econ. hist.; cf. A. Chatwin, 'Hampden Flax Mill', *Glos. Soc. Ind. Arch. Jnl.* (1976), 17-25.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/L 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* DA 31/100/9, pp. 827, 877.

⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.* DA 31/115/3, p. 514.

On the downs of the western half of the parish a number of farmsteads or small settlements, namely Calcombe, Nash (*Fraxina*), and Whitewell, were inhabited in the mid 13th century⁵¹ and had been deserted or depopulated by 1340.⁵² Later open-field land at the head of a deep valley west of the road from Syreford to Cleeve common was associated by name with Calcombe and closes east of that road were, together with the lane leading up from Brockhampton, associated similarly with Nash.⁵³ East of the road 12th- and 13th-century pottery has been recovered at the site of a deserted settlement high above the Coln valley in a place, near the head of a dry side valley,⁵⁴ known by the mid 16th century as Old Sennington.⁵⁵ Some way to the north-west a short row of building platforms is visible high on the hillside overlooking another deep side valley to the north-east.

Whitewell, which apparently remained inhabited in 1327,⁵⁶ may have been a short distance further north on the hillside at the Whitewells where in the 18th century a farmstead known later as Whitehall was established. The farmhouse, standing next to one of the principal sources of the river Coln, is a two-storeyed house with basement and attics built probably soon after 1718 on Sir William Dodwell's estate.⁵⁷ The symmetrical five-bayed west entrance front has a central doorway with an *oeil-de-boeuf* over, cross-mullioned windows on both storeys, and hipped dormers in a pitched stone-slate roof. Though the elevation was sophisticated for a farmhouse of that date, the accommodation was limited to two main rooms on each floor separated by a central passage with staircase. By the late 19th century a two-storeyed south block had been added,⁵⁸ its ground floor probably superseding as kitchen the 18th-century south ground-floor room which has a large fireplace. The original house had lean-to north-east service rooms (which in 1951 included a dairy) lower down the slope, and in the 19th century a bakehouse was built there. In 1958 the dairy was raised by two storeys to accommodate a kitchen and bath-

room⁵⁹ and about the same time a porch was added to the west front and windows inserted in the west face of the south block. A south-east extension made in the late 1960s was raised in the mid 1990s, after the house had become a private dwelling.⁶⁰ Among the outbuildings, to the north, is a mid 18th-century barn with four bays and a porch.⁶¹

South-east of Whitehall, on the lane from Brockhampton and just outside the park, a stone cottage newly built in 1920⁶² was enlarged in the early 1990s to serve as the farmhouse.⁶³ Next to it stands a pair of cottages built in the late 1940s in modified Cotswold style for Lady Dorothy Lygon, the farm's owner.⁶⁴ North-west of Whitehall, on the road to Cleeve common, a pair of cottages built in 1867⁶⁵ was made a single dwelling, and a cattle shed immediately to the north was rebuilt as a music room in the late 20th century.⁶⁶ Two other houses were built on sites off the road in the 20th century.

At Puckham, where a new house was recorded in 1652,⁶⁷ there was a house in woodland on the west side of the valley in 1818.⁶⁸ A red brick keeper's cottage on that site was enlarged in the mid 20th century and rebuilt on a much larger scale as Puckham Woods House in the late 20th century.⁶⁹ A cottage higher up to the west was recorded from 1768⁷⁰ and a wooden bungalow lower down the valley dates from c. 1960.⁷¹ Puckham Farm, some way to the south-west, is on a site which belonged to a freehold farm from 1633. In the mid 20th century its farmhouse was demolished⁷² and another house was built near by, to the south-west.

In the early 17th century several Sevenhampton inhabitants sold ale without a licence⁷³ and in 1667 another kept an unlicensed alehouse.⁷⁴ An innkeeper living in Brockhampton in 1846⁷⁵ kept a beerhouse in the village known as the Craven Arms in 1881.⁷⁶ A beerhouse opened at Brockhampton Quarry by 1856 was known as the White Hart in 1879,⁷⁷ the Hare and Hounds in 1881,⁷⁸ the Stag in 1891,⁷⁹ and the Stag and Hounds in 1920.⁸⁰ It closed after 1976.⁸¹ The Craven Arms, in Brockhampton village, remained open in 1996.

⁵¹ P.R.O., C 115/77, f. 127v.; *Reg. Cantilupe*, 89–90; *Red Bk. of Heref.* ed. A. T. Bannister (Camd. 3rd ser. xli), p. 28.

⁵² P.R.O., E 179/113/12, rot. 6d.; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ciii. 12–13.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁵⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxvii. 65 and n.; *Deserted Medieval Villages*, ed. M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, 82, 154; *Glos. Sites & Monuments Rec.* (*Glos. co. arch. service*), no. 56.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., PROB 11/68 (P.C.C. 8 Brudenell), f. 62; *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123. The site was examined with Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ.

⁵⁶ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 63, surv. of grounds and timber at the Whitewells 1718; T 65, deed 31 Dec. 1746.

⁵⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXVII. 6 (1884 edn.).

⁵⁹ Datestone with inits. of Harry and Pamela Senior.

⁶⁰ Inf. from Mrs. Logue, whose papers include 1951 sale parties. of the farm; illustration of the ho. in *Country Life*, 20 May 1965.

⁶¹ The date 1744 is carved on a stone in the barn.

⁶² *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/2195.

⁶³ Inf. from Mr. K. Gregory, of Whitehall Farm, Sevenhampton.

⁶⁴ Inf. from Mrs. Logue.

⁶⁵ Date on bldg.; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., contracts and agreements 1867–77.

⁶⁶ Inf. from Mr. W. Waterhouse, of Whitehall Cottage.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 56.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Q/RI 123.

⁶⁹ Inf. from Mr. M. Nicholls, farmer at Puckham; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/2195.

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 184/P 1.

⁷¹ Inf. from Mr. Nicholls.

⁷² Below, manors.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Q/S1b 1, f. 156.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* P 285/IN 1/3.

⁷⁶ Sevenhampton marriage reg. 1837–1970 (microfilm copy in *ibid.* PMF 285).

⁷⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–79 edns.).

⁷⁸ P.R.O., RG 11/2561.

⁷⁹ *Licensed Houses in Glos.* 1891, 162–3.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/2195.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* D 3346/1.

A friendly society meeting at a Brockhampton inn in 1853 was dissolved before 1880.⁸²

The Lawrence family, which settled in the parish in the later 16th century before acquiring the manor, was a dominant influence in parish affairs until the early 20th century. The occupants of Brockhampton Park in the 19th century and the early 20th also played an important role, particularly in the life of Brockhampton village. In the 1880s Charles Goodwin Colquitt-Craven established a reading room in a former school-room there,⁸³ and Fairfax Rhodes, who enlarged it as a memorial to his son John (d. 1902) and as a reading room and institute for the inhabitants of Sevenhampton and Charlton Abbots parishes, added a caretaker's cottage and a rifle range.⁸⁴ The room was run as a village hall from 1948. In 1935 the owner of Brockhampton Park erected a standpipe to supplement the water supply to houses at the northern end of the village.⁸⁵

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. Land in Sevenhampton may have been connected with estates claimed in 803 A.D. by Wulfheard, bishop of Hereford, from Denebeorht, bishop of Worcester,⁸⁶ and in the 10th century the church of Worcester may have held land in the parish as parts of an estate centred on Hawling.⁸⁷ In 1066 and 1086 the bishop of Hereford's Prestbury estate included 20 hides at Sevenhampton,⁸⁸ and by 1241, when the bishop was granted free warren in his demesnes,⁸⁹ *SEVENHAMPTON* was regarded as a separate manor.⁹⁰ The bishops held the manor until 1559, when, under an Act of that year, the Crown took it and other manors during a vacancy of the see in exchange for tithes and impropriate rectories in its hands.⁹¹

In 1576 Reginald Nicholas of Prestbury and Richard Wardwick of London acquired part of the former episcopal estates in Prestbury and Sevenhampton⁹² and in 1591 the Crown granted Sevenhampton, by then usually known as the manors of Sevenhampton and Brockhampton, to Thomas Crompton, Robert Wright, and Gelly Meyrick. They, acting almost certainly as trustees for Robert Devereux, earl of Essex,⁹³

sold the estate off in parts within a few weeks.⁹⁴ Part, including the manorial rights, was acquired by Sir Thomas Throckmorton and Reginald Nicholas. In 1608, following Throckmorton's death, his son Sir William Throckmorton acquired Nicholas's interest and sold the manor to Anthony Lawrence,⁹⁵ whose father Robert Lawrence (d. 1584 or 1585) of Shipton Solers had in 1570 acquired a lease of the demesne and other land together with the site of the manor.⁹⁶ Those lands, sold in 1591 to Robert Lawrence's widow Eleanor Sankey and John Carter, were conveyed in 1606, on Eleanor's death, to Robert's son, also Robert Lawrence, and in 1610 he conveyed most of them to his brother Anthony, the owner of the manorial rights.⁹⁷ At Anthony's death in 1645 the manor passed to his grandson Robert Lawrence⁹⁸ (d. 1700), who was succeeded by his son Anthony, a physician in Tewkesbury.⁹⁹ On Anthony's death without surviving male issue in 1717 the estate passed to his sisters Mary, wife of Carew Williams, and Anne, wife of Thomas Ludlow, and soon afterwards they surrendered it to their nephew Walter Lawrence.¹ Walter (d. 1764) was succeeded by his son Walter² (d. 1810), from whom the manor passed to his daughter Mary, wife of William Morris³ (d. 1834). Mary died in 1839 and the manor passed to her son Walter Lawrence Lawrence⁴ (formerly Morris), owner of the nearby Sandywell estate.⁵ Walter, who had acquired part of the Brockhampton estate and, as part of an exchange with W. J. Agg in 1832, woodland at Puckham,⁶ died in 1877 and on his wife Mary's death in 1887 his land passed to their son Christian William Lawrence. On his death in 1920 most of the Sevenhampton estate went to his niece Wynnefrede Lawrence and the rest to her sister Katharine Evans, who assumed the surname Evans-Lawrence.⁸ Both sisters sold their land in the early 1920s⁹ but Wynnefrede retained the manor house until c. 1930¹⁰ and Manor farm (c. 330 a.) until it was bought in 1943 by the tenant, Thomas Hyatt. By later purchases of adjoining fields Hyatt (d. 1991) owned in all c. 202 ha. (500 a.), which was held in trust for his family in 1997.¹¹

⁸² P.R.O., FS 2/3, Glos. no. 496; FS 4/12, Glos. no. 496.

⁸³ G. A. Teale, 'Brockhampton Park' (unpaginated TS. in Glos. R.O., PA 285/3).

⁸⁴ Inscr. on bldg.; Glos. R.O., P 285a/PC 30/1; inf. (derived from local records and informants) from Mrs. R. J. Stewart, of Brockhampton; the cottage has a datestone of 1908.

⁸⁵ Glos. R.O., P 285a/PC 1/1; inscr. at well (abandoned by 1997).

⁸⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xvi. 220.

⁸⁷ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 184–96; *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 494–6.

⁸⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 261.

⁹⁰ *Reg. Swinfield*, 87, 252, 285.

⁹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1558–60, 440; Act 1 Eliz. I, c. 19.

⁹² Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 56; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1575–8, pp. 184–5.

⁹³ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 30; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 38–9; a small part, including a quarry, was bought by Wm. March, whose descendants in the mid 18th cent. claimed to own the manor or reputed

manor of Brockhampton Quarry.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* T 30; P.R.O., C 142/304, no. 96.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 26; P.R.O., PROB 11/68 (P.C.C. 8 Brudenell), ff. 61v–63; for the Lawrences, *Visit. Glos.* 1682–3, 108–13.

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 26, F 2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* T 54, M 2–3.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* F 6, T 47.

¹ *Ibid.* T 47, T 54.

² *Ibid.* F 3; Rudder, *Glos.* 646.

³ Cf. Glos. R.O., Q/RI 123.

⁴ *Ibid.* D 444/Z 9.

⁵ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1846), i. 696–7; (1898), i. 869; above, Dowdeswell, manors.

⁶ Below, this section.

⁷ Glos. R.O., P 285/IN 1/7.

⁸ *Ibid.* D 4084/14/7; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870–1919 edns.).

⁹ Glos. R.O., D 2299/2195; D 2428/2/132; G/NO 160/20/2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* D 1405/4/264; DA 31/516/1/4, p. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.* DA 31/516/3/4, p. 13; inf. from Mr. T. Jackson, of Sevenhampton.

Sevenhampton Manor, the home of many generations of the Lawrence family, is a gabled stone-built house standing next to the parish church and incorporating the remains of a 17th-century house of two storeys with attics. Two bays of the east range, marked by a high external plinth and with a large south stack, perhaps belonged to the residence of Eleanor Sankey (d. 1606).¹² They contain a single large room, which has beams with jewelled stops and a carved stone chimneypiece of good quality; the room's paneling is pieced together from early 17th-century fragments. By 1672, when Robert Lawrence was assessed for tax on seven hearths,¹³ the house had been extended west and south and formed an L plan. The north-west angle of the L had been infilled by the mid 18th century when a staircase was inserted in the east range, in line with a new west entrance. In the 1830s a plain classical porch fronted the west entrance and the west front and the ground floor of the south front had windows with arched lights; there was also a short north wing.¹⁴ Porch and windows probably dated from an early 19th-century remodelling. The screen of columns dividing the entrance hall from the staircase and the classical decoration of the two surviving front rooms are of that period. In the mid 19th century tenants occupied the house¹⁵ but W. L. Lawrence made it his residence before 1865, when it was much out of repair.¹⁶ The fenestration of the west and south fronts was presumably altered in the late 1870s when a gabled porch was added to the west front.¹⁷ The north service wing was probably built at the same time.¹⁸ After 1889 the house was again let to tenants and C. W. Lawrence moved many fittings to Sandywell Park.¹⁹

In the later 1930s E. D. Horsfall extended the southernmost bay of Sevenhampton Manor westwards.²⁰ After the Second World War other owners briefly ran the house as a country club²¹ and Horsfall's wing was demolished after fire reduced the southern end of the house to a shell c. 1960. In the mid 1960s the surviving part of the house was converted as two dwellings (later combined as one) and the service wing became a separate dwelling.²² Some outbuildings were demolished in the mid 19th century.²³ The surviving ranges, east of the house, date from the 17th century and include a matching pair of

buildings, of which the northern one, once incorporating a dovecot, was a house in 1997.

Among the bishop of Hereford's lands at PUCKHAM taken by the Crown in 1559 were the woods straddling the boundary between Sevenhampton and Prestbury and regarded as part of Prestbury manor.²⁴ When the woods were inclosed under an agreement of 1657, c. 100 a., mostly in Sevenhampton, was awarded to Mary Talbot as the owner of Prestbury manor.²⁵ The Craven family, which later regained Prestbury manor,²⁶ retained that land, together with 100 a. in Prestbury acquired in 1732,²⁷ until 1809 when it was sold to James Agg of the Hewletts, Cheltenham,²⁸ the owner of Puckham farm in Sevenhampton.²⁹ Land elsewhere in Sevenhampton held of Prestbury manor belonged in the late 16th century and the early 17th to the Duttons of Sherborne.³⁰

Puckham farm had been the bishop of Hereford's demesne farm at Puckham and by 1542 it was held with Whittington manor by the Cotton family.³¹ By 1600, when Ralph Cotton was the tenant, ownership of both the farm and Prestbury manor had passed to Reginald Nicholas³² (d. 1612), whose son and heir Thomas³³ sold the farm in 1633 to Alexander Packer.³⁴ Alexander (d. 1638) devised it to his daughter Margaret for 21 years with reversion to his grandson Alexander Packer³⁵ (fl. 1663), from whom the architect Hugh May acquired an interest in the farm. In 1668 Sir John Denham, May's associate,³⁶ sold the farm to John Jordan (fl. 1692) of Witney (Oxon.), who devised it his son Francis (d. 1722). In 1732, following a dispute about ownership, the farm was divided between Thomas Carter, husband of Francis's daughter Hannah, and Thomas Bastin; Bastin's interest derived from Richard Washington, husband of Francis's other daughter Elizabeth. The Carters sold their share to Roger Bouchier in 1736 and Roger's sister Catherine and her husband Humphrey Brickland settled it on their daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Cater, in 1750. The farm remained in divided ownership until 1765 when the Caters and Thomas Bastin's son Thomas sold out to Ambrose Reddall, a Stonehouse clothier. In 1785 Reddall conveyed the farm to Nathaniel Osborne, to whom it was already mortgaged.³⁷ James Agg bought it from Osborne in 1798.³⁸

¹² Glos. R.O., D 444/F 2.

¹³ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

¹⁴ Glos. Colln. 32481(18).

¹⁵ *Hunt's Dir. Glouc. and Chelt.* (1847), 115; P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 4/3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* D 2593/2/354; for a photog. of the W. front in 1927, *ibid.* D 1405/4/264.

¹⁸ Cf. O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

¹⁹ *Glos. Countryside*, April–June 1957, 185; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1879 and later edns.).

²⁰ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/5, p. 334.

²¹ Inf. from Mr. S. Webb, of Deer Park Cottages, Brockhampton; cf. *Glos. Countryside*, Oct.–Dec. 1956, 114–15.

²² Glos. R.O., D 4634/1003; inf. from Mr. and Mrs. J. J. M. Scarlett, of Sevenhampton Manor.

²³ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 123; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

²⁴ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 24v.

²⁵ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 63.

²⁶ *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 72.

²⁷ Glos. R.O., D 184/T 82, P 1; P 254a/SD 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.* D 855/T 17.

²⁹ *Ibid.* T 20.

³⁰ *Memoirs of the Dutton Fam. of Sherborne* (priv. print. 1899), 41–2, 87–90.

³¹ P.R.O., E 164/39, ff. 15v.–16; for the Cotton fam., below, Whittington, manor.

³² P.R.O., E 178/947.

³³ *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 72.

³⁴ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 12.

³⁵ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, iii. 119–22.

³⁶ Glos. R.O., D 855/T 20; for Denham and May, H. Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Architects* (1978), 258, 543–5; also for Denham, below, Whittington, manor.

³⁷ Glos. R.O., D 855/E 4, T 19.

³⁸ *Ibid.* T 20.

James Agg (d. 1827) was succeeded by his son William John Agg.³⁹ In 1832 he relinquished some woodland at Puckham as part of an exchange with W. L. Lawrence⁴⁰ and in 1874 he conveyed his estate at Puckham and elsewhere to his son William Agg (d. 1901).⁴¹ William Gibbins, who had acquired Puckham farm by 1911,⁴² remained the owner until his death in 1933. Arthur Mitchell, a landowner at Glenfall, in Charlton Kings, purchased the farm in 1935 and some adjoining woodland in 1936⁴³ and J. E. Rowe, the landowner at Whalley, in Whittington, bought the farmhouse and some land a few years later.⁴⁴ Mr. Lawrence Mitchell, Arthur Mitchell's son and heir, retained over 161 ha. (400 a.), mostly woodland, at Puckham in 1997.⁴⁵ The farmhouse, a 19th-century building at Puckham Farm in red brick with stone quoins, was used as a youth hostel c. 1940 and was demolished in the 1950s. The sole surviving farm building at the site is a stone barn converted in the late 1980s as a house for the architect Mr. Peter Yiangou, who built a detached block of offices for his practice next to it.⁴⁶

In 1086 three hides, part of the bishop of Hereford's estate in Sevenhampton, were held by Durand of Gloucester.⁴⁷ At least part of that land was presumably at *HAMPEN* where, in 1285, Durand's descendant Reynold son of Peter was mesne lord of an estate of the Marmion family.⁴⁸ In the early 13th century Yvette Map granted a few acres from that estate to Walter of Banbury, who in 1215 gave them to Winchcombe abbey. Yvette's son Geoffrey Marmion, who also granted the abbey land at Hampen,⁴⁹ was dead by 1221 and his estate, described as a ploughland, was inherited by his son William.⁵⁰ Robert Marmion held the estate, at Upper Hampen, in 1285 and John Marmion held it in 1303, when it was assessed at ¼ knight's fee and was held directly from the bishop of Hereford.⁵¹ In 1346 it was in the hands of the bishop.⁵²

In the early 16th century St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, owned land in Sevenhampton⁵³ as part of an estate at Hampen, from which it paid rents to Winchcombe abbey and others and a pension to Llanthony priory.⁵⁴ The descent of

the estate, which centred on a farmhouse in a detached part of Compton Abdale parish, is treated in this volume under Shipton.⁵⁵ In the early 20th century the estate retained over 200 a. in Sevenhampton.⁵⁶

In the early 1270s Arnold of Banbury granted Llanthony priory ½ hide at Calcombe.⁵⁷ The priory, which held that land from the bishop of Hereford's manor⁵⁸ and in 1292 was granted free warren in its demesne in Sevenhampton,⁵⁹ also appropriated Sevenhampton church, and in 1366 and later it leased its estate, which had become known as the manor of *SEVENHAMPTON*, together with some tithes.⁶⁰ After the priory's dissolution the manor passed with the inappropriate rectory and became regarded as part of it.⁶¹

The *BROCKHAMPTON* estate was based on a house built by Paul Peart (d. c. 1645)⁶² of St. Martin in the Fields (Mdx.), who purchased land in Sevenhampton from 1638. Peart devised the house and land to his cousin Anne, wife of Ralph Dodwell (d. 1663), and at her death in 1685 they passed to her son Paul Dodwell.⁶³ Paul, who lived at Sandywell, in Dowdeswell, acquired other land in Sevenhampton and died in 1691 to be succeeded by his son William.⁶⁴ William was later knighted⁶⁵ and at his death in 1727 his estates passed to his only child Mary, a minor.⁶⁶ In 1746 she married Thomas Tracy (d. 1770) and following her death in 1799⁶⁷ a disputed succession to her estates, including Sandywell, was decided in favour of the sisters Judith and Patience Timbrell and Rebecca Lightbourne.⁶⁸ Rebecca, the survivor, left the estates at her death in 1823 to Walter Lawrence Lawrence and he, to discharge her debt and legacy to the Cheltenham solicitor Theodore Gwinnett, surrendered part of the Brockhampton estate, including its principal house, to Gwinnett in 1825. Gwinnett died in 1827 and his trustees sold his estate to Fulwar Craven in 1832.⁶⁹ Craven, already a landowner in the parish,⁷⁰ made later purchases of land there.⁷¹ He died in 1860 and was succeeded by his daughter Georgina Maria (d. 1878) and her husband Goodwin Charles Colquitt-Goodwin, who changed his surname to Colquitt-Craven.⁷² At

³⁹ Ibid. T 21.

⁴⁰ Whittington Ct. MSS., box 16, parties. Mar. 1832: agreement 21 Apr. 1832.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., D 444/F 2; SL 449.

⁴² Ibid. G/NO 159/18/1, p. 4.

⁴³ Ibid. D 2428/2/132; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 64–5.

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., DA 31/516/2/4, p. 16; 3/4, p. 16; for J. E. Rowe, below, Whittington, manor.

⁴⁵ Inf. from Mr. M. Nicholls, farmer at Puckham.

⁴⁶ Inf. from Mr. D. J. Sheppard, of Stow-on-the-Wold, and Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach; Glos. R.O., D 7781/4.

⁴⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁴⁸ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii. 112.

⁴⁹ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 151–6.

⁵⁰ *Eyre Rolls, 1221–2* (Selden Soc. lix), p. 65.

⁵¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239, 246.

⁵² Ibid. 279.

⁵³ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 122.

⁵⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 487.

⁵⁵ Below, Shipton, manors.

⁵⁶ Glos. R.O., G/NO 159/18/1–3.

⁵⁷ P.R.O., C 115/77, f. 127v.

⁵⁸ *Red Bk. of Heref.* ed. A. T. Bannister (Camd. 3rd ser. xli), p. 27.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257–1300, 428.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., C 115/82, ff. 15v–16; C 115/78, ff. 39v., 79v.–80; Glos. R.O., D 444/T 27.

⁶¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), p. 224; Glos. R.O., D 444/T 27, T 39; for the rectory, below, this section.

⁶² *Administrations in P.C.C.* 1631–48 (Index Libr. c), 317.

⁶³ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 35; *Visit. Glos.* 1682–3, 57–8.

⁶⁴ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 76; P 285/1N 1/1, burial 22 Feb. 1690/1.

⁶⁵ Atkyns, *Glos.* 858.

⁶⁶ Rudder, *Glos.* 646–7; Dodwell Estate Act, 3 Geo. II, c. 17 (Priv. Act).

⁶⁷ *Visit. Glos.* 1682–3, 58.

⁶⁸ Above, Dowdeswell, manors (Sandywell).

⁶⁹ Glos. R.O., D 182/III/162; D 1388, Craven fam., Sevenhampton, Badgeworth, and Charlton Kings deeds 1829–33.

⁷⁰ Below, this section.

⁷¹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 15.

⁷² Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1808), i. 339–40; cf. *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 335.

his death in 1889⁷³ the estate passed to his son Fulwar John Colquitt-Craven (d. 1890) and in 1900 the latter's son and heir Lewis Fulwar Colquitt-Craven⁷⁴ sold it to Fairfax Rhodes of Leeds (Yorks. W.R.).⁷⁵ Rhodes, who sold some land in 1914,⁷⁶ died in 1928 and his remaining estate, over 1,500 a., was broken up following sales by his trustees in 1934.⁷⁷

The south-western corner of Brockhampton Park stands on the site of the house begun by Paul Peart in or soon after 1639.⁷⁸ The house had altered considerably by the early 18th century when it was a double-pile country house with sash windows and, on the west front, a baroque doorcase.⁷⁹ In the late 18th century and the early 19th, when it was known as Sennington or Sevenhampton Park and it was let to tenants, including William Pearce, the perpetual curate of Sevenhampton,⁸⁰ it had dining and drawing rooms, a library, a servants' hall, and a butler's pantry on the ground floor, first-floor bedrooms, and attics.⁸¹ It was still much the same size and shape in 1832 when Fulwar Craven bought it,⁸² but he altered it considerably, completely rebuilding the west range above cellar level and extending it northwards to almost double its length. The new façade was more consciously antique, in a Tudor style; Craven also built the porch and a castellated turret as a top light to the upper floor.⁸³ In the years 1864–8 the east range was rebuilt on a much larger scale with reception rooms around a large light-well flanked on the west by a staircase hall, and the north end of Fulwar Craven's house was replaced by an L-shaped wing with a tower on the west and a service range on the north.⁸⁴ Rainwater heads on the east front bear the gryphon and crosslets of the Colquitt-Craven family.⁸⁵ In the early 20th century Fairfax Rhodes, having engaged the Leeds architect G. W. Atkinson to prepare plans,⁸⁶ added a small north-west service block closely following the free Jacobean style of the 1860s alterations. He also roofed over the light-well to form a double-height reception hall and redecorated the entrance hall with high-quality, neo-17th-century plasterwork in the manner of Ernest

Gimson. Rainwater heads dated 1902 and 1908 all around the house indicate that Rhodes also modified the gutters. The house, bought at the break up of the estate in 1934 by Stephen Mitchell,⁸⁷ was a convalescent home at the end of the Second World War,⁸⁸ after which it changed hands a number of times and was for a short time a country club and hotel. From 1954 it was occupied, partly as offices, by an engineering company within the Dowty Group⁸⁹ and c. 1980 it was divided into 21 flats.⁹⁰

In the early 18th century there were outbuildings north of the house, formal gardens to the west, and a small park to the east. The park included an avenue leading to Brockhampton village and was crossed near the house by a canal created from a section of the river Coln.⁹¹ In the mid 1720s Sir William Dodwell enlarged the grounds by diverting a lane southwards away from the house⁹² and started the creation of a park to the west.⁹³ By the mid 19th century, possibly as part of the alterations by Fulwar Craven, the grounds had been landscaped with terraced lawns around the house and a small lake in place of the canal, and there was a lodge south-west of the house.⁹⁴ In his alterations to the house and its grounds in the early 20th century, Fairfax Rhodes built a summer house and erected a bridge across the lake, the bridge having a timber frame supported on ornamental limestone piers and steel beams. Rhodes also enlarged the lodge and rebuilt a cottage in Brockhampton village as an east lodge.⁹⁵ The outbuildings north of the house, some of which were used as laboratories and engineering workshops from the mid 1950s,⁹⁶ were restored in the late 20th century mostly as dwellings.

By 1136 two thirds of the demesne tithes in Prestbury and Sevenhampton belonged to the dean and the precentor of Hereford cathedral.⁹⁷ The dean and the precentor, who in 1291 each had a portion in Sevenhampton church valued at £1 13s. 4d.,⁹⁸ leased their tithes to Llanthony priory in 1426 and later.⁹⁹ Their Sevenhampton tithes, for which the Lawrence family paid a rent to their lessee for many years after the Restoration,¹ were commuted at parliamentary

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 285/IN 1/7.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 879; (1894), 277; (1897), 284; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), i. 507.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/19; P 364/IN 4/4.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/132.

⁷⁷ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), ii. 1910; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/19; DA 31/516/1/4, pp. 16–18; 2/4, pp. 13–15.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 65, deed 16 Oct. 1707; T 35; a rainwater head bearing Peart's initials and the date 1641 on the present house's S. front appears to be a 19th-cent. fabrication.

⁷⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 858–9.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 53; Whittington Ct. MSS., box 3, letter 4 Feb. 1796; box 5, letters 16 Nov. 1808, 8 Nov. 1809.

⁸¹ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell est. partics. 1803, ff. 16–17.

⁸² N. Kingsley, *Country Houses of Glos.* i. 1500–1660 (1989), 67; cf. Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, p. 17.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, A 285/1, reproduced opposite, Fig. 14.

⁸⁴ Kingsley, *Country Houses of Glos.* i. 67; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xiv. 334; above, Plate 6.

⁸⁵ Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i. 340.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 4/4.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/132; G. A. Teale, 'Brockhampton Park' (unpaginated TS. in *Glos. R.O.*, PA 285/3).

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, pp. 380–1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* DA 31/115/3, pp. 82, 168; Teale, 'Brockhampton Park'.

⁹⁰ Inf. from Mr. P. Jones, of Brockhampton Park.

⁹¹ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 858–9.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 59; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁹³ Above, intro.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123; A 285/1, reproduced opposite, Fig. 14; O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.); for the lodge, P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁹⁵ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. NE. (1923 edn.); cf. *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 295; D 2582/19. The east lodge is dated 1905.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/3/c. 1960s.

⁹⁷ *Eng. Episcopal Acta VII, Heref. 1079–1234*, ed. J. Barrow (Brit. Academy, 1993), pp. 33–4.

⁹⁸ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 223.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., C 115/76, ff. 178v.–179, 238.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 42, L 1a.



FIG. 14. BROCKHAMPTON PARK FROM THE WEST, C. 1840

inclosure in 1818 for a total of 78 a., reduced on an exchange to 71 a.² That land became part of the Lawrence family's estate by purchase in 1859.³

In 1136 the bishop of Hereford granted all the other tithes in Sevenhampton together with the church there to Llanthony priory.⁴ The priory later appropriated the rectory,⁵ which was valued at £9 6s. 8d. in 1291,⁶ and in 1366 and later it leased at least some of its tithes with its manor in Sevenhampton.⁷ It retained the rectory until the Dissolution.⁸ In 1545 the Crown sold the impropriate rectory together with the advowson and the priory's manor to William Berners⁹ and he sold them to Joan Davis. In 1563 Joan and her husband Richard Herbert sold the estate, including the impropriation, to William Wenman and William Chandler and they divided it between themselves.¹⁰ In 1567 Wenman and Chandler, who had unsuccessfully claimed all tithes in the parish,¹¹ sold their tithes from

Hampen to Edward Goddard, the landowner there.¹² Wenman's moiety of the rectory was sold to Stephen Hales in 1569 and to Robert Lawrence of Shipton Solers in 1570.¹³ Robert (d. 1584 or 1585) left it to his youngest son Robert¹⁴ (d. 1644) and the latter left it to his grand-nephew Robert Lawrence,¹⁵ who inherited Sevenhampton manor in 1645.¹⁶ In 1689 Robert settled his share of the rectory on his son Anthony and under that settlement Anthony (d. 1717) was succeeded by his nephew Walter Lawrence.¹⁷ From Walter (d. 1764) it descended, evidently with Sevenhampton manor,¹⁸ to William Morris, who at parliamentary inclosure was awarded 218 a. for his share of the tithes.¹⁹

The other moiety of the rectory passed from William Chandler (d. c. 1614) to his son William²⁰ (fl. 1625). It passed from the latter to his son William²¹ (d. 1652)²² and it was acquired before 1669 by Joseph Hincksman of Salperton, possibly through his marriage to Elizabeth

² Ibid. Q/R1 123.

³ Ibid. D 444/T 99, deed 2 May 1884.

⁴ *Eng. Episcopal Acta VII*, pp. 33-4.

⁵ P.R.O., C 115/77, ff. 130v.-131.

⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 223.

⁷ P.R.O., C 115/82, ff. 15v.-16; C 115/78, ff. 39v., 79v.-80.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 443.

⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), p. 224.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 27.

¹¹ P.R.O., C 78/30, no. 19.

¹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 3; cf. below, Shipton, manors.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 27; for the Lawrences, *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3, 108-13.

¹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 54.

¹⁵ Ibid. F 1.

¹⁶ Above, this section.

¹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 32, T 39.

¹⁸ Cf. *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(3), pp. 29-30; Rudder, *Glos.* 646-7.

¹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 123.

²⁰ *Eccl. Misc.* 79; *G.D.R.* wills 1615/195.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 27.

²² Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

Chandler.²³ Joseph died in 1683²⁴ and another Joseph Hincksman, who owned the same share of the estate in 1690,²⁵ died in 1740.²⁶ The share of the impropriation passed to John Hincksman,²⁷ after whose death in 1774 it was held by his widow Margaret apparently until their son James came of age. From James (d. 1796)²⁸ the estate passed to his brother John,²⁹ who was awarded 221 a. centred on Soundborough for his share of the tithes in 1818.³⁰ From John (d. 1828) the land passed to Fulwar Craven, who purchased the Brockhampton estate in 1832 and sold some of the rectory buildings and land in 1833 to W. L. Lawrence.³¹ Soundborough remained a farm on the Brockhampton estate³² and comprised over 300 a. in 1914 when Fairfax Rhodes sold it to Charles and Jesse Smith. Charles, the sole proprietor from 1917, purchased more land in 1921 and his son Edward Charles Smith sold the farm in 1964. In 1971 D. S. Gemmell doubled the farm's size by acquiring Syreford farm in Whittington and in 1980 he sold the enlarged farm to the Hon. R. I. H. Wills, Soundborough's owner in 1997.³³

The rectory or parsonage house, which was in divided ownership from 1563, when it was called the manor house,³⁴ stood east of the church and among the outbuildings recorded in 1818 was a tithe barn.³⁵ The house and other buildings there were pulled down to make way for the new vicarage house built in 1850. The main house at Soundborough originated as a three-storeyed farmhouse built in 1837. The third storey was removed during repairs following the house's abandonment in the 1950s and the rear wing was extended in the 1970s using stone from some of the nearby farm buildings. The house was further enlarged in 1985.³⁶

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 the bishop of Hereford apparently had 2 ploughs on his demesne in Sevenhampton.³⁷ His livestock there in 1240 included 8 cattle.³⁸ In 1291 the bishop had 3 ploughlands.³⁹ A few years earlier 383 a. arable at Puckham and Sevenhampton was in demesne, perhaps worked as two farms; the land was valued at only 2*d.* an acre compared with 6*d.* an acre for the arable on the bishop's demesne below the escarpment in Prestbury.

The bishop also had 25 a. meadow, pasture at Puckham, and 21 a. arable and 4 a. meadow at Clopley (Lower Sevenhampton) by a recent acquisition.⁴⁰ In 1289 the bishop quitclaimed a pasture close in Sevenhampton to Llanthony priory as part of an agreement under which the priory relinquished its claim to pasture oxen in his park in Prestbury.⁴¹ Several pieces of the bishop's demesne were converted to meadow or pasture before 1390⁴² and his estate in Sevenhampton included 16 a. meadow and 12 a. pasture as well as 4 ploughlands of hilly ground in 1404.⁴³ In 1506 most of the demesne was in the hands of a farmer for £3 6*s.* 8*d.* a year and the demesne at Puckham was farmed separately at £1 6*s.* 8*d.*;⁴⁴ the rent from the Puckham demesne was increased to £5 before 1535.⁴⁵ Under a lease of 1531 the site of the manor and its demesne were farmed from 1537 with other land in Sevenhampton and Clopley at £6 18*s.* 7*d.*; the farmer had a right of estovers in Puckham woods.⁴⁶ In 1575, when Robert Lawrence held the site of the manor, John Cotton and William Baghot, the other lessees of demesne, held Puckham farm and Puckham woods respectively.⁴⁷ Llanthony priory administered its land at Calcombe with its Prestbury estate in 1291⁴⁸ but its lands in Sevenhampton were let at farm in 1366 and later.⁴⁹

In 1086 the bishop of Hereford's estate included 3 free men having 7 ploughs with their men and 21 *villani* with 11 ploughs.⁵⁰ About 1280 there were some 15 free tenants and 36 customary tenants on the manor. Five free tenants owed scutage for estates held by knight service, two holding 18 yardlands that formerly belonged to William of Notcliffe, William holding 6 yardlands, and the others holding 3 yardlands and a wood at Puckham respectively. The other free tenants owed cash rents and heriots. One held 4 yardlands and the rest, including Llanthony priory, had smaller estates. Of the customary tenants 17 each held 2 yardlands and owed 160 days' work a year, including the carrying of grain to Prestbury. A tenant with 1 yardland owed service as the bishop's ploughman and summer labour services. Sixteen other customary tenants between them held 30½ yardlands for cash rents and owed payments in commutation of the service of providing firewood at the feast of St. Andrew (30 November),

²³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 184/T 82; P 285/IN 1/1, marr. 26 Sept. 1652.

²⁴ *G.D.R.*, V 1/104.

²⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 44.

²⁶ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

²⁷ Cf. *G.D.R.* vol. 381a, f. 49; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/L 1a.

²⁸ *Mon. inscr. in ch.*; *G.D.R.* wills 1774/159; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 63.

²⁹ *G.D.R.* wills 1796/13.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

³¹ *Ibid.* D 1388, Craven fam., Sevenhampton papers 1833-46; above, this section.

³² *Glos. R.O.*, G/NO 160/20/1, p. 5.

³³ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/132; inf. from the Hon. R. I. H. Wills.

³⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 27.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Q/RI 123.

³⁶ Inf. from the Hon. R. I. H. Wills.

³⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

³⁸ *Reg. Swinfield*, 87.

³⁹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 237.

⁴⁰ *Red Bk. of Heref.* ed. A. T. Bannister (Camd. 3rd ser. xli), p. 29.

⁴¹ *P.R.O.*, C 115/74, f. 168.

⁴² *Ibid.* C 115/77, f. 131v.

⁴³ *B.L. Add. MS.* 6165, p. 166.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9 and d.

⁴⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii. 3.

⁴⁶ *Reg. Bothe*, 255-6; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 62.

⁴⁷ *P.R.O.*, E 164/39, ff. 14v-17; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1637/M 25.

⁴⁸ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 232.

⁴⁹ *P.R.O.*, C 115/82, ff. 15v-16; C 115/78, ff. 39v., 79v.-80; SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 6.

⁵⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

fish at Lady Day, and salt at Michaelmas. Another tenant with a yardland held a mill at will and had a duty to provide firewood, as did one free tenant, who, because he was not free-born, was likewise a tenant at will. One customary tenant held two crofts of 'forelet' land, land granted only for the life of the bishop, for a cash rent. All the tenants, except those by military service, were by custom to make their ploughs available for the bishop's use.⁵¹

In 1340, when settlements throughout the parish were depopulated or deserted, the greater part of the arable land was uncultivated.⁵² In the late Middle Ages the bulk of the bishop's income in Sevenhampton was from assized rents⁵³ and in 1506 some, representing over a third of their total value, were unpaid.⁵⁴ By the mid 1530s consolidation of holdings on the manor had created several large tenant estates.⁵⁵ The largest included 11 yardlands and was owned by the lords of Shipton Solers manor.⁵⁶ Two others called Okeys and Reeves, in Sevenhampton and Clopley respectively, were farmed with the site of Sevenhampton manor from 1537.⁵⁷ In 1575, when the tenants' holdings were described in a court of survey for Prestbury manor, 22 copyholds in Brockhampton, Sevenhampton, and Clopley were in the possession of 19 tenants. The commonest holdings, of which two comprised forelet land, were 1 or 2 yardlands. Five holdings had several messuages and between 3½ and 7½ yardlands each and the other tenants each held only a few acres, including some forelet land and five quarries. A yardland comprised 48 a. of open-field land.⁵⁸

In the later 14th century, when the bishop of Hereford wintered sheep at Puckham⁵⁹ and Llanthony priory kept a flock in Sevenhampton for at least part of the year, the parish evidently included extensive sheep walks and several sheephouses. The priory reserved the hay from its meadows and tithes as fodder for its sheep and the farmer or farmers of its estate undertook to provide food for a shepherd and a dairymaid while those sheep were in the parish.⁶⁰ The farmer continued to support the priory's shepherd and pay him a stipend of 5s. in the early 15th century when the priory had a sheephouse and some pasture in hand.⁶¹ In 1506 the bishop retained some newly inclosed meadow land at Nash in hand for feeding ewes and the profits of his manor included income from the sale of pasture rights in meadows.⁶² Under a lease of 1542

the tenant of Puckham farm had to maintain eight bays ('rooms') of a sheephouse there.⁶³

In the early 16th century Sevenhampton and Brockhampton had separate open fields, each set being operated on a two-course rotation.⁶⁴ In 1575, when most of the tenants of the manor had land in both sets of fields, there were at least nine or ten areas of open-field land in the centre and the northern part of the parish; references to the fields of Clopley and Nash suggest that some fields had once belonged exclusively to those hamlets but had been incorporated in the Sevenhampton field system.⁶⁵ Puckham may also have had its own fields in the late 13th century.⁶⁶ In 1531 the Sevenhampton fields were named as Quarr field, which took in land east of the river Coln, including a furlong called Oathill, and North field, which took in land to the west, including Calcombe field near Puckham woods.⁶⁷ Early inclosures were represented by the field called Blackthorns, south-east of Lower Sevenhampton, which although cultivated separately by 1503 was common pasture after the harvest,⁶⁸ and by closes at Nash, nearby Old Sennington, and elsewhere belonging to the manorial demesne in 1549.⁶⁹ In 1574 Robert Lawrence, lessee of part of the demesne, and the customary tenants inclosed and exchanged a small proportion of their lands in the Sevenhampton fields, 2 a. for every yardland (then said to contain 24 a.), to enable them to grow more grass and fodder for cattle and livestock and thereby increase the amount of manure at their disposal.⁷⁰ The Sevenhampton fields, which in the mid 17th century included Mill field to the south, Court field to the west, and Quarr field to the east,⁷¹ continued to be worked on a two-course rotation in 1780.⁷² Of the Brockhampton fields in the early 17th century North field included Rowborough furlong and other land on White hill, and South field took in land on the Hawling boundary east of Brockhampton Quarry.⁷³ The area of the Brockhampton fields was also reduced by piecemeal inclosure, most of which apparently took place after 1700.⁷⁴

In 1503 freeholders and customary tenants in Sevenhampton and Brockhampton had common rights in their respective fields for a horse, 4 cattle, and 40 sheep for each yardland. They also had common rights for horses and cattle on waste land in the fields belonging to the lord of the manor.⁷⁵ In the 16th and 17th centuries many sheep and smaller numbers of cattle were pas-

⁵¹ *Red Bk. of Heref.* pp. 27-8; for 'forelet' land, *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 74-5.

⁵² P.R.O., E 179/113/12, rot. 6d.; *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 414.

⁵³ B.L. Add. MS. 6165, p. 166; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), iii. 3.

⁵⁴ B.L. Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9 and d.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1511, rot. 15d.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 236.

⁵⁷ *Reg. Bothe*, 255-6; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 62.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., E 164/39, ff. 12-14, 22v.-24; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1637/M 25; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 75.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., C 115/77, f. 131v.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* C 115/82, ff. 15v.-16; C 115/78, f. 39v.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* C 115/78, ff. 79v.-80; C 115/76, f. 119 and v.

⁶² B.L. Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9.

⁶³ P.R.O., E 164/39, ff. 15v.-16; *Glos. R.O.*, D 184/M 13.

⁶⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., E 164/39, ff. 12-13, 22v.-23v.; cf. *Reg. Cantilupe*, 40; *Glos. R.O.*, D 184/M 13.

⁶⁶ *Red Bk. of Heref.* p. 29.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., C 115/83, f. 105 and v.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* D 184/M 13; cf. *ibid.* D 444/T 65, deed 16 Oct. 1707.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* D 444/M 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* T 35, T 40.

⁷² *Ibid.* T 53.

⁷³ *Ibid.* D 269a/T 58; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 123.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* D 444/F 6, T 63.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* M 2.

tured⁷⁶ and there were large commons on the hills and downs in the outlying parts of the parish.⁷⁷ In the west, West Down was part of an extensive common centred on Cleeve hill in Bishop's Cleeve parish to the north-west.⁷⁸ Arbitration in 1581, following disputes over common rights there, assigned that part of West Down adjoining Puckham woods, to the south, to Robert Lawrence for the term of his lease of demesne land and granted the Brockhampton copyholders pasture rights on the rest of the common, as far as Wontley wood, for the same period.⁷⁹ Later the part adjoining Puckham woods was a several sheep sleight, belonging to the manor⁸⁰ and, from 1638, to the Brockhampton estate,⁸¹ and the common included only a narrow strip of land within Sevenhampton, along the parish boundary; in 1676 separate parts were open to the Sevenhampton and the Brockhampton commoners.⁸² Puckham woods, which were partly in Prestbury,⁸³ had been used as a common in the 1270s⁸⁴ and the tenants of Sevenhampton manor had a customary right to graze horses and cattle but not sheep throughout the year in them in 1503.⁸⁵ Although in 1565 the Sevenhampton tenants denied that the Prestbury tenants had common rights in the woods,⁸⁶ it was intercommoned by livestock from both parishes until it was inclosed under an agreement of 1657, which allotted c. 80 a., mostly on the east side of the valley, as a common for the landholders of Sevenhampton and Brockhampton.⁸⁷ The bounds of the common were slightly varied in 1669 on an exchange between landowners and the individual coppices on it were closed to horses and cattle during the first seven years' growth.⁸⁸ An agreement of 1704 reduced the number of cattle grazing in the woods⁸⁹ and in 1728 the manor court ordered local landowner and farmer Thomas Bastin to supervise the commoners' building of a wall to exclude sheep from the common.⁹⁰

On the south side of the parish a large common in Hampen bottom was used for pasturing both sheep and cattle in the later 17th century. Its boundary with the Hampen estate, to the east, was known as the 'great mere' but pasture rights on the eastern side of the bottom, where there was a watering place called Black wells, were disputed by the estate's owners⁹¹ and, by agreement with the commoners in 1709,

Goddard Carter built a wall as a new boundary for the estate.⁹² A wall was built to mark its southern boundary under an agreement of 1780⁹³ and the common, although described in 1713 as a cow pasture,⁹⁴ was grazed by sheep in the late 18th century.⁹⁵ Brockhampton's commons were on the downs in the northern part of the parish, where, in the far north, an area known as 'new broke lands', adjoining Hawling, was brought into cultivation before 1624. The Oxleaze, a pasture below the Hawling boundary east of Brockhampton village, may have been used as a sheep pasture in the early 17th century,⁹⁶ but an agreement of 1650, under which eight landholders in Brockhampton inclosed parts of it and some small woody areas on Bespidge hill, regulated its use as a cattle pasture and designated the remaining common land on White and Bespidge hills sheep pastures.⁹⁷ In the late 18th century the common on Bespidge hill adjoining Roel Gate was used as a cow pasture.⁹⁸

In the later 17th century and the early 18th parts of the open fields were tilled every year and it had long been accepted practice to plough up parts of the commons, including the Oxleaze, for a number of years.⁹⁹ The hills at Hampen, where Goddard Carter employed a shepherd, were devoted mainly to pasture but corn was also grown there.¹ Puckham farm continued to be used primarily for raising sheep and cattle, the owner in the 1680s removing his sheep from the parish during the lambing and shearing seasons to avoid paying tithes,² and in the mid 18th century, although in divided ownership, it remained a single farm, worked by the Bastin family.³ In the mid 18th century the Tracys' estate included farms worked from houses at Lower Sevenhampton, Oxleaze, and Whitehall⁴ and cottages at Brockhampton held under leases for terms of three lives.⁵ By 1778 Whitehall farm was worked together with a farm in Bishop's Cleeve.⁶

Pressure on the shrinking area of common land was perhaps felt as early as 1612 when the manor court sought to exclude from the parish in winter sheep which had not spent the summer there. In 1656 the court ordered a reduction in the number of sheep for the next two years⁷ and in 1675 the lord of the manor and the commoners agreed to put fewer animals on the commons for the next eight years. The agreement, which reduced the number of sheep by a third,⁸

⁷⁶ P.R.O., E 164/39, ff. 12, 14v.-15, 22v.-23v.; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁷⁸ Cf. O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NW.* (1884 edn.).

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* T 30; cf. Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 35; Q/RI 123.

⁸² *Ibid.* D 444/M 2.

⁸³ Above, intro.

⁸⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i. 166.

⁸⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* D 1727/20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* D 444/T 56, T 63; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 123.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* D 184/T 82.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* D 444/T 63.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* M 1; for Bastin, *ibid.* D 855/T 19.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* D 444/T 56, T 66.

⁹² *Ibid.* T 63.

⁹³ *Ibid.* T 82.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* T 37.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* D 444, surv. of Wal. Lawrence's Sevenhampton est. 1795.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* D 269a/T 58; Q/RI 123.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* D 444/T 23, T 63.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* D 444, surv. of Wal. Lawrence's est. 1795.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* M 1-2, T 37, T 56.

¹ *Ibid.* D 269c/T 4; D 444/T 56, T 66.

² *Ibid.* D 444/T 44.

³ *Ibid.* D 855/T 19.

⁴ *Ibid.* D 444/T 53, T 65.

⁵ *Ibid.* D 182/III/161; D 1395, Brockhampton deeds 1766-1901.

⁶ *Ibid.* D 444/T 53; Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell est. partics. 1803, ff. 8-15.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁸ *Ibid.* T 56.

was repeated later and the number of sheep allowed on the commons continued at the lower level, if perhaps intermittently, until after 1776.⁹ Under an agreement of 1780 for the management of the Sevenhampton fields and commons the commoners hired a single shepherd to look after their flocks.¹⁰

In the mid 1770s the parish was described as being principally in tillage¹¹ and in 1801 930 a. was returned as growing arable crops, mainly wheat, oats, barley, and turnips.¹² Several of the Sevenhampton fields were uninclosed in the early 19th century, including Lower, Elsdown, Down Furlong, Blackthorn, and Oathill fields east of the river Coln, Upper and Lower Bentil fields south of the park, and Little, Lower, and Great Calcombe fields west of the road from Syreford to Cleeve common. At that time nearly 200 a. in the west of the parish was common land, including part of Puckham woods and heavily-pitted land to the east that had been part of the open fields and was known as the slate common and the little slate common.¹³ In the south-east Hampen common covered 152 a. Brockhampton retained rather less open-field land, but 195 a. on White and Bespidge hills remained common land, known as Bespidge common, and there were two much smaller commons, Lower and Upper Oxleaze, to the south, nearer Brockhampton village. The inclosure of the parish was completed under an Act of 1814 and the commissioner's award, dated 1818, dealt with many old inclosures as well as the open fields and commons and commuted all the tithes for land. Of the main beneficiaries Rebecca Lightbourne received 563 a., William Morris 491 a. (including 20 a. for an estate held in trust for his son W. L. Lawrence), and John Hinckman 320 a. The 78 a. awarded to the dean and the precentor of Hereford was reduced to 71 a. on an exchange with James Agg, who received 13 a. Three other landowners were awarded 18 a., 2 a., and 1 a. respectively.¹⁴

In the early 19th century the majority of families in the parish, 62 out of 74 in 1811 and 58 out of 103 in 1831, were employed chiefly in agriculture.¹⁵ Following inclosure Rebecca Lightbourne's estate had four farms with over 200 a. each in Sevenhampton, the largest (380 a.) centred on Oxleaze and the others on Brockhampton, Whitehall, and Lower Sevenhampton.¹⁶ Later, by 1833, the Lawrence family's estate had two much larger farms, one centred on Sevenhampton and the other on Whitehall.¹⁷ In 1851 the largest farm in the parish comprised 780 a. and employed 31 men and children, and the other farms employing ten

or more labourers had 550 a., 540 a., 430 a., 400 a., and 256 a.¹⁸ Seventeen agricultural occupiers were returned in 1896. Nearly all were tenant farmers but one was a freeholder and smallholder.¹⁹ Of the 17 holdings returned in 1926, three had over 300 a., four over 150 a., one over 100 a., and seven under 20 a. Eleven, including the three largest, were in the hands of tenants and there were 38 agricultural labourers in regular employment.²⁰ Of the fifteen farms returned for the parish in 1956 two had over 300 a., three over 150 a., and eight under 50 a. Twelve farms were returned in 1986, one with over 741 a. (300 ha.), another with over 494 a. (200 ha.), a third with over 247 a. (100 ha.), and the rest with under 74 a. (30 ha.). During the later 20th century the number of labourers regularly employed on Sevenhampton's farms fell and more agricultural work was undertaken by contractors. Six hired labourers were returned as having regular employment in Sevenhampton in 1986, when one of the larger farms was run by a manager and the smaller holdings were all worked by part-time farmers.²¹ In 1997 Manor farm, worked since 1899 by Benjamin Thomas Hyatt and his descendants, comprised c. 195 ha. (483 a.) and Whitehall farm, also worked by its owners, c. 162 ha. (400 a.).²²

Three shepherds lived in the parish in 1851, one of them at Hampen,²³ where T. B. Browne raised large flocks and conducted sheep sales in the 1850s and 1860s.²⁴ In 1866, when 1,186 sheep, 264 cattle including some milch cows, and 78 pigs were returned for the parish,²⁵ some 2,274 a. was planted with crops, including grass seeds, a few acres were fallow, and 592 a. was permanent grassland.²⁶ Later in the century the area devoted to cereals was reduced and land turned to permanent pasture, and in 1905 the parish had 1,358 a. of arable and 1,313 a. of permanent grassland. Those proportions remained much the same in 1926, when 590 a. was described as rough grazing. Only 699 sheep were returned for the parish in 1896 and 542 breeding ewes in 1926. Beef animals accounted for most of the 227 cattle returned in 1896. In the early 20th century stock rearing and pig farming increased, 497 cattle and 163 pigs being returned in 1926, and large-scale poultry farming was introduced. In the late 19th century horses were bred and reared in Sevenhampton²⁷ and in the 1920s and 1930s the profitability of Manor farm, which was then devoted to raising sheep and cattle, depended on the sale of cart-horses and hunters.²⁸ In 1956, when only 347 a. was returned as growing corn and 39 a. as fallow, 749 a. was described as permanent grassland and

⁹ Ibid. M 1, T 82, Z 1.

¹¹ Rudder, *Glos.* 646.

¹² 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 177.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 123; *Glos. Sites & Monuments Rec.* (*Glos. co. arch. service*), no. 6892.

¹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 123.

¹⁵ *Census*, 1811; 1831.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 182/III/162; Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, pp. 19–26.

¹⁷ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell and Sevenhampton estates maps 1833, pp. 15–18.

¹⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

¹⁰ Ibid. T 53.

¹⁹ Ibid. MAF 68/1609/1.

²⁰ Ibid. MAF 68/3295/17.

²¹ Ibid. MAF 68/4533/187; MAF 68/6005/14/187.

²² Inf. from Messrs. T. Jackson and K. Gregory, both of Sevenhampton.

²³ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

²⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/C 3; below, Shipton, econ. hist.

²⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/25/23.

²⁶ Ibid. MAF 68/26/12.

²⁷ Ibid. MAF 68/1609/1; MAF 68/3295/17; *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

²⁸ Inf. from Mr. Jackson.

at least 1,017 a. was used as pasture; the livestock returned that year included 454 ewes, 621 beef and dairy cattle, 221 pigs, and 2,328 poultry.²⁹ In the 1970s and 1980s more land was used for cereals and more sheep were kept and Manor farm, on which dairy cows had been bred earlier, maintained a herd of up to 280 cattle. In 1986, when 1,470 a. (595 ha.) was returned as growing corn, 598 a. (242 ha.) was described as grassland and 158 a. (64 ha.) as rough grazing and the livestock in Sevenhampton included 1,012 ewes and 288 beef cattle. In the late 1990s, when most of the farms continued a mixed economy, Manor farm had 200 ewes and c. 160 beef cattle and Whitehall farm supported a herd of beef cattle.³⁰

A water mill recorded in Sevenhampton in the late 13th century³¹ was held at will from the bishop of Hereford c. 1280.³² In 1337 Roger of Breinton was licensed to grant the bishop a mill, almost certainly at Clopley, as part of an endowment for an obit for Richard Swinfield, a former bishop,³³ and in 1404 the bishop's estate had a ruined water mill.³⁴ That or another water mill was later let to a tenant, but the rent was unpaid in 1506³⁵ and its site, which was forelet land,³⁶ was among the land acquired by Reginald Nicholas and Richard Wardwick in 1576.³⁷ A water grist mill operated in Sevenhampton in 1669³⁸ and field names recorded in 1818 indicate that a mill once stood on the Coln downstream of Lower Sevenhampton towards Syreford.³⁹

The Cotswold slate outcrop in the west of the parish was quarried for roofing material, perhaps as early as Roman times.⁴⁰ In 1404 the bishop of Hereford's Sevenhampton estate had two quarries, both of which had been worked for ragstone and stone tiles.⁴¹ One may have been Nash quarry, east of Puckham, which was recorded in the late 1380s⁴² and paid rent to the manor in 1506.⁴³ Place names recorded in the mid 16th century suggest that lime had once been made at several sites on that side of the parish.⁴⁴ Slate quarrying was an important source of income for the manor in 1630⁴⁵ and, although one slate digger undertook in 1648 not to quarry in the commons or fields of Sevenhampton,⁴⁶ it continued intermittently.⁴⁷ In 1781 seven men with quarries on common

land, five of them from parishes neighbouring Sevenhampton and two from Winchcombe, agreed to pay the lord of the manor a royalty and he undertook to prosecute people taking stones and slates without their consent.⁴⁸ In 1997 old workings were clearly visible in those areas east of Puckham woods known in the early 19th century as the slate common and the little slate common.⁴⁹ Several small pits had been reopened there in the late 1940s⁵⁰ and the most recently abandoned workings were to the north at Puckham Scrubs, by the road to Cleeve common.⁵¹

In the later Middle Ages there were important quarries in Brockhampton. Llanthony priory used stone from one to repair a bridge near Cheltenham in 1481 or 1482⁵² and the prior, along with the abbots of Winchcombe and Evesham and others, owed rents to the manor in the early 16th century for quarries there.⁵³ The manor's Brockhampton quarries, of which three were recorded in 1575,⁵⁴ were sold in 1591.⁵⁵ The main area of quarrying was on the hillside at Brockhampton Quarry, where the depth of the workings is indicated by the survival in the summer of 1635 of snow and ice from the previous winter.⁵⁶ At that time the quarries supplied freestone over a wide area, including Gloucester, and they were also a source of Cotswold slates or tiles.⁵⁷ Two masons were listed in Brockhampton in 1608⁵⁸ and members the Denley family, masons resident at Brockhampton Quarry from the mid 18th century, became active in quarrying in neighbouring parishes.⁵⁹ At least four masons lived at Brockhampton Quarry in 1851⁶⁰ but the main quarry there had been abandoned by the early 1880s.⁶¹ It provided stone for a new house built nearby in the early 1930s.⁶²

In the late 1930s there was a large quarry in the east of the parish at Soundborough.⁶³ It was worked for stone to make roof slates in the late 1940s⁶⁴ and it was a source of undressed building stone in the late 1990s.⁶⁵ Building stone was excavated on a small scale in the centre of the parish until the mid 1970s.⁶⁶

Early evidence for trades and crafts other than those connected with stone working is slight.

²⁹ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/187.

³⁰ Ibid. MAF 68/6005/14/187; inf. from Messrs. Jackson and Gregory.

³¹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 237; *Reg. Swinfield*, 285.

³² *Red Bk. of Heref.* ed. A. T. Bannister (Camd. 3rd ser. xli), p. 27.

³³ *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 398.

³⁴ B.L. Add. MS. 6165, p. 166.

³⁵ Ibid. Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9d.

³⁶ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 23.

³⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 56.

³⁸ Ibid. D 444/T 63.

³⁹ Ibid. Q/RI 123.

⁴⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxi, 18, 86.

⁴¹ B.L. Add. MS. 6165, p. 166.

⁴² Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁴³ B.L. Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9d.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., C 115/83, f. 105; E 164/39, f. 24v.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 30.

⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.* T 63.

⁴⁷ Ibid. M 2, T 75.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Z 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Q/RI 123.

⁵⁰ W. J. Arkell, *Oxford Stone* (1947), 146; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxi, 18.

⁵¹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. NW. (1884, 1923 edns.).

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1637/M 26.

⁵³ B.L. Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9d.; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1511, rot. 15d.; E 164/39, f. 23v.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., E 164/39, f. 24.

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 38.

⁵⁶ Ibid. D 2688, f. 79v.

⁵⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxiv, 299; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/PA 10.

⁵⁸ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 273.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1395, Brockhampton deeds 1766–1901; A. J. Price, 'Chelt. Stone' (Frocester, 1999), 11.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/1951.

⁶¹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁶² Inf. from Mr. Jackson.

⁶³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 306.

⁶⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3530/1/3; Arkell, *Oxf. Stone*, 146.

⁶⁵ Inf. from Mr. A. J. Price, of Frocester.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, p. 634; inf. from Mr. Jackson.

The washing or soaking of flax and hemp in the Coln in 1646⁶⁷ may have been part of a local industry for which no other evidence survives. A blacksmith was recorded in 1669 and a cordwainer in 1694.⁶⁸ In 1770 a Shipton carpenter and wheelwright took a lease of a barn known as Sheephouse barn and undertook to convert it as a cottage and his workshop.⁶⁹ Building and other village trades were well represented at Brockhampton and, to a lesser extent, Brockhampton Quarry in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁷⁰ There was also a smithy at Lower Sevenhampton in 1818⁷¹ and another at Upper Sevenhampton operated in the later 19th century.⁷² A machine maker at Lower Sevenhampton in 1823 moved to Brockhampton.⁷³ John Wood, a baker, built a malthouse in Brockhampton village in 1769⁷⁴ and George Combe (d. 1871) established a brewery in an outbuilding to the west after he bought it in 1853.⁷⁵ The brewery closed in or soon after 1921⁷⁶ and, after malting ceased some years later, the malthouse was used for a time to dry grain.⁷⁷ Brockhampton had a shopkeeper in the mid 18th century⁷⁸ and there were also shopkeepers in some of the smaller hamlets in the 19th century. A carrier at Brockhampton Quarry provided a service to and from Cheltenham in the 1850s⁷⁹ and there was a post office in Brockhampton in the early 1880s.⁸⁰ Among the less usual tradesmen recorded in the parish was a corn factor in 1784.⁸¹ In the mid 19th century one Brockhampton man was described variously as a chemist⁸² and a surgeon and dentist, and other Brockhampton residents included a gardener and a tree planter.⁸³ Some village trades, including those of blacksmith and carrier, survived at Sevenhampton and Brockhampton in the 1930s⁸⁴ and traditional crafts were practised by a saddler and a stone waller in the late 1970s.⁸⁵ The parish retained a number of shops in the 1930s⁸⁶ but they all closed later. In 1997 Brockhampton village hall accommodated a post office.

In 1850 T. B. Browne, who patented several innovations in weaving, provided new buildings

for a flax mill on the parish boundary at Hampen and for a few years manufactured sackings and hoses there.⁸⁷ Browne, who devised several schemes for employing country people,⁸⁸ also operated the factory as a bone mill in 1856.⁸⁹ A few years later he handed it over to a local farmer,⁹⁰ who ran it solely as a bone mill producing fertilizer and artificial manure.⁹¹ The factory was abandoned in the late 1880s.⁹²

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In 1287 the bishop of Hereford claimed view of frankpledge in the manor of Sevenhampton and, by a grant of Henry III, exemption for his men there from suit of shire and hundred courts for all pleas except those belonging to the Crown.⁹³ In 1394 the bishop was granted assize of bread, wine, ale, and other victuals and assay and sealing of measures and weights on his estates.⁹⁴ Although the bishop's Prestbury courts apparently dealt with matters relating to Sevenhampton until at least the 1530s,⁹⁵ two court sessions were held in Sevenhampton in 1506.⁹⁶ Court rolls from the years 1573–4 and 1609–98 are among surviving manorial records for Sevenhampton.⁹⁷ By the later 16th century the manor court evidently met once a year, in the spring, to combine the business of the view of frankpledge with that of a court baron. In the 17th century it enforced the assize of ale and on at least one occasion an incidence of bloodshed was reported to it. The court also dealt with the harbouring of strangers and had the usual concern for roads, watercourses, and bridges. In dealing with agrarian matters, including, in the late 16th century, inclosure of land, it regulated common rights, electing four men as sheep or beast tellers, and ordered the inhabitants to repair the common pound. It also acted against encroachments on the lord's waste land.

The parish had two churchwardens in 1543 and later,⁹⁸ although by the early 18th century there was often only one.⁹⁹ In the 17th century the manor court elected the constable and the duty of filling that office possibly rotated among

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* T 63.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Z 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* T 53, T 63; D 1395, Brockhampton deeds 1766–1901; G.D.R. wills 1848/155; Whittington Ct. MSS., box 8, deed 30 Sept. 1725; P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁷¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 123.

⁷² O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE.* (1883 edn.).

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 285/IN 1/3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* D 444/T 11; inser. on bldg.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, reg. wills 1871, ff. 452–3; D 4719.

⁷⁶ *Diaries of Thos. Hyatt* (d. 1991) in keeping of Mr. Jackson; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923), 297; (1927), 312.

⁷⁷ Royal Com. Hist. Monuments (Eng.), 'Hist. Building Rep. 93502' [1997].

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/L 5; P 285/IN 1/1, burial 23 June 1762.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* D 4084/2/27; P 364/CH 2; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–1902 edns.).

⁸⁰ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. NE.* (1883 edn.).

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 33.

⁸² *Ibid.* P 285/IN 1/3.

⁸³ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁸⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 300; (1939), 306.

⁸⁵ *Cotswold Life*, March 1978, 24–5; June 1978, 40–1.

⁸⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 300; (1939), 306; *Glos. Life*, May 1974, 42–3.

⁸⁷ A. Chatwin, 'Hampden Flax Mill', *Glos. Soc. Ind. Arch. Jnl.* (1976), 17–19; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/L 1.

⁸⁸ *Chelt. Examiner*, 18 Feb. 1891.

⁸⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 306.

⁹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton est. draft leases 1831–76; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 335.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton est. vouchers 1873–83; O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SE.* (1883 edn.).

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Beale Browne fam., corres. 1879–87; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 562; (1889), 879.

⁹³ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 257.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1341–1417, 349.

⁹⁵ *Reg. Cantilupe*, 3; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1511, rot. 15d.

⁹⁶ B.L. Add. Roll 27311, rot. 9d.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/M 1–3, T 82.

⁹⁸ Hockaday Abs. xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 26; xliiii, 1566 visit. f. 3; G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 45.

⁹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 60; G.D.R. vol. 319; vol. 320; *ibid.* V 5/262t 2.

landholders. The court also elected two surveyors of the highways for the parish, and in 1656 it sought to control the use of the church house as a poorhouse.¹ Poor relief was administered by one overseer of the poor in 1720² and by two overseers in 1803.³ Its cost rose from £82 in 1776 to £258 in 1803, when 46 people were receiving assistance.⁴ Ten years later slightly less was spent on providing help for half that number⁵ and in the later 1820s and early 1830s the annual cost was usually below £180.⁶ Sevenhampton was included in Northleach poor-law union in 1836,⁷ and the whole of the parish was in Northleach rural district from 1895⁸ until 1935 when the area lost to the new civil parish of Sudeley was transferred to Cheltenham rural district.⁹ At local government reorganization in 1974 the remainder of Sevenhampton became part of Cotswold district and Sudeley part of Tewkesbury district.

CHURCH. In 1136 Sevenhampton church, then described as the church of Prestbury on the hills, was given by Robert, bishop of Hereford, to Llanthony priory.¹⁰ The priory had the church, a rectory, in its gift in the mid 13th century and, as the incumbent conceded in 1264, received a pension of 40s. from it.¹¹ In 1275 the priory was permitted to appropriate the rectory by virtue of the church's status as a dependent chapel of Prestbury.¹² In the late Middle Ages the appointment and maintenance of a chaplain or curate for the church rested with farmers of the priory's Sevenhampton estate;¹³ a chaplain taking a lease of the estate in 1383 was required to serve in person or to provide someone suitable in his place.¹⁴ The owners of the impropriate rectory nominated curates after the Dissolution¹⁵ and the benefice, called a vicarage in the mid 16th century,¹⁶ became a perpetual curacy following several endowments in the 18th century.¹⁷ Later also known as a vicarage,¹⁸ it

was united with Charlton Abbots in 1929.¹⁹ Hawling was added to the united benefice in 1953 and Whittington in 1975.²⁰ From 1996 Sevenhampton was one of eight parishes served by a priest-in-charge living in Shipton Oliffe village.²¹

After the division of the rectory estate in 1563²² the two impropriators usually, if not always, made joint nominations to Sevenhampton church,²³ as in 1766 when John Lawrence, to whom his father Walter (d. 1764) had willed the curacy at that vacancy, was their nominee.²⁴ The bishop, who nominated by reason of lapse in 1851 and 1872,²⁵ acquired the patronage from C. W. Lawrence and G. C. Colquitt-Craven in 1888.²⁶ At the union of benefices in 1929 he obtained the advowson for two of every series of three turns²⁷ and from 1953 he shared the patronage with E. W. Bailey.²⁸ At the union of 1975 the bishop and three other parties were awarded a joint right of presentation.²⁹

In the 1530s, and presumably earlier, the Sevenhampton curate received a salary or stipend from the farmer of Llanthony priory's estate.³⁰ A stipend paid later by the impropriators³¹ was £8 in 1603³² and had been raised to £10 by the early 18th century.³³ Each impropriator paid half of the stipend and at parliamentary inclosure in 1818 their payments were fixed as rent charges on land allotted to them.³⁴ Joshua Aylworth of Aylworth, in Naunton, by deed of 1715 gave £200 in trust to augment the curate's income.³⁵ A similar sum left by Sir William Dodwell by will proved 1728³⁶ was used for the same purpose and was matched in 1730 by a grant from Queen Anne's Bounty.³⁷ Goddard Carter by will proved 1725 left a rent charge of £5 from land at Hampen for a person appointed by his successors to read Sunday morning prayers in the church;³⁸ at the end of the century it was paid to the curate. The curate's income from that and from the other three gifts mentioned here was £39 15s. in 1807.³⁹ From 1810 the

¹ Glos. R.O., D 444/M 2.

² Ibid. T 60.

³ Ibid. EL 565: Whittington Ct. MSS., poor rate 1803.

⁴ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172-3.

⁵ Ibid. 1818, 146-7.

⁶ *Poor Law Returns* (1830-1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁷ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁸ Glos. R.O., DA 31/300/2.

⁹ *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii).

¹⁰ *Eng. Episcopal Acta VII, Heref. 1079-1234*, ed. J. Barrow (Brit. Academy, 1993), pp. 33-4.

¹¹ P.R.O., C 115/77, ff. 125-6.

¹² Ibid. ff. 130v.-131.

¹³ Ibid. C 115/76, f. 119 and v.; SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 6.

¹⁴ Ibid. C 115/78, ff. 79v.-80.

¹⁵ G.D.R. vol. 285b(3), pp. 29-30; Hockaday Abs. ccxxxii, 1808; for the descent of the rectory, above, manors.

¹⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), p. 224; Glos. R.O., D 444/T 27.

¹⁷ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxii; G.D.R. vol. 383, no. ccxiv.

¹⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870 and later edns.).

¹⁹ *Lond. Gaz.* 14 May 1929, pp. 3221-2.

²⁰ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1953-4), 48-9; (1972), 44-5; (1976), 68-9; G.D.R., V 7/1/69.

²¹ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1997-8), 19, 109, 111.

²² Glos. R.O., D 444/T 27.

²³ Ibid. T 44; P 285/IN 1/2, mem. at front of vol.; G.D.R. vol. 285b(3), pp. 29-30.

²⁴ Whittington Ct. MSS., box 20, deed 10 Apr. 1776; Glos. R.O., D 444/F 3; for Wal. Lawrence, above, manors; according to Fosbrooke, *Glos.* i. 442, the patronage was vested solely in the Lawrence fam., and to *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 351; (1885), 561, it was exercised by the impropriators alternately.

²⁵ G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 172; vol. 385, p. 180.

²⁶ *Lond. Gaz.* 14 Aug. 1888, pp. 4347-8.

²⁷ Ibid. 14 May 1929, pp. 3221-2.

²⁸ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1953-4), 48-9; (1972), 44-5.

²⁹ G.D.R., V 7/1/69.

³⁰ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 6; cf. Hockaday Abs. xxviii, 1540 stipendiaries, f. 27; xxx, 1544 stipendiaries, f. 10.

³¹ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 44.

³² *Ecl. Misc.* 79.

³³ Atkyns, *Glos.* 857; G.D.R. vol. 285b(2), p. 9.

³⁴ Glos. R.O., Q/R1 123; G.D.R., V 5/2621 3.

³⁵ B.L. Lansd. MS. 988, ff. 281v.-282.

³⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/619 (P.C.C. 8 Brook), ff. 62v.-63; for Dodwell, above, manors.

³⁷ Hodgson, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1826), 154, 324.

³⁸ P.R.O., PROB 11/606 (P.C.C. 248 Romney), f. 197v.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., D 245/1/7, ff. 3, 5, 10, 12; G.D.R., V 5/2621 2-3.

curacy was augmented several more times by Queen Anne's Bounty⁴⁰ and in 1828 it owned 24 a. in Withington.⁴¹ Its value in 1856 was only £50.⁴²

There was no house attached to the living until the mid 19th century.⁴³ Edward Ellerton, curate from 1825, acquired a house standing south-east of the churchyard and in 1846, when it was occupied by his stipendiary curate, he gave it to Queen Anne's Bounty in exchange for an augmentation of the living.⁴⁴ The house and other houses and buildings near by were demolished to make way for a parsonage that Ellerton built in 1850 next to the churchyard and set back from the road.⁴⁵ That house, retained for the united benefice in 1929 and 1975,⁴⁶ was sold in the mid 1990s.⁴⁷

Among the earliest known curates was John Hanley, who in 1551 was unable to recite the Ten Commandments.⁴⁸ Until the mid 19th century the curates usually served one or more churches besides Sevenhampton and many held neighbouring benefices. In the mid 1560s Miles Busted, who was then also curate of Salperton, officiated in person but some services were performed by the rector of Whittington.⁴⁹ Busted (d. 1584) was succeeded as curate of Sevenhampton by William Busted.⁵⁰ The curate in 1593 was described as a sufficient scholar but no preacher.⁵¹ The curate named in 1642⁵² lived in Brockhampton in 1650.⁵³ Following the Restoration the church was served by a succession of clergy including the rector of Whittington for much of the 1660s and the curate of Salperton in the early 1670s.⁵⁴ In the mid 1680s the rector of Hawling had the curacy of Sevenhampton, and in the 18th century the two benefices were held together for several periods⁵⁵ and services alternated between the two churches.⁵⁶ In 1768 John Lawrence, who had been appointed to both benefices in 1766, resigned Hawling and became curate of Salperton but from 1772 and until his death in 1808 he held all three benefices. William Pearce, his successor at Sevenhampton and Salperton, lived in Sevenhampton and served both parishes; in 1811 he was licensed to be absent for two years.⁵⁷ Pearce retained Sevenhampton after becoming vicar of Leigh in 1813, but after a few

years he took up residence in Staverton and placed stipendiary curates in charge of Sevenhampton. Stipendiary curates were also appointed by the next perpetual curate, Edward Ellerton, 1825–51, who was an Oxford don.⁵⁸ At the end of his incumbency Ellerton provided a parsonage or vicarage house⁵⁹ and his successors were usually resident.⁶⁰ From 1996 the church was served by a non-resident priest⁶¹ and in most weeks in 1997 it had one Sunday service.

In 1365 Llanthony priory granted a lease of a house and its lands in Brockhampton by the service of maintaining a lamp in Sevenhampton church.⁶² Land in Sevenhampton given to support a lamp in the church passed to the Crown and was granted to Sir Edward Warner in 1561.⁶³

The church, which bore a dedication to *ST. ANDREW* by 1503,⁶⁴ comprises chancel, central tower, north and south transepts, and nave with south porch.⁶⁵ The cruciform plan and some of the surviving fabric date from the 12th century; the lintel of the nave south doorway has chevron decoration and the west end pilaster buttresses. A substantial rebuilding took place in the 13th century, the lancet windows in the chancel and south transept and a blocked one in the nave being from that period. Before its rebuilding in 1892 the east wall of the chancel also contained evidence of former lancets;⁶⁶ shafts in the reveal of the south transept south window in 1863,⁶⁷ crudely altered to receive them, could have come from there. Larger traceried windows replaced the east window, the north-east and south-east chancel windows, and the west window in the 14th century. For part of that century the entire church was evidently maintained by Llanthony priory or the farmers of its Sevenhampton estate⁶⁸ but by the end of it the priory or its lessees were only concerned with the repair of the chancel;⁶⁹ after the Dissolution the lay rectors became responsible for the chancel's fabric.⁷⁰ In the late 15th century or the early 16th the slender tower, with a tierceron vault on angel corbels, was inserted into the larger crossing by means of flying buttresses from the west walls of the crossing,⁷¹ the south porch was added, the south side of the church was much rebuilt in squared limestone, and

⁴⁰ Hodgson, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1845), p. cclxxxvi; (suppl. 1864), p. lxvi.

⁴¹ G.D.R., V 5/262t 3.

⁴² Ibid. vol. 384, f. 172.

⁴³ Ibid. vol. 285b(2), p. 9; Hockaday Abs. cccxxxii, 1817.

⁴⁴ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxii; Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell and Sevenhampton estates maps 1833, p. 30.

⁴⁵ Whittington Ct. MSS., box 4, letter 9 Jan. 1847; Glos. R.O., D 1381/135; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xiv. 337; cf. Glos. R.O., Q/RI 123; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁴⁶ *Lond. Gaz.* 14 May 1929, pp. 3221–2; G.D.R., V 7/1/69.

⁴⁷ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994–5), 15, 104; (1997–8), 19, 109.

⁴⁸ *E.H.R.* xix. 104.

⁴⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxii; xliii, 1566 visit. ff. 3, 20.

⁵⁰ G.D.R. wills 1584/105; Hockaday Abs. xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 11.

⁵¹ Hockaday Abs. lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 10.

⁵² Ibid. lxiv, 1642 visit. f. 44.

⁵³ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 63.

⁵⁴ Ibid. P 285/IN 1/1; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, nos. 224, 297.

⁵⁵ G.D.R., V 5/262t 1; Hockaday Abs. ccxxxix, cccxxxii.

⁵⁶ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 49.

⁵⁷ Hockaday Abs. ccxxxix, cccxxxix, cccxxxii.

⁵⁸ Ibid. cclix, cccxxxii; *D.N.B.*, s.v. Ellerton, Edw.; *Alum. Oxon.* 1715–1886, ii. 418.

⁵⁹ Above, this section.

⁶⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xiv. 347; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁶¹ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1997–8), 19, 109, 111.

⁶² Glos. R.O., D 1637/M 24.

⁶³ *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 329.

⁶⁴ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 44.

⁶⁵ Above, Plate 33.

⁶⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xiv. 340; Glos. R.O., D 2593/2/564.

⁶⁷ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 128.

⁶⁸ P.R.O., C 115/82, ff. 15v–16; C 115/78, f. 39v.

⁶⁹ Ibid. C 115/78, ff. 79v–80; C 115/76, f. 119.

⁷⁰ Glos. R.O., D 1381/135.

⁷¹ Cf. above, Plate 34.

several new windows were installed. Those alterations were partly paid for by John Camber (d. 1498), a Worcester wool merchant, who left 100s. for work on the church. Camber was buried in the church⁷² and in 1535 funds for an anniversary commemoration of his death came from property in Prestbury.⁷³

New doors and seats were installed during repairs carried out in 1771 and 1772 under the direction of the incumbent John Lawrence. His brother Walter, who supplied a deficit in funds from subscriptions, donated a number of fittings and furnishings.⁷⁴ The chancel was overcrowded in 1807⁷⁵ and the church remained cluttered, with tall pews facing in all directions and the altar barely visible from the nave, until it was restored and repewed in 1892 and 1893 to plans by F. W. Waller. During the restoration, which was partly at the expense of the Lawrence family, the chancel was reroofed and its east wall rebuilt, chimney stacks were built on the north side of the chancel and nave, most of the windows were reglazed, and a vestry was formed at the west end of the nave. Soil that had accumulated against the walls was removed and the churchyard levelled in places.⁷⁶ Among the new church fittings was a font given by Agatha Lawrence;⁷⁷ the baluster font it replaced, dating probably from the Restoration and described in 1863 as wretched and modern,⁷⁸ was used for floral displays in the church in 1997. A small organ stood in the north transept from 1974.⁷⁹

Of the church's three bells the oldest dates from the 15th century, the treble, the gift of William Chandler, was cast by John Pennington in 1650, and the third was recast at the Rudhalls' foundry in Gloucester in 1718.⁸⁰ The plate includes a paten of 1716 obtained by gift from Mary Lawrence (d. 1717) and a chalice and paten cover of 1731 acquired in 1732.⁸¹ John Camber is commemorated by a brass in the chancel; it was formerly on the floor there.⁸² The chancel also contains a stone monument to William Chandler (d. 1652), a wooden memorial to Anna (d. 1653), wife of John Carter of Charlton Abbots,⁸³ brasses to members of the Lawrence family in the later 17th century, and later memorials to members of both the Lawrence and Hincksman families. Of the glass memorials in the chancel only one was installed before 1892⁸⁴ and two date from the mid 1990s, one of the latter depicting the church in an agri-

cultural scene. The south transept windows contain memorial glass of the later 19th century and the early 20th. The earliest memorials in the north transept, where owners and occupants of Brockhampton Park sat, are marble wall monuments to Sir William Dodwell (d. 1727) and the Revd. John Craven (d. 1804); its windows contain early 20th-century glass memorials. In the churchyard near the porch is a group of richly carved tombchests and headstones of the later 17th century and the 18th.⁸⁵ The surviving parish registers, which begin in 1588 and include entries for Charlton Abbots in the 17th and 18th centuries, contain few marriages between 1716 and 1755.⁸⁶

NONCONFORMITY. Although Baptists from Bourton-on-the-Water and elsewhere held a meeting at Brockhampton in 1660,⁸⁷ no nonconformists were recorded among Sevenhampton parishioners in 1676.⁸⁸ A house in Brockhampton was registered for nonconformist services in 1813⁸⁹ but that meeting was short lived.⁹⁰ In 1833 Baptists led by James Smith, a minister in Cheltenham, were active there and the following year they built a chapel called Bethel at Brockhampton Quarry;⁹¹ in 1837 their Sunday school taught 60 children and was connected with Salem chapel in Cheltenham.⁹² The chapel became Particular Baptist and in 1851 its congregation was fewer than 50 and its minister lived in Withington.⁹³ Another Baptist meeting in Brockhampton was associated with Salem chapel in the late 1840s⁹⁴ and it built a chapel in the village in 1850. That chapel, known as Salem, had a congregation said in 1851 to number up to 100⁹⁵ and was General Baptist in the later 19th century.⁹⁶ It was rebuilt in 1861⁹⁷ and had a new schoolroom added to it in 1920.⁹⁸ It closed in 1990 and was converted as a house. The Brockhampton Quarry chapel, which had remained open until the 1960s, was also a house in 1997.⁹⁹

Wesleyan Methodists from Cheltenham began holding services at Hampen hill in 1861 but abandoned them in 1865 in favour of other missions to the area.¹

EDUCATION. In 1813 a schoolmaster lived in the parish² and in 1818 Sevenhampton had two

⁷² *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 444–6.

⁷³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 443.

⁷⁴ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁷⁵ G.D.R., V 5/262t 2.

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/564; cf. *Glos. Colln.* (H) E 3.23; photog. of ch. interior before restoration (pasted in copy of *Glos. Ch. Notes* in *Glos. Colln.* 35130, between pp. 128–9).

⁷⁷ Inscr. on font.

⁷⁸ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 128.

⁷⁹ TS. notes in church.

⁸⁰ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 542–3.

⁸¹ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 181; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁸² Davis, *Glos. Brasses*, 95–8.

⁸³ Other members of the fam. were buried at Sevenhampton in the later 17th cent. and the early 18th: *Glos. R.O.*, P 285/IN 1/1; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 229.

⁸⁴ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/564.

⁸⁵ Cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xcvi. 73–4.

⁸⁶ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 237; *Glos. R.O.*, P 285/IN 1/1–7.

⁸⁷ *Glos. N. & Q.* ii. 190.

⁸⁸ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 537.

⁸⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxii.

⁹⁰ G.D.R. vol. 383, no. ccxiv.

⁹¹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxii; date and name on bldg.

⁹² *New Guide to Chelt.* [1837], 149–50.

⁹³ P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/9/18.

⁹⁴ Inf. (derived from a printed hist. of Salem Baptist Ch., Chelt.,) from Mrs. R. J. Stewart, of Brockhampton.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/9/19.

⁹⁶ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁹⁷ *Chelt. Examiner*, 26 June 1861.

⁹⁸ *Chelt. Chron.* 31 July 1920.

⁹⁹ Inf. from Mrs. Stewart.

¹ G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Methodism in Chelt. and District* (1912), 78.

² *Glos. R.O.*, P 285/IN 1/3.

or three day schools teaching *c.* 20 children and a Sunday school with *c.* 40 pupils.³ Twenty children from the parish also attended day school in 1825.⁴ From 1830 children went to a day school in Whittington opened by the trustees of Rebecca Lightbourne's charity and the Sunday school received £2 a year from the charity.⁵ The Sunday school, which was also supported by subscriptions, was united to the National Society and it taught 55 children in 1833 and 49 children in 1847; in the latter year it was held in the church.⁶ In 1845 a schoolmaster was among Brockhampton's residents⁷ and in 1851 Sevenhampton and Brockhampton each had a dame school.⁸

In 1855 a day school was established in Sevenhampton under the management of the perpetual curate Charles Chambers. Supported by voluntary contributions and pence, it occupied the same room as the Sunday school⁹ in a small building behind the vicarage house. In 1864 Georgina Maria Craven provided a new schoolroom built in Brockhampton village partly by subscription and she took over the management of the day and Sunday schools,¹⁰ but in 1868 the incumbent G. E. F. Masters reopened the Sevenhampton schoolroom and the Lightbourne charity resumed its grant, discontinued in 1865, to the Sunday school; the grant was paid until 1872.¹¹ The church day school, which in 1869 had 38 infant and junior pupils in a single department,¹² moved in 1870 to a new building on the lane from Lower

Sevenhampton to Brockhampton; the site was given by W. L. Lawrence¹³ and the building designed by D. J. and R. Humphris of Cheltenham.¹⁴ The school in Brockhampton closed in 1869¹⁵ and its room was later used as a reading room.¹⁶ The church school taught children from Sevenhampton and Charlton Abbots¹⁷ and had an average attendance of 60 in 1889¹⁸ and 81 in 1904.¹⁹ Later known as Sevenhampton C. of E. school, it had infant and mixed junior classes and was supported by the Lawrence and Rhodes families in the early 20th century. The school building was enlarged in 1912²⁰ but the average attendance was 62 in 1922 and fell to 35 in 1938.²¹ From 1946 the school took children from Salperton²² and in 1958 it had 39 children on its roll.²³ It closed in 1974²⁴ and the building was converted as a house.

CHARITY FOR THE POOR. By deed of 1720 Hester Mitchell and her son Thomas Longford gave a 20s. rent charge from a close called Dunnwell (later Dunnywell) for a bread dole four times a year to ten parishioners, including five widows.²⁵ The charity was distributed only at Christmas by the late 1820s²⁶ and the recipients were given bread until the 1950s. The rent charge was redeemed in the late 1960s and a Scheme of 1972 permitted the charity's distribution of doles in kind or cash.²⁷ The charity was wound up in 1989 and its funds were given to a local old people's club.²⁸

SHIPTON OLIFFE AND SHIPTON SOLERS

SHIPTON OLIFFE and Shipton Solers were two separate parishes that were united in 1871 to form the civil parish of Shipton lying 10 km. ESE. of Cheltenham.²⁹ Shipton, where five estates were described in 1086,³⁰ was accounted a single vill in the early 14th century³¹ but the division of landownership was reflected in

the various names used in the Middle Ages. Part was called Shipton Champfleure from the 1230s,³² but was also known as Shipton Tyrel in the later 13th century³³ and as Shipton Solers (or Shipton Sollars) by 1331.³⁴ Shipton Pelye and Shipton Oliffe were recorded from 1303 and 1306 respectively³⁵ and like Shipton Solers

³ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 310.

⁴ G.D.R. vol. 383, no. ccciv.

⁵ Glos. R.O., P 364/CH 1, CH 5.

⁶ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 325; *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, Glos. 14-15.

⁷ Glos. R.O., P 285/IN 1/3.

⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁹ *Ibid.* ED 7/35/280.

¹⁰ *Nat. Soc. files*, Sevenhampton; Glos. R.O., D 444, letter 9 Apr. 1869 (Georgina Craven to G. E. F. Masters).

¹¹ Glos. R.O., P 364/CH 1, CH 5.

¹² P.R.O., ED 7/35/280: the schoolmaster from 1869 was said in *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 629, to teach a separate Brit. sch.

¹³ G.D.R., S 2/5; *Nat. Soc. files*, Sevenhampton.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 2186/112.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* D 444, letter 9 Apr. 1869.

¹⁶ Above, intro.

¹⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 380; (1906), 58.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* (1889), 879.

¹⁹ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 188.

²⁰ Glos. R.O., S 285/1.

²¹ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1922 (H.M.S.O.), 107; 1932, 117; 1938, 129.

²² Glos. R.O., S 285/1.

²³ *Ibid.* K 766/3/36.

²⁴ Inf. from Mrs. Stewart.

²⁵ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 60.

²⁶ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 126.

²⁷ Glos. R.O., D 3469/5/131.

²⁸ Inf. from Mrs. Stewart.

²⁹ Poor Law Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 61 (Local). The following account was written in 1998.

³⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v., 167v., 168v., 169 and v.

³¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 271.

³² *Bk. of Fees*, i. 440; *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222; *Reg. Bransford*, p. 410.

³³ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 978-80.

³⁴ *Reg. Orleton*, p. 32; *Reg. Bransford*, p. 432.

³⁵ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 173; *Reg. Bransford*, p. 389.

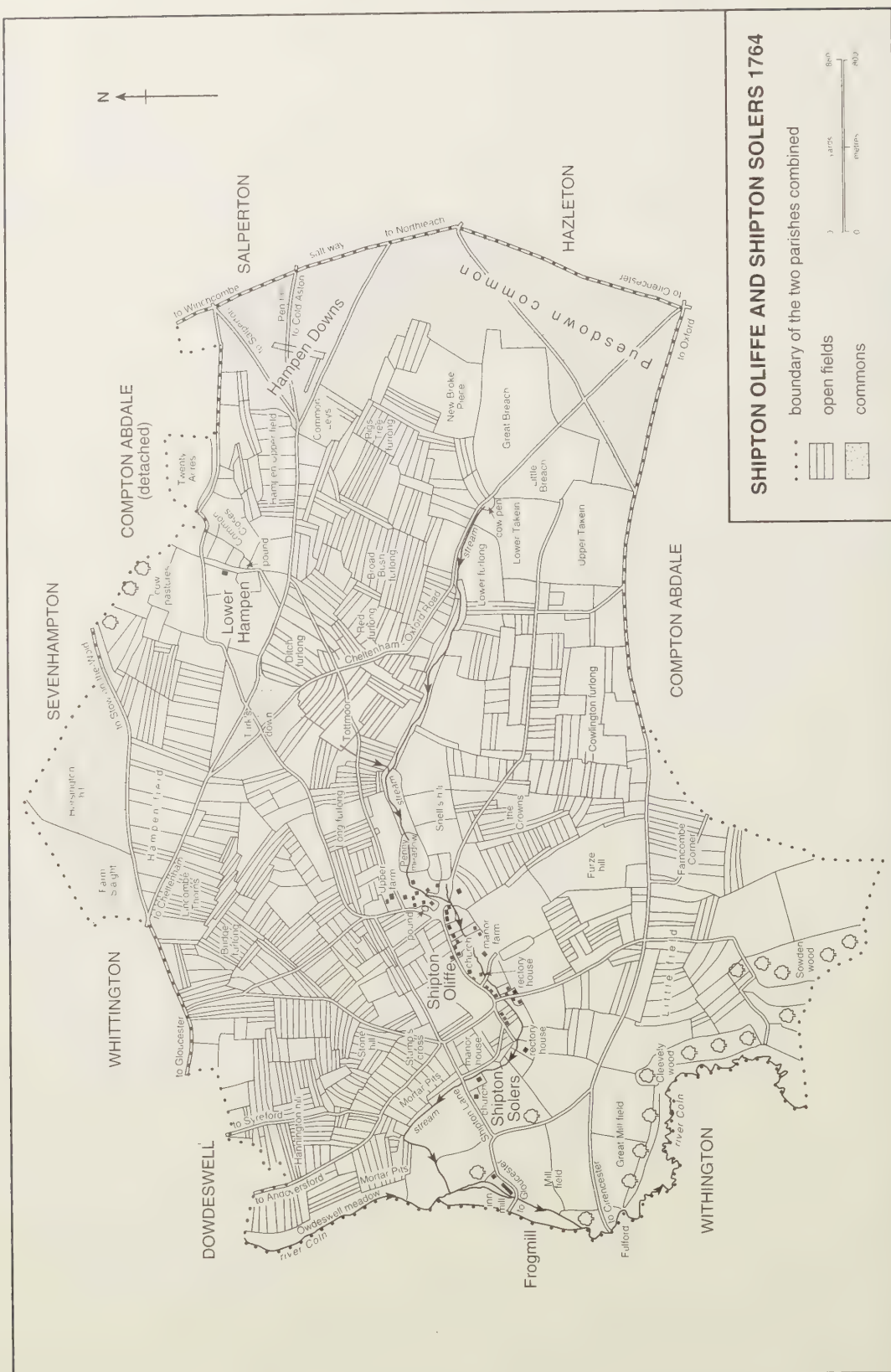


FIG. 15

remained distinct tithings in the early 15th century,³⁶ although Shipton Pelye was connected tenurially to Shipton Solers by the early 14th century.³⁷ The names Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers came to be used for distinct parishes and also for separate settlements with their farmland as well as for separate manors. The histories of the two parishes are given together here because they were not always distinguished in records and because the boundaries between them have not been precisely identified. Their lands were much intermixed³⁸ and their boundaries presumably ceased to correspond to those of individual estates long before inclosure in 1793.³⁹ In the following account the name Shipton is used for the combined areas of Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers.

The parish of Shipton created in 1871 was roughly rectangular in shape and was bounded on the west by the river Coln or, at Frogmill, the line of an abandoned western channel of the river. The eastern boundary was marked by a road once part of a salt way, and sections of the longer northern and southern boundaries also followed roads, including the main Gloucester–Oxford road in the south-east.⁴⁰ The river Coln had divided Shipton Solers from Withington, to the west.⁴¹ Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers were reckoned in 1831 to contain 1,050 a. and 1,160 a. respectively.⁴² In the north-east Shipton included part of Hampen, where two estates were described in 1086.⁴³ In 1327 and 1381 Hampen was assessed for tax with Shipton⁴⁴ and later Lower Hampen belonged to Shipton Oliffe⁴⁵ and most of Upper Hampen to a detached piece of Compton Abdale comprising 110 a.⁴⁶ From 1883, when the detached part of Compton was added to it, Shipton had 2,816 a.⁴⁷ including 26 a. at Hampen described as extraparochial in 1862.⁴⁸ In 1956 84 a. at the western end of Shipton was transferred to the new civil parish of Andoversford to leave Shipton with 2,732 a. (1,105 ha.)⁴⁹ and in 1987 a smaller area of land (c. 12 ha.) on the north side of a disused railway line at Hampen was transferred to Sevenhampton.⁵⁰ The following account includes the land transferred to Shipton from Compton Abdale in 1883. Railway and industrial development in the north-west of Shipton next to the hamlet of Andoversford is treated

with the rest of that hamlet in the history of Dowdeswell given above.

The highest point of Shipton, at 268 m., is the summit of Pen hill in the east. Much of the rest of Shipton is on hills rising to over 200 m. and in the south-east the wolds reach 250 m. on the ridge called Puesdown, a name recorded from 1236.⁵¹ A tributary of the river Coln rising south of Pen hill has cut a valley across the centre of Shipton from east to west; the upper part of the valley was known as Pen slade (*Pennysladd*) in the 1520s.⁵² In the west the land falls to 165 m. and the side of the Coln valley is particularly steep in the south-west corner. Apart from the bottom of the Coln valley, which is on the Upper Lias and Midford Sand, the land is formed by successive strata of the Inferior Oolite, fuller's earth, and the Great Oolite.⁵³ Before inclosure in 1793 much of the high ground was farmed in open fields and a large area in the east, stretching from Pen hill to Puesdown, was common pasture. In the mid 18th century woodland was mostly confined to the steep side of the Coln valley in the south-west, where Cleevely wood by the river and Sowden wood higher up to the south-east were the largest woods,⁵⁴ and after inclosure some of it, including Sowden wood, was cleared.⁵⁵ The countryside was particularly suitable for hunting, the Hampen area being described in 1797 as one of the best sporting districts of the Gloucestershire Cotswolds,⁵⁶ and in the late 19th century a large copse was planted south-west of Hampen as a covert.⁵⁷ In 1905 Shipton had only 64 a. of woodland⁵⁸ but in the early 20th century several new woods were formed in the Coln valley and elsewhere in the south, and belts of trees were planted by the roads in the south-east corner.⁵⁹ In the later 20th century new plantations were established in the central valley and on the eastern hills⁶⁰ and in 1986 the area of woodland returned for Shipton was 240 a. (97 ha.).⁶¹

In 1086 33 tenants were enumerated on estates in Shipton and Hampen.⁶² Eleven residents of Shipton and Hampen were assessed for tax in 1327⁶³ and at least 40 were assessed for the poll tax in 1381.⁶⁴ In 1551 the number of communicants was estimated at 20 for Shipton Oliffe and 30 for Shipton Solers⁶⁵ but in 1563 the parishes were said to have 8 and 4 households respectively.⁶⁶ The population had risen by 1650, for

³⁶ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, pp. 620–1.

³⁷ Below, manors; cf. *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 632.

³⁸ Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 285, 287; Rudder, *Glos.* 656.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁴⁰ *O.S. Maps* 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SE., XXVIII. SW., XXXV. NE. (1883 edn.); cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930.

⁴¹ Rudder, *Glos.* 656.

⁴² *Census*, 1831.

⁴³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v., 167v.

⁴⁴ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12; *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288.

⁴⁵ *G.D.R.*, vol. 100, deposition of John Davies 24 Apr. 1607; V 5/267t 5.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 39; *G.D.R.*, T 1/61.

⁴⁷ *Census*, 1891; *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884).

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/L 1.

⁴⁹ *Census*, 1961.

⁵⁰ The Cotswold (Parishes) Order 1986; *Census*, 1981–91; *O.S. Map* 1/25,000, sheet 45 N. (1998 edn.).

⁵¹ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/73/12, no. 207.

⁵² *Corpus Christi Coll.*, Oxf., Archives, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47.

⁵³ *Geol. Surv. Map* 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930; P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁵⁵ *O.S. Map* 6", *Glos.* XXXV. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁵⁶ *Glouc. Jnl.* 17 July 1797.

⁵⁷ *O.S. Map* 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SE. (1883, 1903 edns.); *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 8, no. 81.

⁵⁸ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

⁵⁹ *O.S. Map* 6", *Glos.* XXXV. NE. (1903, 1924 edns.).

⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.* Map 1", sheet 144 (1953 edn.).

⁶¹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/6005/14/203.

⁶² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v., 167 and v., 168v.–169v.

⁶³ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁶⁴ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313.

⁶⁵ *E.H.R.* xix. 104, 110.

⁶⁶ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C.* 790, ff. 21, 16.

in that year there were 18 and 9 families respectively;⁶⁷ the numbers of communicants in 1603 were given as 60 and 24.⁶⁸ In the early 18th century two thirds of the population of the two parishes, estimated at a total of 200, were said to live in Shipton Solers,⁶⁹ but Shipton Oliffe had the greater population *c.* 1775 when 113 people of an estimated 243 lived in Shipton Solers.⁷⁰ The combined population, which fell from 239 in 1801 to 207 in 1811, rose after 1811 and, despite a fall in Shipton Solers in the 1840s and 1850s, reached a peak of 376 in 1881. In the following century Shipton's population fluctuated around 300, and only in 1961, when it stood at 254, did it fall well below that level. There were 317 residents in 1991.⁷¹

Of the roads in Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers in 1236, that known as the great street of Fulford⁷² ran eastwards from the river Coln at Fulford, on the boundary between Withington and Shipton Solers, and climbed steeply to the Puesdown ridge above Compton Abdale. The crossing at Fulford had a bridge by the late 16th century but by that time traffic between Gloucester and Burford (Oxon.) also used a crossing upstream at Frogmill⁷³ from where it reached the ridge above Compton by a route making a sharp turn to the south-east at the end of Shipton Lane. The road along the ridge was known as Gloucester way in 1584 and as the London road in 1680⁷⁴ and with the route up from Frogmill it was part of the Gloucester-Oxford turnpike between 1751 and 1870.⁷⁵ The bridge at Frogmill was repaired at the county's expense in the early 19th century.⁷⁶ The route from Fulford up to the ridge, in 1764 part of a way from Cirencester,⁷⁷ was abandoned not long after 1777.⁷⁸

In the mid 18th century Shipton Lane was part of a route running north-eastwards from Frogmill to Shipton Solers.⁷⁹ From there the route continued along the north side of the central valley by way of a crossroads known as Stump's cross and turned north-eastwards for Hampen. Shipton Oliffe village was on a branch road lower down to the south, in the valley. From a crossroads in the western part of the village one road (Kilham Lane) ran south-eastwards up to the Gloucester-Oxford road and another ran north-westwards by way of Stump's cross and forked in the north-west of Shipton for Andoversford, in Dowdeswell, and Syreford, in Whittington.⁸⁰ The Syreford route was a way

to Whittington mill in the 1520s.⁸¹ At inclosure in 1793 a new road was built from Syreford to the Gloucester-Oxford road; it took a south-easterly course through the eastern part of Shipton Oliffe village and followed an old lane east of the village before turning south-eastwards to rise to meet the main road at a point west of the former Puesdown common. The old road from the village to Andoversford and Syreford was declared a footpath and that on the side of the valley above the village a bridleway, thus leaving the road in the valley through the village and a road running northwards from the village's eastern end up to the old road from Stump's cross as the principal way to Hampen.⁸² That route between the village and Hampen was the way to Salperton in 1830⁸³ and a footpath in 1998. South of the Gloucester-Oxford road the road to Compton Abdale was recorded in 1236.⁸⁴

A road running north-east of Shipton Oliffe village was in the 1520s a way to Northleach⁸⁵ and was turnpiked in 1756 as part of a road linking Cheltenham with Oxford by way of Syreford. From crossroads formed by the Gloucester-Stow road on the north side of Shipton, its course followed a road to Hampen for a short distance before it branched south-eastwards to cross the central valley and run up to a junction on Puesdown with the Gloucester-Oxford road at the south-east corner of Shipton near Puesdown Ash. The road carried coach traffic in 1764,⁸⁶ some of it probably from Gloucester by way of Andoversford,⁸⁷ but it was abandoned as traffic from Cheltenham diverted to a road up through Dowdeswell to the Gloucester-Oxford road west of Frogmill.⁸⁸ Its route in the south-east of Shipton was described as the old London road at inclosure in 1793, when it was among land awarded to William Peachey and, as mentioned above, a new road between Syreford and the Gloucester-Oxford road was built.⁸⁹ The old London road was visible in 1998 only for a short section defined by walls below Puesdown. A new route from Cheltenham, opened in 1825, ran on the west side of Shipton to a junction with the Gloucester-Oxford road at the end of Shipton Lane east of Frogmill.⁹⁰ The section of that new road immediately south of Andoversford was diverted to the east during the construction of the Midland and South Western Junction railway in the late 19th century.⁹¹ The roads from

⁶⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁶⁸ *Eccl. Misc.* 78, 73.

⁶⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 649–50.

⁷⁰ Rudder, *Glos.* 656–7.

⁷¹ *Census*, 1801–1991.

⁷² P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/12, no. 207.

⁷³ B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, ff. 499v., 511, 557.

⁷⁴ G.D.R., V 5/267t 2, 5.

⁷⁵ *Glos. and Oxon. Roads Act*, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 14, ff. 270, 339v.–340v.; 15, ff. 62v., 79v.–80.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* D 1930.

⁷⁸ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); *Glos. R.O.*, P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁷⁹ For roads in Shipton in the 18th cent., above, Fig. 15.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930.

⁸¹ *Corpus Christi Coll. Archives*, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁸³ *Corpus Christi Coll. Archives*, map 52.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/12, no. 207.

⁸⁵ *Corpus Christi Coll. Archives*, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47.

⁸⁶ *Tewkesbury and Chelt. Roads Act*, 29 Geo. II, c. 51; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930.

⁸⁷ *Glouc. Jnl.* 5 Sept. 1763.

⁸⁸ Cf. Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); above, Dowdeswell, intro.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁹⁰ *Griffith's New Hist. Description of Chelt. and Vicinity* (1826), 99; *Chelt. Roads Act*, 5 Geo. IV, c. 100 (Local and Personal).

⁹¹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SE. (1883, 1903 edns.).

Gloucester and Cheltenham to Oxford remained the busiest in the area in the late 20th century; in the west the Gloucester road had been diverted north of Frogmill and in the south the Oxford road had been widened in improvements carried out in the 1960s.⁹²

The Gloucester–Stow road running east of Andoversford across the north of Shipton was turnpiked between 1755 and 1871.⁹³ A tollgate was erected on it at the junction of the Hampen road⁹⁴ at the place called Square Ditch.⁹⁵ The road on the east side of Shipton, once part of the salt way that ran from Droitwich (Worcs.) to the river Thames at Lechlade, was a route to Cirencester and Winchcombe in the mid 18th century.⁹⁶ A road running north-eastwards to it across the south-east corner of Shipton was designated as the route from Compton Abdale to Broadway hill in 1793⁹⁷ but did not exist in the mid 1820s.⁹⁸

The Banbury and Cheltenham railway opened across the north of Shipton in 1881.⁹⁹ The Midland and South Western Junction railway, opened in 1891 to link Cheltenham with Andover (Hants), branched from the Banbury–Cheltenham line at Andoversford and ran alongside the river Coln, mostly on the Shipton side. That line closed in 1961¹ and the Banbury–Cheltenham line closed the following year.²

The settlement that became known as Shipton Oliffe village grew up in the central valley with a church in the valley bottom on the north bank of the stream and a manor house on the south bank close to the site of a complex of Roman buildings.³ Roads in the village ford the stream in several places, presumably including that called 'calvesford' in 1394.⁴ There was a rectory house south-west of the church until the 19th century and also some early building further west in Kilham Lane, where several 17th-century cottages form part of a small group of buildings south of the stream.

There were also early farmhouses and cottages higher up the valley close to springs rising some way north-east of Shipton Oliffe church. The buildings there, some of which belonged to Shipton Solers parish,⁵ once extended further up the valley's southern side but most of the older surviving buildings are on the northern side, where in the mid 18th century there was a circular pound.⁶ College Farm contains at its

west end an early 17th-century, two-roomed house of one and a half storeys. Originally entered from the west, it was enlarged soon after its sale by Corpus Christi college, Oxford, in 1944⁷ and it has a south front created by additions of the 1960s and 1990s.⁸ North Farm House,⁹ higher up to the north, was once part of a holding called Upper or Lawrence farm¹⁰ that belonged to Robert Lawrence in the mid 16th century.¹¹ At that time, the house was substantial and there were at least two detached, parallel ranges. The southern range was in continuous use as a farmhouse and became a private residence on its sale in 1972.¹² Its oldest fabric is contained in the thick-walled two central bays, which have smoke-blackened roof timbers and may represent the hall; a floor supported on deep intersecting beams was inserted probably in the mid 16th century together with a chimney stack built of very large blocks of squared, dressed stone.¹³ The range was extended east and west in the 17th century, and the east end was raised by a storey in the 18th century or the early 19th and, probably at the same time, the west end extended by one bay. A parallel range was built along the north side, probably in the 18th century. The northern detached range, perhaps a chamber block, housed a dairy and a loft or upper room in the early 20th century;¹⁴ it was restored in 1975¹⁵ and was an office in 1998. Built of dressed rubble with some re-used, dressed blocks, it was originally a three-bayed, two-storeyed building of the early or mid 16th century and had two chambers on the upper floor. There is a blocked doorway at the west end of the ground floor and another, visible inside, at first-floor level on the south side towards the west end. The windows on both floors have paired arched lights and at the west end there are four-centred headed fireplaces on both floors; the stack has been removed from the north wall. South Farm (formerly Lower Farm), in the valley bottom and south of the stream,¹⁶ is a mid 18th-century farmhouse¹⁷ and has a back wing added in the 1920s. Its outbuildings, to the south-east, are extensive and some were converted for domestic occupation in the late 20th century. The eastern end of the village also includes two pairs of 19th-century cottages.

In the 19th century building also took place near Shipton Oliffe church. North of the village

⁹² Cf. Glos. R.O., Q/SRh 1966; *The Field*, 23 Feb. 1961.

⁹³ Glos. and Warws. Roads Act, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁹⁴ O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/RUM 287; cf. *ibid.* D 1930; Q/SR 1761.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* D 1930; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁹⁸ Greenwood, *Map of Glos.* (1824); O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁹⁹ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.*, revised C. R. Clinker (1964), ii. 315; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

¹ C. G. Maggs, *Midland and SW. Junction Rly.* (Newton Abbot, 1967), 43, 90–1; O.S. Maps 6", Glos. XXVII. SE; XXXV. NE. (1903 edn.).

² Glos. R.O., D 2871/2/26.

³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cvi. 223.

⁴ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 634.

⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1930; Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, map 52; cf. G.D.R. wills 1765/86; 1767/214.

⁶ Glos. R.O., D 1930.

⁷ *Ibid.* D 4858/2/4/1958/11.

⁸ Inf. from Mr. J. van Gils, of College Farm.

⁹ Above, Plate 7.

¹⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/202 (P.C.C. 215 Fines), f. 99 and v.; cf. O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

¹¹ P.R.O., C 2/Eliz. I/H 13/48; for Rob. Lawrence, above, Sevenhampton, manors.

¹² Inf. from Mrs. V. Williams, of North Fm. Ho.

¹³ Above, Plate 29.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 2299/2452.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* D 3295/1/17.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* D 1388/SL 8, no. 81.

¹⁷ The SE. front is dated 1750; inf. from Mr. J. A. B. Baillie-Hamilton, of South Fm.

street four pairs of cottages were built on land belonging to the Fletcher family,¹⁸ the first two pairs dating perhaps from before 1860.¹⁹ To the east a row of cottages opposite the church originated as two dwellings to which Silas Smith, owner of an adjoining timber yard, added five more in 1860.²⁰ Further east, and set back a little from the street, a gabled house of stone with brick dressings was built for Smith on his retirement in 1867.²¹ A more ornamental cottage to the south-east was built by George Fletcher about the same time.²² In the following years a schoolroom and a brick nonconformist chapel were put up further west on the street²³ and in 1888 a farmhouse was erected on the rector's glebe next to the schoolroom.²⁴

In the 1920s and 1930s several new cottages were built in the village,²⁵ notably a row of three erected in 1934 at the south end in Kilham Lane to a traditional design by Norman Jewson for R. H. A. Gresson.²⁶ In the later 20th century some older dwellings were demolished but others were restored and extended, often with the addition of gabled dormers in traditional Cotswold style,²⁷ and the village was enlarged by new private housing. Some new houses were at the western end, including at the entrance to Kilham Lane, but most were at the eastern end, where houses and bungalows were built on the Syreford road and the former Hampen road. In 1998, when new building continued, some of the more recent houses filled the land in the triangle at the road junction in the eastern part.

Downstream of the village the stream flows north-westwards past the small settlement of Shipton Solers. That settlement centres on a former manor house west of the stream with a tiny church higher up to the west in Shipton Lane. The Old Rectory, some distance to the south-east, stands on the site of the Shipton Solers glebe house. Part of its grounds, north of the stream and fronting the road at the western end of Shipton Oliffe village, was given up for a new burial ground, first used in 1901,²⁸ and in the later 20th century several detached houses were built on the south side of the road, thereby linking Shipton Solers to the main village. West of Shipton Solers two pairs of estate cottages on opposite sides of the crossroads at the end of Shipton Lane were built in 1902 for D. G. Bingham.²⁹

On the west side of Shipton earthworks indi-

cate the site of an abandoned settlement near the river Coln on the far side of the low rise west of Shipton Solers church. The settlement comprised houses on both sides of a hollow way leading to Andoversford or perhaps Owdeswell, in Withington, to the north-west,³⁰ and it may have been the place known as Frogmarsh, which was inhabited until at least the later 13th century.³¹ Parts of the earthworks were destroyed by the construction of a section of the Cheltenham-Oxford road opened in 1825. Those that survive are in a field known in the mid 18th century as Frogmore.³²

Frogmill, on the Coln at the west boundary of Shipton, may have been the site of a mill by the later 11th century.³³ By the late 16th century the road past the mill was an important thoroughfare³⁴ and in the early 1680s an inn next to the mill included judges travelling to Gloucester among its patrons.³⁵ The inn competed with one at Andoversford for the Gloucester-London coach traffic in the 1760s, when it also accommodated travellers to and from Cheltenham,³⁶ and it remained a coaching inn well into the 19th century. There was a police station near by in 1841.³⁷ The inn, which stands on the north-west side of the former line of the road from Gloucester, was greatly extended in the 19th and 20th centuries, and in 1998 it incorporated the surviving parts of a three-storeyed, L-shaped building of the mid 17th century and a lower late 17th-century range with two gables. Out-buildings south of the old road remained part of the inn in 1998 and a building north-east of the inn, occupied as two cottages in the mid 19th century, was also standing.³⁸

In the north-east of Shipton settlement existed at Hampen in the later 11th century³⁹ and the hamlet comprised two large houses and a few scattered cottages in 1998. Hampen Manor at Lower Hampen is the principal house on a farm which the Handy family has worked since the early 19th century. After buying the farm in 1867⁴⁰ Thomas Handy built a row of three cottages north of the house and in the early 1870s the house was enlarged.⁴¹ Land around the house had been planted as a park by the early 1880s⁴² and an avenue of chestnuts was created along the drive from the south-west in the early 20th century. In the later 20th century the cottages were converted as two dwellings and in the later 1970s a bungalow was built nearer the

¹⁸ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1; G/NO 160/22/1, pp. 5-6.

¹⁹ Ibid. Q/RUM 310.

²⁰ W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe (1959, TS. in Glos. Colln.), 3; datestone of 1860 on row.

²¹ W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 3; date and inits. 'SS' on ho.

²² Glos. R.O., D 2593/2/161, 515.

²³ P.R.O., ED 7/35/282; Glos. R.O., D 3418/2/18/3.

²⁴ Glos. R.O., D 2593/2/515.

²⁵ Ibid. DA 31/100/4, pp. 288, 388.

²⁶ Ibid. 5, p. 244; *Norman Jewson 1884-1975* (Bibury, priv. print. 1987).

²⁷ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 3295/1/17.

²⁸ Ibid. P 290/IN 1/11.

²⁹ Ibid. D 2593/2/649, 654.

³⁰ The site was examined with Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ. Cf. M. Aston and L. Viner, 'Deserted

Villages in Glos.', *Arch. in Glos.* (Chelt. Art Gallery and Mus. and B.G.A.S. 1984), 282.

³¹ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 978-80.

³² Glos. R.O., D 1930.

³³ Below, econ. hist.

³⁴ Above, this section.

³⁵ *Life of Rob. Frampton*, ed. T. Simpson Evans, 148; Hist. MSS. Com. 29, 13th Rep. II, Portland, ii, pp. 294, 296.

³⁶ *Glouc. Jnl.* 5 Sept. 1763; 25 Apr. 1768.

³⁷ Glos. R.O., P 290/IN 1/4.

³⁸ Ibid. D 1930; P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

³⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 167.

⁴⁰ Below, manors; econ. hist.

⁴¹ Inf. from Mr. T. R. Handy, of Hampen; Mr. Handy's papers include building bills and receipts.

⁴² O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

house.⁴³ Hampen House, higher up to the north-east at Upper Hampen, was also a farmhouse until it became a country residence in the 1930s.⁴⁴ Another farmhouse built next to it in the 1850s⁴⁵ was later enlarged. In the mid 19th century several cottages were built a short distance to the south-east at Pateley, so called in 1861,⁴⁶ and in the later 20th century two of the three cottages there were demolished.⁴⁷ In the late 1870s and early 1880s Hampen included huts for navvies constructing the Banbury and Cheltenham railway.⁴⁸

Following inclosure in 1793 several barns were built in the fields in the east of Shipton.⁴⁹ Pairs of mid 19th-century cottages at Hill barn and Tottmoor had been converted as single dwellings by 1998.⁵⁰ On the hillside south of the village, ranges of farm buildings built around a yard in 1867 and 1868 for George Fletcher⁵¹ were remodelled in 1934 for R. H. A. Gresson as stables.⁵² In 1998 part was occupied as a house and there was a wooden bungalow near by and a later 20th-century house to the south-east. In 1860 the only dwelling at Square Ditch was a tollhouse north of the Stow road.⁵³ It had been demolished by the early 1880s but a cottage was built on the Hampen road there by the early 1870s.⁵⁴

There was a beerhouse in Shipton Oliffe village in the later 19th century⁵⁵ but the only public house in Shipton in 1998 was the much older Frogmill inn, mentioned above. A friendly society meeting at the inn in 1848 held an annual service in Shipton Oliffe church and, having lapsed, was revived for a few years after 1880.⁵⁶ A reading room opened in Shipton Oliffe in the late 19th century⁵⁷ was replaced in 1909 by a new building at the eastern end of the village;⁵⁸ the new room was the village hall in 1998. The village schoolroom, occupied by a day school until 1946, was a church hall for several years in the later 20th century.⁵⁹ In the late 19th century and the early 20th Shipton had a brass band and several sports clubs; in the mid 20th century E. F. Fieldhouse gave the parish land beyond

Frogmill and just within Withington for a playing field.⁶⁰

Arthur Charlett (1655–1722), a scholar and Oxford don, was born at Shipton where his father was rector of Shipton Solers.⁶¹

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. In 1066 Osgot held an estate of 2¼ hides in Shipton and in 1086 William Leuric held it with Geoffrey as his tenant.⁶² The estate was probably the later manor of *SHIPTON OLIFFE*, which was represented c. 1220 by ¼ knight's fee in Shipton held from the honor of Richard's Castle by Stephen of Elmbridge (Ambrige).⁶³ Later the estate which became the manor was assessed for ⅓ knight's fee and in 1285 Adam of Elmbridge was mesne lord under Robert de Mortimer.⁶⁴ In 1512 the manor was said to be held of Adam Elmbridge.⁶⁵

In 1236 Ralph of Shipton acknowledged that the ⅓ knight's fee, excepting the service of Henry le Bigod and his wife Margery, was held from him by John son of Simon Templar, sometimes called John of Shipton, in the right of his wife Olive⁶⁶ of Hereford.⁶⁷ Robert Oliffe held the manor in 1285⁶⁸ and, although its descent at several periods is not known, the Oliffes retained ownership until the end of the 17th century. Robert Oliffe, perhaps the owner in 1285, was patron of Shipton church in 1289⁶⁹ and held the ⅓ knight's fee in 1303.⁷⁰ In 1307 the patron of Shipton Oliffe church was Robert of Shipton,⁷¹ perhaps the same man, and in 1313 it was Joan, described as lady of Shipton.⁷² In 1346 William Norman was assessed for the 1/3 knight's fee⁷³ and Ralph of Dowdeswell exercised the patronage.⁷⁴ Robert Oliffe was lord of Shipton Oliffe in 1371⁷⁵ and probably at least one other man of that name held the estate in the early 15th century.⁷⁶ From Robert, the son and heir of Thomas Oliffe, the manor passed after 1462 to William Oliffe. William died seised of it in 1488 and his son Richard was declared to be his heir in 1512.⁷⁷ Richard died a few years later⁷⁸ and the manor

⁴³ Inf. from Mr. Handy.

⁴⁴ Below, manors.

⁴⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton est. papers 1840–50; Salperton est. draft leases 1831–76.

⁴⁶ P.R.O., RG 9/1787, s.v. Shipton Oliffe; Compton Abdale.

⁴⁷ Inf. from Mr. Handy.

⁴⁸ Glos. R.O., P 290/IN 1/4; P.R.O., RG 11/2561.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁵⁰ Inf. from Mr. Baillie-Hamilton.

⁵¹ Glos. R.O., D 2593/2/190; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NE. (1883 edn.).

⁵² Date and inits. on entrance arch; Gresson's architect was Norman Jewson; Glos. R.O., D 2909/1/79.

⁵³ Glos. R.O., Q/RUM 287.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., RG 10/2652; RG 11/2561; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁵⁵ W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 3.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., FS 2/3, Glos. no. 432; FS 4/12, Glos. no. 432; W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 6.

⁵⁷ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 4/4, press cutting 8 May 1897.

⁵⁸ Date on bldg.

⁵⁹ Glos. R.O., P 290/SC 1/4; D 3469/5/133.

⁶⁰ W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 6, 8–9.

⁶¹ *D.N.B.*; Glos. R.O., P 290/IN 1/3.

⁶² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 167v.

⁶³ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 604; cf. *Bk. of Fees*, i. 55; for the Elmbridge fam., *V.C.H. Worcs.* iii. 61.

⁶⁴ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

⁶⁵ P.R.O., C 142/27, no. 32.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* CP 25/1/73/12, nos. 207–8; *Bk. of Fees*, i. 441.

⁶⁷ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/11, no. 176.

⁶⁸ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

⁶⁹ *Reg. Giffard*, 349.

⁷⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 246.

⁷¹ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 173, 177.

⁷² *Reg. Reynolds*, 156.

⁷³ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 278.

⁷⁴ *Reg. Bransford*, p. 389.

⁷⁵ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Lynn, f. 16v.

⁷⁶ *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 63; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Peverell, f. 73v.; *Reg. Morgan*, i, f. 25v.; *Reg. Polton*, f. 93; *Reg. Carpenter*, i, f. 112v.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., C 142/27, no. 32; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 179.

⁷⁸ *Cal. Wills and Administrations in Consis. Ct. of Bp. of Worc. 1451–1600*, ed. E. A. Fry (Brit. Rec. Soc., Index Libr. xxxi), 82.

apparently passed in turn to his widow Joyce, who married Nicholas Widdows,⁷⁹ and his son Ralph Oliffe, who had come of age by 1534⁸⁰ and was the patron of Shipton Oliffe church in 1539.⁸¹ From the same or another Ralph Oliffe (d. 1585) the manor passed to his son Robert (d. 1596 or 1597), who was succeeded by his son Ralph⁸² (fl. 1608).⁸³ From Giles Oliffe (d. 1699) the manor passed to his son Ralph, who by 1701 had sold it to William Peachey,⁸⁴ the owner of Shipton Solers manor.⁸⁵ At his death in 1717 William left Shipton Oliffe manor, together with land in Shipton he had acquired from Thomas Knowles, to his daughters Susanna and Margaret.⁸⁶ Margaret (d. 1783) left her moiety to Susanna (d. 1786), who left the whole estate to her nephew William Posthumous Chapeau, a minor.⁸⁷ William, who following inclosure in 1793 had 351 a. in Shipton,⁸⁸ died in 1833 leaving his estate to his wife Louisa (d. 1848), and his son Henry Evelyn Chicheley Chapeau⁸⁹ sold Manor farm in Shipton to George Fletcher c. 1861. From George (d. 1881) the farm passed to his son William Hinton Fletcher⁹⁰ and c. 1900 it was acquired by Ernest Edward Turner.⁹¹ Most of Turner's estate, which comprised the manor house and c. 350 a., was bought in 1933 by R. H. A. Gresson⁹² and was owned in the 1950s by K. G. W. Shennan.⁹³ He sold his estate to Mrs. G. G. Brutton, the owner of an adjoining estate in Compton Abdale. She sold the manor house in the mid 1960s and retained some of the land, which in 1998 formed part of the estate of Maj.-Gen. D. J. Tabor.⁹⁴

Shipton Oliffe Manor,⁹⁵ south of the stream in grounds near Shipton Oliffe church, is recorded from 1585. It was long the residence of the Oliffe family,⁹⁶ Giles Oliffe being assessed on four hearths for tax in 1672,⁹⁷ and it was occupied by a tenant farmer in the mid 18th century.⁹⁸ The oldest parts of the house, including at the north end a gabled cross wing with two storeys and attics, date from the 17th century and formed a farmhouse with a west entrance in the mid 19th century. In 1867 and 1868 the principal outbuildings, to the south-west and

including a barn, were demolished to be replaced by new farm buildings outside the village and the house was remodelled and enlarged for George Fletcher to plans by F. S. Waller; a new two-storeyed, south-west block was added, containing an entrance porch and ground-floor drawing and dining rooms, both lit by bay windows, and a porch was built at the north end of the west front.⁹⁹ In the early 20th century the house was enlarged on the east and the northern porch extension was rebuilt and heightened.¹ Beginning in 1934 extensive alterations were carried out for R. H. A. Gresson by Norman Jewson,² who introduced older fittings from elsewhere and remodelled the south-west block to contain a staircase hall and drawing room and, in a single-storeyed extension to the south, a dining room or ballroom. In the early 20th century E. E. Turner laid out a water garden in the grounds west of the house and created a lake on the course of the stream to the north-east,³ at the place known as Pool House close in 1793.⁴ The owner in 1998 had restored the lake.⁵

An estate in Shipton, held in 1066 by Edwy, was held of Durand of Gloucester, the sheriff, by Ralph and was assessed for tax on 3½ hides in 1086.⁶ It evidently passed, with other of Durand's possessions, to Miles of Gloucester (d. 1143), earl of Hereford, and in the later 12th century to Miles's daughter Margaret de Bohun.⁷ Margaret's descendants, the de Bohun earls of Hereford,⁸ were lords of an estate called *SHIPTON PELYE*⁹ and, by 1303, of at least part of the manor of *SHIPTON SOLERS*.¹⁰ In 1384 the lordship of Shipton Pelye was awarded to Mary, the younger daughter and coheir of Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1373) and wife of Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby (later Henry IV).¹¹ In the early 16th century Shipton Solers manor was held from Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, a descendant of Mary's elder sister Eleanor. On Edward's attainder in 1521 the overlordship reverted to the Crown¹² but it may have been restored to the Staffords, for in 1717 the then earl of Stafford claimed jurisdiction over Shipton Pelye and Shipton Solers.¹³

⁷⁹ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Ghinucci, f. 51.

⁸⁰ Glos. R.O., D 621/M 14.

⁸¹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxviii.

⁸² G.D.R. wills 1585/133; 1597/182.

⁸³ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 274.

⁸⁴ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, nos. 233-4; P.R.O., CP 25/2/834/12 Wm. III Hil. no. 14.

⁸⁵ Below, this section.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/566 (P.C.C. 196 Whitfield), f. 170; *Lond. Visitation Pedigrees 1664* (Harl. Soc. xcii), 109-10.

⁸⁷ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/47.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* P 290/IN 3/2.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* reg. wills 1881, ff. 357-60; Q/RUM 275, 310.

⁹¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 286; (1902), 280; *Kelly's Handbook to Titled, Landed and Official Classes* (1927), 1689.

⁹² Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/137; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1935), 302.

⁹³ Glos. R.O., DA 31/512/5/2, pp. 192-6; *Kelly's Handbook to Titled, Landed and Official Classes* (1959), 1919.

⁹⁴ Inf. from Lady Wade-Gery, of Cold Aston; *The Times*, 13 May 1966; cf. above, Compton Abdale, manor.

⁹⁵ Above, Plate 9.

⁹⁶ G.D.R. wills 1585/133; 1597/182.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

⁹⁸ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/47.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* D 2593/2/190; above, intro.

¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 15 (1903, 1922 edns.); *Chelt. Chron.* & *Glos. Graphic*, 22 Apr. 1922.

² Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/5, p. 241; *Norman Jewson 1884-1975* (Bibury, priv. print. 1987).

³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXVII. 15 (1903, 1922 edns.); *Chelt. Chron.* & *Glos. Graphic*, 22 Apr. 1922.

⁴ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁵ Inf. from the owner, Mr. S. Turner.

⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 168v.

⁷ *Camd. Misc.* xxii, pp. 3-5, 52; cf. P.R.O., E 315/52, no. 29.

⁸ *Complete Peerage*, vi. 457-74.

⁹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xiii, p. 141.

¹⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 245; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii. 115-16.

¹¹ *Cal. Close*, 1381-5, 513; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 474, 477.

¹² *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 236; P.R.O., C 142/45, no. 32; *Complete Peerage*, vi. 474-6; ii. 388-91.

¹³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxii. 99-100; *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 182-93.

The estate called Shipton Pelye was represented in 1285 by $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee held by Robert Pelye (Pulye) under the earl of Hereford.¹⁴ It may have been held later by Henry Pelye¹⁵ but by 1303 it had merged in an estate held by William de Solers.¹⁶ William's estate, the manor of Shipton Solers, descended to Richard Monmouth,¹⁷ who held the $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee in 1374 and 1384.¹⁸

The origins of Shipton Solers manor were also in an estate of five hides owned in 1086 by Hugh L'Asne.¹⁹ That estate passed with other of Hugh's lands to Richard de Chandos, whose tenants in 1166 included Nicholas de Champfleur by the service of $\frac{1}{3}$ knight's fee.²⁰ Nicholas was presumably related to Roger de Champfleur who granted land in Shipton to the Knights Templar in the 12th century.²¹ In 1212 Robert de Chandos was overlord of an estate in Shipton and in 1236 Richard Tyrel held an estate in Shipton Champfleur from Roger de Chandos for one knight's fee.²² The overlordship descended to Robert de Chandos, under whom Roger Tyrel was the mesne lord of $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee in Shipton in 1285.²³ That mesne lordship, in Shipton Solers, is not recorded after 1360 when it was inherited from John Tyrel by his brother Hugh.²⁴

Shipton Solers manor presumably also incorporated 3 yardlands in Shipton which Bil held as a manor in 1066. That estate was part of the extensive possessions of Ansfrid de Cormeilles in 1086.²⁵ Ansfrid's descendants included Walter de Cormeilles, whose granddaughter Isabel married Simon de Solers (d. 1259).²⁶ In 1285 William de Solers, said to have been the grandson of Simon de Solers,²⁷ occupied the $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee in Shipton held under Roger Tyrel.²⁸ As lord of Shipton Solers (Shipton Champfleur) the same or another William de Solers exercised the advowson there in 1298 and later,²⁹ and in 1303 he was assessed for one knight's fee, which evidently included the $\frac{1}{2}$ knight's fee at Shipton Pelye, held under the earl of Hereford.³⁰ A Robert de Solers was one of the

lords of Shipton in 1316,³¹ the patron of Shipton Solers church the following year,³² and among those in Shipton assessed in 1327 for tax.³³ John de Solers was lord of Shipton Solers in 1338³⁴ and he, or another of the same name, held the knight's fee in 1346³⁵ and was alive in 1350.³⁶ Richard Monmouth, whose estate in 1374 included Shipton Pelye,³⁷ was lord of Shipton Solers until at least 1395³⁸ and Margaret Solers was lady there in 1401.³⁹ John Solers was lord in 1411⁴⁰ and he or a namesake had the estate in 1437 and 1441.⁴¹

Joan, the widow of John Solers, exercised the advowson of Shipton Solers several times in the 1450s.⁴² Catherine, the daughter of John Solers, inherited Shipton Solers manor, and her husband William Twyniho, described in 1470 as of Shipton Solers, held it by courtesy after her death in 1494. William (d. 1497) was succeeded by his son Walter,⁴³ who in 1508 settled the manor on his son Edward (d. 1526). Edward's son and heir Anthony Twyniho⁴⁴ died a minor in 1529 and left as his heirs his sisters Anne and Catherine.⁴⁵ Anne married Henry Heydon⁴⁶ (d. 1559) of Watford (Herts.)⁴⁷ and at her death later in 1559 a moiety of the manor passed to their son Francis.⁴⁸ Catherine and her husband John Dauntesey held the other moiety in 1545⁴⁹ and he retained it after her death by 1550. Their daughter Bridget⁵⁰ and her husband Hugh Hyde held it in 1564⁵¹ and Francis Heydon acquired it later, thereby reuniting the two parts of the manor. Francis Heydon died in 1606 and his son and heir Edward⁵² was incorrectly described in 1608 as lord of Shipton Oliffe and Solers.⁵³ After Edward Heydon's death in 1617 Shipton Solers manor belonged in remaindership to his wife Mary (d. 1625). Edward's heir was his son Francis,⁵⁴ whose own heir, his brother Robert⁵⁵ (d. 1647), left the manor to his widow Susanna for life.⁵⁶ Susanna, who married in turn as her second and third husbands George Leigh (d. 1656) and William Stratford (d. 1685), died in 1680⁵⁷ but had surrendered her interest in the

¹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 238.

¹⁵ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 981-2.

¹⁶ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 245; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii, 115-16.

¹⁷ Below, this section.

¹⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xiii, p. 141; *Cal. Close*, 1381-5, 513.

¹⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 169.

²⁰ *Red Bk. Exch.* i, 284.

²¹ *Rec. of Templars in Eng. in Twelfth Cent.* ed. B. A. Lees (Brit. Acad. Rec. Social and Econ. Hist. ix), 49.

²² *Bk. of Fees*, i, 50, 440.

²³ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 238.

²⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* x, pp. 483-5.

²⁵ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 169v.; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* iv, 188-9.

²⁶ I. J. Sanders, *Eng. Baronies* (1960), 86-7.

²⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii, 116.

²⁸ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 238.

²⁹ *Reg. Giffard*, 496, 552; *Reg. Ginsborough*, 86, 128.

³⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 248; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii, 115-16.

³¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 271.

³² *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 183.

³³ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

³⁴ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Hemenhale, f. 16.

³⁵ *Feud. Aids*, ii, 278.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, 526.

³⁷ Above, this section.

³⁸ *Reg. Wakefeld*, pp. 38, 46; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Winchcombe, f. iv.

³⁹ *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 377.

⁴⁰ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Peverell, ff. 39v.-40.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Reg. Bourchier, ff. 31v., 77v.

⁴² *Ibid.* Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 94, 118, 144v.

⁴³ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 236; *Cal. Close*, 1468-76, p. 133.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., C 142/45, no. 32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* C 142/50, no. 84.

⁴⁶ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Ghinucci, f. 49v.

⁴⁷ *V.C.H. Herts.* ii, 462; cf. P.R.O., CP 40/1120, Carte rot. 2.

⁴⁸ P.R.O., C 142/118, no. 61.

⁴⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., C 1/1357, no. 68; C 1/1354, no. 55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* CP 25/2/259/6 & 7 Eliz. I Mich. no. 7; cf. *V.C.H. Surre.* iii, 224.

⁵² P.R.O., C 142/297, no. 164.

⁵³ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 273.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., C 142/377, no. 100; G.D.R., V 1/212.

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 3/2, abs. of title (pedigree of Heydon fam.).

⁵⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/202 (P.C.C. 215 Fines), f. 99 and v.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 67; P 290/IN 1/3; *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3, 181.

manor to her eldest son Robert Heydon⁵⁸ and on his death in 1668 the manor with its members in nearby parishes had passed to his daughter Susanna, a minor.⁵⁹

In 1681 Susanna married William Peachey (d. 1717) of Petworth (Suss.), whom she may have survived. Their son William Peachey⁶⁰ (d. c. 1760) of Kirdford (Suss.) gave all his estates to Elizabeth Paine in 1756,⁶¹ but his widow Elizabeth held them in 1767 and left them to their son William Peachey (fl. 1805).⁶² Following inclosure in 1793 William owned 1,323 a. in Shipton.⁶³ His son William Gracchus Peachey inherited the manor before 1817, when, on account of his lunacy, his brother, the Revd. John Peachey, was legal custodian of his estate.⁶⁴ John, to whom the manor passed in 1845 or 1846,⁶⁵ died in 1860 and was succeeded in turn by his sons William (d. c. 1886) and John, the latter of whom retained 1,500 a. in Shipton and adjoining parishes until 1900.⁶⁶ At a sale that year D. G. Bingham of Utrecht (Netherlands), a native of Cirencester, purchased c. 340 a. in Shipton together with the former manor house and in 1903 he sold the house and land to Frederick Phillips of Newport (Mon.). Phillips sold the house and land to T. B. Stevens in 1909⁶⁷ and William John Fieldhouse, a Midlands industrialist, bought them for his son Ernest Francis Fieldhouse⁶⁸ in 1910.⁶⁹ E. F. Fieldhouse later bought more land in Shipton⁷⁰ and at his death in 1962 owned c. 400 a. In the late 20th century the land changed hands several times and by 1998 ownership of the house had been divorced from that of much of the land, which belonged to Mr. Rupert Lowe.⁷¹

At the sale of 1900 Richard Stratton of Duffryn near Newport (Mon.) bought two farms comprising c. 950 a. in Shipton.⁷² In 1937, following Stratton's death, Cyril Heber-Percy of Cowley Manor bought the farms⁷³ and in the 1950s he sold them to Robert Hamilton-Stubber. He in turn sold them to F. G. Huck, from whom they were bought by J. A. B. Baillie-Hamilton in 1957 and 1961. Mr. Baillie-Hamilton also acquired part of Shipton Oliffe

Manor farm and in 1998 his estate comprised 445 ha. (1,100 a.).⁷⁴

Shipton Sollars Manor, the former manor house east of Shipton Solers church, perhaps stands on the site of the house occupied by William de Solers in the late 13th century.⁷⁵ In the late 16th century Francis Heydon occasionally stayed in the manor house, then known as 'the great house',⁷⁶ and in 1672 one of his descendants was assessed for tax on 12 hearths in Shipton.⁷⁷ In the mid 18th century the house had a three-bayed west entrance front of two storeys with gabled attics and it looked down a straight avenue to the Gloucester–Oxford road.⁷⁸ The house was later an occasional residence of the Peachey family⁷⁹ but in the early 19th century it was apparently in a ruinous state apart from the main front⁸⁰ and in 1804 much of it was demolished.⁸¹ A twin-gabled north section of the house was retained in the later 19th century as the north front of a farmhouse with an entrance on the west and there were rooms north-west and south of that early core. D. G. Bingham added new rooms on the north-east side and provided some replacement 17th-century style windows in the early 1900s⁸² and E. F. Fieldhouse enlarged the house in the later 1930s.⁸³ Earlier, apparently in 1924,⁸⁴ a single-storeyed, flat-roofed extension had been added on the south-east. In 1998, when the house was a private residence, the surviving outbuildings included a barn and stables in a range built c. 1700.⁸⁵ North of the road a former barn had been converted as a house and an open-fronted store dated 1796 adapted as garages by 1998.

In 1086 Thomas, archbishop of York, held a hide at Shipton with Gundulf as his tenant.⁸⁶ The descent of that land is not known but the archbishop evidently retained overlordship of land in Shipton for in the early 16th century the lords of both Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers manors owed suit to his Compton Abdale court.⁸⁷

Among lands attached to Guiting manor in 1185 were a yardland and three acres in Shipton given to the Knights Templar by Roger de

⁵⁸ Cf. P.R.O., PROB 11/202 (P.C.C. 215 Fines), f. 99 and v.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 3/2, abs. of title; D 245/I/26.

⁶⁰ *Lond. Visit. Pedigrees 1664*, 109–10; P.R.O., PROB 11/566 (P.C.C. 196 Whitfield), ff. 170v.–172; for the Peachey fam., also pedigree in Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 234.

⁶¹ P.R.O., PROB 11/855 (P.C.C. 167 Lynch), ff. 145–146v.

⁶² *Ibid.* PROB 11/1087 (P.C.C. 95 Gostling), f. 377v.; Fosbrooke, *Glos.* ii. 434.

⁶³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* D 182/III/163.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Q/Rum 202, 225.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* D 1388/SL 8, no. 81.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* P 364/IN 4/4, press cutting 19 July 1900; D 5845/2/1, pp. 273, 347; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902), 280; (1906), 290.

⁶⁸ Inf. from Mr. M. Evans, of Fulford Fm., Withington; for W. J. Fieldhouse, *Kelly's Handbook to Titled, Landed and Official Classes* (1927), 645.

⁶⁹ Diaries of Geo. Hyatt (d. 1986) in keeping of Mr. T. Jackson, of Sevenhampton.

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/137.

⁷¹ Inf. from Mr. Evans; cf. *The Times*, 27 June 1966, 14.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 4/4, press cutting 19 July 1900; D 2299/2452; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902), 280.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/137; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 308.

⁷⁴ Inf. from Mr. Baillie-Hamilton, of South Fm., Shipton Oliffe.

⁷⁵ Cf. *Glouc. Corp. Rec.* p. 287.

⁷⁶ G.D.R. vol. 100, depositions of Gilb. Whitehead 23 Sept. 1607, and Thos. Rock 25 Feb. 1607/8.

⁷⁷ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930.

⁷⁹ G.D.R., G 2/3/15905.

⁸⁰ Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 286; although described in an account of Shipton Oliffe, the ruined mansion is mentioned just before a description of what is evidently Shipton Solers church.

⁸¹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 16 July 1804.

⁸² O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SE.* (1883 edn.); *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/649; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXVII. 15* (1903, 1922 edns.).

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/5, p. 334.

⁸⁴ Date and initials. 'CCG' on extension.

⁸⁵ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cxv. 291.

⁸⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁸⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 3–4, M 14.

Champfleure.⁸⁸ From 1224 the Templars held three yardlands in Shipton by quitclaim from Richard Tyrel and his wife Denise⁸⁹ and later their estate descended with Guiting manor,⁹⁰ passing with it in 1517 to Corpus Christi college, Oxford. The college's estate, in Shipton Solers,⁹¹ included 3½ yardlands in the late 16th century.⁹² Following inclosure in 1793 the college owned 30 a. in Shipton⁹³ and in 1944 it sold that estate to the tenant farmer.⁹⁴

About 1178 Margaret de Bohun confirmed to Bruern abbey (Oxon.) a grant by Walter son of Robert of a yardland in Shipton.⁹⁵ The abbey, to which Walter de Solers quitclaimed ½ hide in Shipton in 1206,⁹⁶ received other grants of land there⁹⁷ and in 1366 it was granted free warren in Shipton Solers.⁹⁸ Its estate at the Dissolution comprised 4 yardlands in Shipton Solers.⁹⁹ In the late 13th century or the early 14th Walter of Cheltenham, rector of Whittington, granted Cirencester abbey a messuage and an adjoining hide in Shipton Solers (Shipton Tyrel). That estate was said to be at Frogmarsh,¹ where at the Dissolution the abbey held a pasture and closes as part of its Salperton estate.² In 1543 the Crown sold lands in Shipton that Bruern and Cirencester abbeys had owned to Richard Andrews and he sold them to Henry Heydon.³ They evidently descended with the Heydon family's share of Shipton Solers manor.⁴

The manor of *HAMPEN* or *NETHER HAMPEN* at Lower Hampen derived from an estate of five hides at Hampen held in 1066 by Edwy. The estate was probably granted to Wihanoc, lord of Monmouth, whose nephew and successor William son of Baderon held it in 1086 with Geoffrey as his tenant. William's son Baderon of Monmouth,⁵ who in 1144 confirmed tithes at Hampen to Wihanoc's foundation, Monmouth priory,⁶ gave one knight's fee to the Knights Hospitaller before 1166.⁷ That grant evidently included the estate or manor at

Hampen which the Hospitallers later administered from their preceptory at Quenington until the Dissolution.⁸ The relationship, if any, of the Hospitallers' estate or that of St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, at Hampen⁹ to the manor of Hampen which Richard Thork and his wife Susanna quitclaimed to Roger Damory in 1317,¹⁰ and to an estate that the Cassey family of Cassey Compton held at Hampen in the 1430s,¹¹ is not known. In 1543 the Crown granted the Hospitallers' manor to Edward Fiennes, Lord Clinton and Saye, and he sold it to Maurice Dennis and Thomas Lane.¹² From Thomas (d. 1544) Nether Hampen manor passed to his son Thomas, a minor.¹³ He sold it to Sir Henry Lee and others and in 1559 they sold it to Richard Chadwell. Richard's son and heir Richard,¹⁴ upon whose marriage the manor was settled in 1589, died in 1591 and was survived by his wife Anne. His son and heir Simon¹⁵ was granted seisin in 1595¹⁶ and conveyed the manor in 1606 to William Dutton.¹⁷ William (d. 1618) was succeeded by his son John,¹⁸ who in 1650 sold Nether Hampen manor or farm to Edward Rich.¹⁹ Edward, who also acquired an estate in Upper Dowdeswell, was succeeded at his death in 1681 by his grandson Lionel Rich,²⁰ who in 1714 settled Lower Hampen on the marriage of his son Bailly (d. 1723) and Elizabeth Gilbert. On Elizabeth's death in the mid 1760s the farm passed to Thomas Rich,²¹ and then descended with Upper Dowdeswell again until 1867²² when Henry Pole sold the farm (319 a.) to Thomas Handy,²³ whose family had tenanted the farm since at least 1805.²⁴ Thomas (d. 1871)²⁵ was succeeded by his son Thomas (d. 1898), who left the farm to his wife Caroline.²⁶ After her death in 1931 the farm belonged to her son Thomas Handy²⁷ (d. 1949).²⁸ His son and heir Mr. T. R. Handy bought c. 100 a. adjoining the farm, including land on Pen hill from the Salperton estate, and owned just under 400 a. (c. 161 ha.) in 1998.²⁹

⁸⁸ *Rec. of Templars in Eng. in Twelfth Cent.* ed. B. A. Lees (Brit. Acad. Rec. Social and Econ. Hist. ix), 49.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., CP 25/1, 73/6, no. 73.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, p. 254; *Cal. Pat.* 1327-30, 321, 488; *Cal. Close*, 1500-9, p. 19.

⁹¹ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, F 1, cap. 2, no. 5; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 244.

⁹² P.R.O., C 142/297, no. 164; C 2/Eliz. I/H 13/48.

⁹³ Glos. R.O., P 190a/SD 1/1.

⁹⁴ Ibid. D 4858/2/4/1958/11.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., E 315/52, no. 2, which names her as Margery de Bohun; cf. *Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), 146.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/3, no. 59.

⁹⁷ Ibid. E 315/50, nos. 94, 131.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1341-1417, 196.

⁹⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, rot. 1d.

¹ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, pp. 978-80.

² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 465.

³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), pp. 529-30.

⁴ Cf. P.R.O., C 142/297, no. 164.

⁵ *Dom. Br.* (Rec. Com.), i, 167; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* iv, 129-31.

⁶ *Cal. Doc. France*, ed. Round, pp. 409-13; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv, 596.

⁷ *Red Bk. Exch.* i, 281.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 462; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii, 123.

⁹ Below, this section.

¹⁰ P.R.O., CP 25/1/76/48, no. 174.

¹¹ *Cal. Close*, 1435-41, 100-1.

¹² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), pp. 360, 368.

¹³ P.R.O., C 142/73, no. 70; cf. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (2), p. 231.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1558-60, 6-7.

¹⁵ P.R.O., C 142/240, no. 86.

¹⁶ Ibid. C 60/420, no. 33.

¹⁷ Ibid. CP 25/2/297/4 Jas. I Mich. no. 12.

¹⁸ Ibid. C 142/378, no. 107.

¹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 678/misc./20.

²⁰ P.R.O., CP 25/2/617/1657 Mich. no. 12; above, Dowdeswell, manors.

²¹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7; P 117/IN 1/1.

²² Ibid. D 269a/T 8; D 627/12; above, Dowdeswell, manors.

²³ Glos. R.O., D 627/17.

²⁴ Ibid. P 290/IN 1/2, baptism 28 Feb. 1805; below, econ. hist.

²⁵ Glos. R.O., D 5102/17.

²⁶ Ibid. reg. wills 1872, ff. 3v.-4v.; 1898, ff. 244-245v.

²⁷ Ibid. reg. wills 1931, f. 457v.; DA 31/516/1/4, p. 35; 2/4, p. 27.

²⁸ Mon. in Shipton burial ground.

²⁹ Inf. from Mr. T. R. Handy, of Hampen.

A house and grange belonging to an estate at Hampen held from the Knights Hospitallers by Thomas of Rodborough (d. 1334)³⁰ were presumably at Lower Hampen. Hampen Manor there originated as an early 17th-century house of one and a half storeys. In the early 19th century a three-bayed, two-storeyed farmhouse was built to the south and, slightly later, a fourth bay was added to link the new house to the old house, which became its service end and byre. A gabled south-west block added for Thomas Handy in 1872 and 1873³¹ is in a 17th-century style and contains an entrance hall and staircase joining the newer and older parts of the house and has a west-facing drawing room and butler's pantry. In 1998 the house was two separate family dwellings, each occupied by a son of Mr. T. R. Handy. The outbuildings include a large early 18th-century barn east of the oldest part of the house.

In 1066 Pin held a hide at *HAMPEN* as a manor and in 1086 Ansgar held it of Thomas, archbishop of York.³² The hide may have been that at Hampen given in 1241 by Richard Lunant and his wife Constance to St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, in return for a corrody.³³ In 1291 the priory had 1¼ ploughland in Hampen and Compton Abdale.³⁴ The estate centred on the detached part of Compton at Upper Hampen and in 1532 the prior owed suit to the archbishop of York's court at Compton.³⁵ At the Dissolution the estate, which included land in Sevenhampton,³⁶ paid rents to Winchcombe abbey, Thomas Tame, and the heirs of Richard Wenman.³⁷ In 1542 the Crown granted the estate to William Sharington³⁸ and in 1562 it granted land that the priory had owned at Shipton to Cecily Pickerell.³⁹ The descent of Cecily's land has not been traced. Sharington sold the priory's Hampen estate in 1542 to Simon Yate⁴⁰ (d. 1547) of Highworth (Wilts.), whose son and heir Thomas⁴¹ sold it to John Goddard in 1553. Edward Goddard, who in 1567 acquired the tithes at Hampen belonging to the inappropriate rectory of Sevenhampton, sold the land and tithes to John Carter of Pirton, in Churchdown, in 1589.⁴² Carter later acquired Cold Aston manor,⁴³ with which Upper Hampen passed

until 1798⁴⁴ when the Revd. M. H. Noble and his wife Maria sold the land or farm to John Browne.⁴⁵ Ownership of the farm, then covering 404 a. in Compton Abdale, Sevenhampton, and Shipton,⁴⁶ descended with Browne's Salperton estate⁴⁷ and in 1891, when Mary Browne (d. 1906), the widow of T. B. Browne, had a life interest in 373 a. at Hampen, the estate also owned c. 50 a. near by on Pen hill.⁴⁸ F. J. C. H. Harter sold the farmhouse and the bulk of the Hampen land in 1932⁴⁹ but retained land on Pen hill, which was sold in the later 20th century to Mr. T. R. Handy.⁵⁰

Following its sale in 1932 the farmhouse became a country residence known as Hampen House.⁵¹ It incorporates a three-bayed farmhouse, probably of the 17th century, which in the 18th century was enlarged by an L-shaped addition to the west and was given a new south front. In the later 1850s the house was occupied by T. B. Browne, owner of the estate,⁵² and it was lit by gas produced there.⁵³ Rear-Adm. J. S. C. Salmond, a relative of the Harters and the house's owner from 1932,⁵⁴ altered the north-west wing and A. D. Marris, the owner from the later 1940s, introduced new fittings, including the panelling of the east room.⁵⁵ To the east a formal garden has been laid out on the former farmyard and among surviving outbuildings are a barn and a range of cowsheds.

Another Compton Abdale estate centred on Upper Hampen was owned in 1522 by Thomas Tame,⁵⁶ one of the suitors to the archbishop of York's Compton court.⁵⁷ The estate, which Thomas Lane acquired from Tame in 1542,⁵⁸ was presumably added to the manor at Lower Hampen sold to Lane and Maurice Dennis in 1543.⁵⁹

In the late 12th century tithes from a yardland in Shipton were apparently reserved to Llanthony priory.⁶⁰ In 1291 Gloucester abbey and Monmouth priory had portions in Shipton Oliffe church valued at 15s. and £1 respectively⁶¹ and Studley priory (Warws.) a portion worth 15s. in Shipton Solers church.⁶² The abbey's portion arose from a grant of demesne tithes before 1100 and was later claimed as a gift from Adelize of Swindon, daughter of Asketil.⁶³ In

³⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vii, pp. 409–10; *Cal. Close*, 1333–7, 428, 480.

³¹ Receipts in possession of Mr. Handy.

³² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

³³ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/14, no. 265.

³⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 233.

³⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 14.

³⁶ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 120, 122.

³⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 487.

³⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, pp. 630–1.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1560–3, 257.

⁴⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 642.

⁴¹ P.R.O., C 142/86, no. 85.

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 331; *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/T 3.

⁴³ Above, Cold Aston, manor.

⁴⁴ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 91–5; P.R.O., PROB 11/606 (P.C.C. 248 Romney), f. 197v.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/7, ff. 12–14.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* D 444, map of John Browne's Hampen farm.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Q/RI 39; D 269c/C 3, E 3; above, Salperton, manor.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 7, no. 44; D 1388, Beale Browne fam., Salperton est. papers 1840–50; mon. in Salperton church.

⁴⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/137; D 2299/L 60.

⁵⁰ Above, this section.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4858/2/4/1946/12.

⁵² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 306; for T. B. Browne, above, Salperton, manor.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269c/C 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/137; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), i. 444; ii. 1975.

⁵⁵ Inf. from Mr. F. Woodhouse, the house's owner, and from Lady Wade-Gery (daughter of A. D. Marris).

⁵⁶ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 120.

⁵⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 3–4, M 14.

⁵⁸ P.R.O., CP 25/2/14/82/34 Hen. VIII Mich. no. 56.

⁵⁹ Above, this section.

⁶⁰ P.R.O., E 315/52, no. 2.

⁶¹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 223.

⁶² *Ibid.* 222.

⁶³ *Hist. & Cart. Mon. Glouc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 41; i. 112.

1537 the abbey granted a lease of corn and hay tithes in Shipton Solers for 6s. 8d. rent⁶⁴ and in 1541 those tithes were among the abbey's possessions included in the endowment of the bishopric of Gloucester,⁶⁵ from which they continued to be farmed for the same rent for some years.⁶⁶ The bishop's tithes, which became known as the penny fee or priory tithes,⁶⁷ were worth £3 c. 1710⁶⁸ and were commuted at inclosure in 1793 for 19 a.⁶⁹ Some corn and hay tithes in Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers, said to have belonged to Gloucester abbey, were granted to Sir Edward Warner in 1561⁷⁰ and were said c. 1775 to belong to Thomas Browne.⁷¹

Monmouth priory's portion in Shipton Oliffe church derived from a grant of tithes at Hampen.⁷² In 1680 Lower Hampen and some land at Upper Hampen were said to pay no tithes and elsewhere in Shipton Oliffe a yardland, a part of Upper farm reputed to have belonged to a religious house, paid the Crown 6s. 8d. a year for tithes.⁷³ Nether Hampen manor later paid corn tithes to the rector of Shipton Oliffe⁷⁴ and its owner, Sir Charles Pole, was awarded 32 a. for the hay and small tithes at inclosure in 1793. William Newcome, bishop of Waterford and landowner at Upper Hampen, was awarded 12½ a. for tithes in Shipton Oliffe.⁷⁵ Studley priory's portion in Shipton Solers church has not been traced after 1291.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 the five estates in Shipton were assessed at a total of 13 hides and the two estates in Hampen at 6 hides. Of the Shipton estates, three, all of which had declined in value since 1066, each had two ploughteams on their demesnes and, between them, a total of 13 *servi*. On two of those estates seven *villani* and one bordar held a total of four teams and on the third a priest and a *villanus* were without a plough. Shipton's other two estates, on which no servants or tenants were enumerated, each had a team on their demesnes. Of the Hampen estates, both of which had fallen in value since 1066, the larger had two ploughteams with four *servi* on its demesne and three teams held by 6 *villani*. The smaller estate, on which no tenants were mentioned, had a single team in demesne.⁷⁶ In 1220 ten ploughteams were recorded in Shipton.⁷⁷

Little evidence of the tenants on the manors in Shipton has been found. On the small monastic estates the Knights Templar received 6s. in rents for their land in Shipton in 1185.⁷⁸ By 1328 their rents from Shipton had increased to 15s. 4d.⁷⁹ and in 1535 Corpus Christi college, Oxford, as owner of the Templars' land, received the same income in rents.⁸⁰ Bruern abbey farmed its estate in Shipton Solers just before the Dissolution⁸¹ and Cirencester abbey administered its land there with Salperton manor and received a rent for it.⁸² In the same period three quarters of the income of the Knights Hospitallers' estate at Hampen came, under a lease of 1533, from the farm of the demesne and the rest came from assized rents of free tenants and a customary tenant there;⁸³ in 1541, just before the Crown granted a new lease of the demesne,⁸⁴ the three principal freeholds, including a total of 8½ yardlands, belonged to one man and a freehold meadow to the only other tenant.⁸⁵ St. Oswald's priory, Gloucester, received assized rents from its estate in Compton and Hampen in 1291⁸⁶ and took rents from its Hampen land on the eve of the Dissolution;⁸⁷ in 1536 the Crown granted that land to a farmer.⁸⁸

In the mid 16th century Robert Lawrence held perhaps as much as 12½ yardlands in Shipton. At his death in 1584 or 1585 he left land, possibly occupied partly by his own tenants, and farming stock to his eldest son William Lawrence of Gloucester. William leased much of the land to Richard Oliffe⁸⁹ and by 1606 he had conveyed the farm, parts of which were held under Shipton Solers and Nether Hampen manors and Corpus Christi college, to Francis Heydon, the lord of Shipton Solers.⁹⁰ In the late 16th century and the early 17th Edward Heydon, Francis's son, held 14 yardlands in Shipton Solers.⁹¹ A yardland contained c. 48 a.⁹² In 1674 a court of survey held for Shipton Solers manor and its members in neighbouring parishes recorded four free tenants and ten copyholds and leaseholds in Shipton. The copyholds and leaseholds, some of which had land in Shipton Oliffe as well as Shipton Solers, were each held for one or more lives and one comprised 4 yardlands, another 3 yardlands, and three 2 yardlands each. The others comprised a mill with some land, 24 a., 6a., 4 a., and 1 a. The rent for the smallest holding was in capons

⁶⁴ Glouc. Cath. Libr., Reg. Abb. Malvern, ii, f. 122.

⁶⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 572.

⁶⁶ B.L. Lansdowne MS. 885, f. 106; P.R.O., E 309/1/4 Eliz. I/7, no. 1.

⁶⁷ G.D.R., G 2/3/15905; Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1; cf. G.D.R. vol. 100, deposition of Thos. Turner 14 April 1607.

⁶⁸ Atkyns, *Glos.* 650.

⁶⁹ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1560-3, 329.

⁷¹ Rudder, *Glos.* 656.

⁷² Above, this section.

⁷³ G.D.R., V 5/267t 5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* B 4/3/1070.

⁷⁵ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁷⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v., 167 and v., 168v.-169v.

⁷⁷ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 309.

⁷⁸ *Rec. of Templars in Eng. in Twelfth Cent.* ed. B. A. Lees (Brit. Acad. Rec. Social and Econ. Hist. ix), 49.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii, p. 254.

⁸⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 244.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 202; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, rot. 1d.

⁸² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 465; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rott. 48-9.

⁸³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 462.

⁸⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 701.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/7262, rot. 2 and d.

⁸⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 233.

⁸⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 487.

⁸⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), p. 582; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1212, rot. 11.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., C 2/Eliz. I/H 13/48; PROB 11/68 (P.C.C. 8 Brudenell), ff. 61v.-63.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* C 142/297, no. 164.

⁹¹ G.D.R. vol. 100, depositions 14 April and 29 Nov. 1607.

⁹² Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47; G.D.R., V 5/267t 3.

and for the rest in cash, and a weekly measure of barley flour was also owed for the mill.⁹³

In 1236, when an east field and a west field were recorded,⁹⁴ Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers presumably shared open fields, as they did in the 16th century when open fields worked on a two-course rotation extended eastwards towards Puesdown, southwards beyond the Gloucester–Oxford road, north-westwards towards Whittington, and north-eastwards towards Hampen.⁹⁵ Hampen had two open fields in the early 13th century⁹⁶ and also in the mid 18th century, when they covered areas west, by the Gloucester–Stow road, and south-east of the hamlet and were known respectively as Hampen field and Hampen Upper field.⁹⁷ The 10 a. of meadow land recorded on Durand of Gloucester's estate in 1086⁹⁸ was possibly in the west of Shipton by the river Coln, where hay was mown in a close at Frogmill in the 1540s.⁹⁹ The river bank in Owdeswell meadow, north of Frogmill towards Andoversford, was shared by farms in Shipton, Hampen, and Owdeswell in the mid 18th century¹ and may have been a common meadow until inclosure in 1793 when, in an exchange of land, William Peachey, principal landowner in Shipton Solers surrendered five small pieces of land in the meadow on the opposite bank, in Withington.²

The name of Shipton, used in the Domesday survey, establishes that the place was a centre of sheep farming in, if not long before, the later 11th century.³ The continuing importance of sheep in the local economy is indicated by the presence in 1381 of several shepherds in Shipton and Hampen⁴ and St. Oswald's priory's principal building on its Hampen estate in the late Middle Ages was a sheephouse.⁵ In 1340 most arable land in Shipton Oliffe was untilled because of the poverty of parishioners⁶ but in the late Middle Ages arable farming evidently was, together with sheep rearing, the main business of local agriculture. In 1535 corn and wool tithes supplied two thirds of the income of the rector of Shipton Solers and an even greater proportion of that of the rector of Shipton Oliffe.⁷ In the later 16th century, when the main farmers had flocks numbering hundreds of sheep, large flocks from elsewhere were also grazed in Shipton in the summer;⁸ in 1680 the rector of Shipton Oliffe was entitled to ½*d.* for each sheep owned by a non-parishioner summered in his parish.⁹ In the summer of 1606 Edward Heydon,

who then had at least two shepherds in his employ, allowed 500 sheep belonging to a farmer at Elmbridge Court, near Gloucester, to pasture on his land at Shipton Solers and kept his own sheep at Hampen.¹⁰ Lower Hampen and Upper Hampen farms both employed shepherds in the late 17th century and the early 18th.¹¹

The principal commons, which were shared by Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers, were mostly on the east side of Shipton. There an extensive tract of common land extending northwards from the Oxford road at Puesdown ran down into the upper part of the central valley and up onto Pen hill, east of Hampen.¹² Pigs were evidently driven there in the Middle Ages for in the 1520s part of the adjoining land was called Pygstie (later Pigs Tree) furlong.¹³ In the mid 16th century Pen hill was apparently reserved for horses and cattle every other year between March and October and was grazed with sheep at other times, and the Twenty Acres at Hampen, a ground belonging to Thomas Yate's estate, was used as a horse and cattle common after the harvest.¹⁴ Puesdown common was reserved for cattle every year and the commoners drove their cattle across adjoining land called the Breach, which was a cattle common every other year, to a watering place¹⁵ down in the valley below Pen hill; there was a cattle pen at the spring in the mid 18th century.¹⁶ Sheep and probably other animals were grazed on open-field land. The number of sheep and cattle allowed on the commons was limited before 1584 to 50 and 5 respectively for each yardland¹⁷ but in 1632 the rector of Shipton Solers was said to have common rights for 60 sheep for his yardland.¹⁸ In the later 16th century the rector of Shipton Oliffe was forbidden to pasture cattle on the land of the lord of Shipton Solers¹⁹ but in the 17th century his successors had a right to pasture 3 cows in a field belonging to the Oliffe family.²⁰

The main common at Hampen in the early 18th century, other than that on Pen hill, was on Horsington hill, north-west of the hamlet beyond the Stow road. Although parishioners, apart from William Peachey as owner of Shipton Oliffe manor farm, were entitled to run unlimited numbers of great cattle on Pen and Horsington hills, parts of both hills were reserved every other year for use as sheep runs by William Peachey and the tenant of Lower Hampen farm.²¹ In the mid 18th century the

⁹³ Glos. R.O., D 245/1/26.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/12, no. 207.

⁹⁵ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47; Fb 11/2; G.D.R., V 5/267t 2–5.

⁹⁶ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 151, 154–6.

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., D 1930.

⁹⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 168v.

⁹⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

¹ Glos. R.O., D 1930.

² *Ibid.* P 290a/SD 1/1.

³ *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 180.

⁴ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288.

⁵ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1212, rot. 11; *Cal. Pat.* 1550–3, 331.

⁶ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 414.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437, 442.

⁸ G.D.R., B 4/3/1067–9.

⁹ *Ibid.* V 5/267t 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vol. 100, depositions 24 Apr. 1607.

¹¹ *Ibid.* B 4/3/1070; Glos. R.O., D 444/T 56.

¹² Glos. R.O., D 1930.

¹³ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47; Glos. R.O., D 1930.

¹⁴ P.R.O., C 1/1357, nos. 68–9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* C 2/Eliz. I/H 13/48.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 1930; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

¹⁷ G.D.R., V 5/267t 1–2; Glos. R.O., D 245/1/26.

¹⁸ G.D.R., V 5/267t 4.

¹⁹ P.R.O., C 2/Eliz. I/H 12/1.

²⁰ G.D.R., V 5/267t 3, 5.

²¹ *Ibid.* B 4/3/1070.

western side of Horsington hill was known as Farm Slaight and the lower part of Pen hill towards Hampen was called Common Leys. The only other common was at Turk's Down between Shipton and Hampen but there may once have been another on the hillside immediately east of Lower Hampen. There in the mid 18th century two adjacent closes belonging respectively to Lower and Upper Hampen farms were both called Common Close and a smaller close adjoining one of them was or had been a pound.²² In the late 17th century the Carter family's estate at Upper Hampen included a large pasture extending into Sevenhampton.²³

Consolidation of holdings within the open fields began before the 1520s, when some of the strips, usually of 1 a. or ½ a., were next to much larger blocks of land.²⁴ In 1584 the Shipton Solers glebe included pieces in the fields ranging in size from 1 a. to 10 a.²⁵ Most of the land in the Shiptons remained uninclosed²⁶ and as a result of the exchange and consolidation of strips the pattern of holdings became very irregular with some furlongs containing few or no narrow strips in the mid 18th century. Scattered among the open-field land were a few small areas of pasture, and the bottom of the central valley in the east and the ends of some strips close to the river Coln in the west were left unploughed and cultivated as meadow. In the south-east three substantial and uninclosed arable holdings, called New Broke Piece, Great Breach, and Little Breach, adjoined Pusedown common. The Hampen fields had ceased to be entirely distinct, for the principal Shipton farm shared them with Lower and Upper Hampen farms.²⁷

Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers were inclosed in 1793 under a single Act and award which also commuted the tithes of both parishes and dealt with some pieces of land in adjoining parts of Whittington and Dowdeswell. The area of common pasture inclosed in the Shiptons was 451 a. Under the award the rector of the two parishes received 445 a. and the bishop of Gloucester 19 a. The principal lay beneficiaries were William Peachey (1,024 a.), Sir Charles Pole (305 a.), and W. P. Chapeau (150 a.). Two other landowners received 47 a. and 29 a. respectively and the four other beneficiaries under 7 a. each.²⁸

In the early 1830s just under two thirds of the populations of Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers were supported by work on the land,²⁹ most of which was farmed by a few long-established farming families.³⁰ Of the five far-

mers with over 300 a. each in 1851 George Fletcher and Avery Handy farmed the largest areas, 630 a. and 545 a. respectively, and Thomas Handy occupied Lower Hampen farm (319 a.).³¹ T. B. Browne had Upper Hampen farm in hand in 1851 and until 1862.³² At the end of the century Upper (later North) and Lower (or South) farms (c. 980 a.) in Shipton were tenanted by Edward Handy, and George Fletcher's two sons between them farmed well over 1,000 a. in and around Shipton.³³ Some smaller farms survived; in 1896 there were 16 agricultural occupiers, all but two of them tenant farmers,³⁴ and in 1926 four farms, including the only two not worked by tenants, had over 300 a., another two over 150 a., and seven under 50 a. Some 53 agricultural labourers were in regular work in 1926.³⁵ In the early 20th century Richard Stratton had taken South farm (c. 450 a.) in hand³⁶ but from the mid 1920s members of the May family rented both North and South farms.³⁷ In 1956 seven farms providing regular employment for 32 labourers were returned for Shipton. The largest farm had over 700 a., another over 300 a., a third over 150 a., and most of the others under 5 a.³⁸ In 1986 two farms had over 741 a. (300 ha.), one over 494 a. (200 ha.), and three over 247 a. (100 ha.), and there were three much smaller holdings worked part-time, two of them with under 49 a. (20 ha.). Two farms were run by managers and 15 hired labourers were regularly employed on the land.³⁹ In the 1960s North and South farms had been merged by Mr. J. A. B. Baillie-Hamilton and in 1998 they formed part of a larger farm embracing his whole estate. The Handys continued to run Lower Hampen as a family farm in 1998.⁴⁰

In 1801 corn and peas were grown on 787 a., about a third of the area of the two parishes.⁴¹ The area planted with corn was slightly greater in 1866 when 2,067 a. was returned as arable and only 188 a. as permanent grassland. Of the arable about a sixth was devoted to root crops and a third was under clover or grass.⁴² The animals returned for the two parishes in 1866 included 1,117 sheep, 171 beef and dairy cattle, and 57 pigs.⁴³ In the 1850s T. B. Browne's autumn sheep sales at Upper Hampen were an important event in the Cotswold calendar⁴⁴ and in 1891 Thomas Handy of Lower Hampen was described both as farmer and wool merchant.⁴⁵ The Fletcher brothers were noted sheep farmers and a sale of stock on their retirement in 1900 included 632 Cotswold and cross-bred sheep and just over 100 head of cattle.⁴⁶ The area of

²² Glos. R.O., D 1930; P 290a/SD 1/1.

²³ Ibid. D 269c/T 4.

²⁴ Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47.

²⁵ G.D.R., V 5/2671 2.

²⁶ Ibid. B 4/3/1070.

²⁷ Glos. R.O., D 1930; above, Fig. 15.

²⁸ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

²⁹ *Census*, 1831.

³⁰ Glos. R.O., D 245/I/49, letters 16 Jan., 28 Oct. 1832.

³¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

³² Glos. R.O., D 1388, Beale Browne fam., rentals 1850–85; cf. *ibid.* D 269c/E 3, L 1.

³³ Ibid. D 1388/SL 8, no. 81; *ibid.* reg. wills 1881, f. 357; P 364/IN 4/4, press cutting 13 Oct. 1900.

³⁴ P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2.

³⁵ Ibid. MAF 68/3295/17.

³⁶ Glos. R.O., G/NO 160/22/1.

³⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1923 and later edns.).

³⁸ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/203.

³⁹ Ibid. MAF 68/6005/14/203.

⁴⁰ Inf. from Mr. J. A. B. Baillie-Hamilton, of South Fm., and from Mr. T. R. Handy, of Hampen.

⁴¹ *1801 Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 177.

⁴² P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

⁴³ Ibid. MAF 68/25/23.

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., D 269c/C 3.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., RG 12/2036.

⁴⁶ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 4/4, press cutting 13 Oct. 1900.

Shipton used for grazing increased in the later 19th century and 1,029 a. was described as permanent grassland in 1905.⁴⁷ That trend continued in the early 20th century and 766 ewes and 484, mostly beef, cattle were returned in 1926 as well as 103 pigs and 1,576 chickens and other poultry.⁴⁸ In 1956, when 517 a. was described as permanent grassland, over 900 a. was used for grazing and over 800 a. for growing cereals and 71 a. was fallow. The livestock returned that year included 198 ewes, 806 beef and dairy cattle, 162 pigs. and 1,262 poultry.⁴⁹ In 1986, when at least 418 a. (169 ha.) was grassland, 109 a. (48 ha.) rough grazing, and 12 a. (5 ha.) fallow, one of the larger farms was devoted primarily to raising sheep and cattle and the others to growing cereals; 913 ewes and 301, mostly beef, cattle were among the animals returned for Shipton that year.⁵⁰ Mr. Baillie-Hamilton had a herd of 30 beef cattle on his farm and the Handys kept a flock of sheep at Lower Hampen in 1908.⁵¹

In 1086 only one mill, belonging to Hugh L'Asne's estate, was recorded in Shipton and Hampen.⁵² It may have stood on the river Coln at Frogmill, in Shipton Solers, where a corn mill operating by the early 1540s⁵³ was known as Frogmarsh mill in 1600⁵⁴ and as Frog mill in 1669. By the last date the mill was owned and worked by the Powell family, members of which also ran the adjacent Frogmill inn recorded a few years later.⁵⁵ The mill was sold in 1760 following Giles Powell's bankruptcy⁵⁶ and it apparently continued in use in 1777.⁵⁷

There was a sand pit at Hampen in the early 13th century⁵⁸ and pits yielding Cotswold slates were among stone workings in Shipton Solers, some of them on Hannington hill near Andoversford, in the late 16th century.⁵⁹ At inclosure in 1793 18 small plots of land in Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers were designated public quarries⁶⁰ but they apparently went out of use long before 1900.⁶¹ Few tradesmen and craftsmen are recorded in the Shiptons before the 19th century. A tailor and a carpenter were among parishioners named in 1608⁶² and a blacksmith lived in Shipton Oliffe in 1648.⁶³ George Fletcher, a maltster living in Shipton Oliffe village in 1791, was the father of George Fletcher,⁶⁴ the farmer mentioned above. In the

mid 19th century most of the usual village crafts were practised in Shipton; residents in 1851 included a stonemason with six employees, a shoemaker with two employees, two bakers, and a butcher, as well as several wheelwrights.⁶⁵ Silas Smith, described in 1846 as a sawyer,⁶⁶ built up a business as a builder, wheelwright, and blacksmith from a timber yard in Shipton Oliffe village and premises in Charlton Kings⁶⁷ to employ 25 men in 1861.⁶⁸ The yard in Shipton remained open for several years after his death in 1867.⁶⁹ Shopkeepers were recorded in Shipton from 1822,⁷⁰ three being mentioned in Shipton Oliffe in 1870,⁷¹ and there was a post office in 1906.⁷² Although a bakery remained in business in the late 1950s many trades, including those of blacksmith, shoemaker, and wheelwright, had died out in Shipton by that time.⁷³ The village had a post office but not a shop in 1998.

The Frogmill inn provided employment in the later 18th century and the early 19th for a number of people including ostlers, grooms, and chaise drivers. Among other residents of Shipton were tollgate keepers in 1828 and 1833⁷⁴ and a letter carrier in 1851.⁷⁵ By 1871 the shopkeeper Charles Makepeace owned one or more horse-drawn vans,⁷⁶ which provided a carrying service between Shipton Oliffe and Cheltenham. Walter Perrett, Makepeace's successor before the First World War, started a motor coach business⁷⁷ which continued to run passenger services to Cheltenham and Northleach in 1998. In the late 19th century and the early 20th several Shipton men worked on the railway.⁷⁸ In the late 20th century a garage and shop was built on the Oxford road south of Andoversford.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. In the Middle Ages Shipton contained the separate tithings of Shipton Oliffe, Shipton Pelye, and Shipton Solers. Cirencester abbey, lord of the hundred, held a separate view of frankpledge in Shipton Pelye and in 1303 William de Solers agreed to pay the abbey 5s. a year instead of the hospitality that its officers had been accustomed to receive in the tithing. The twice-yearly court in Shipton Pelye, which enforced the assize of bread and ale and heard pleas of bloodshed,⁷⁹ was recorded in the early 15th century when the hundred

47 P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2; Acreage Returns, 1905.

48 P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

49 Ibid. MAF 68/4533/203.

50 Ibid. MAF 68/6005/14/203.

51 Inf. from Mr. Baillie-Hamilton and Mr. Handy.

52 *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 169.

53 Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii, 1543, 1544; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496.

54 B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, f. 557.

55 G.D.R. wills 1669/76; 1735/212; 1740/5; *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/26; for the inn, above, intro.

56 *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/Z 6.

57 Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

58 *Reg. Mon. Winch.* i. 151.

59 Corpus Christi Coll. Archives, Fb 11/2.

60 *Glos. R.O.*, P 290a/SD 1/1.

61 Ibid. D 1388/SL 8, no. 81.

62 Smith, *Men and Armour*, 274.

63 P.R.O., E 134/24 Chas. I Mich./6.

64 *Glos. R.O.*, D 7173/1.

65 P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

66 *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/4.

67 W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 3; *Glos. Colln.* RQ 267.1.

68 P.R.O., RG 9/1787.

69 *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/11; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 630; (1879), 736.

70 *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/4.

71 *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 630.

72 Ibid. (1906), 290.

73 W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 5; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1939), 308.

74 *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxiv. 156; *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/4.

75 P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

76 Ibid. RG 10/2652; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 630.

77 *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897 and later edns.); W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 5.

78 P.R.O., RG 11/2561; RG 12/2036; *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/4.

79 *Ciren. Cart.* iii, p. 846.

court exercised leet jurisdiction over Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers.⁸⁰ The Knights Templar claimed earlier that their tenants were bound to attend the view of frankpledge held at Temple Guiting.⁸¹ A court roll for Shipton Solers manor records courts of survey convened in 1674 and 1685 and shows that the manor court's business included the repair of bridges and the cleaning of ditches as well as agricultural matters.⁸² Although the lord of the manor held an occasional court baron c. 1805 no other records of the court have been found.⁸³

Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers each had two churchwardens until the later 17th century,⁸⁴ from which time each parish had only one warden.⁸⁵ Accounts of the Shipton Solers wardens survive for the period 1707–1835.⁸⁶ Each parish had its own constable in 1715.⁸⁷ In 1776 slightly more was spent on relief in Shipton Oliffe than in Shipton Solers and the combined amount exceeded that spent in Northleach. Less was spent on relief in both parishes in the mid 1780s but the amounts had risen by 1803, almost fourfold in Shipton Oliffe where the greater number of people, 34 out of 48 on permanent or occasional relief in the two parishes, was helped.⁸⁸ In the next ten years expenditure in Shipton Solers fell, but in 1813 and 1815 more people were helped there than in Shipton Oliffe⁸⁹ and from the late 1820s expenditure in Shipton Solers sometimes exceeded that in Shipton Oliffe.⁹⁰ Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers both became part of the new Northleach poor-law union in 1836.⁹¹ The civil parish of Shipton created in 1871⁹² was included in Northleach rural district in 1895⁹³ and Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCHES. Shipton Oliffe probably had a church in 1086 when a priest was among William Leuric's tenants at Shipton.⁹⁴ In 1236 Ralph of Shipton reserved the advowson of the church, and John of Shipton and his wife Olive, who held the estate later known as Shipton Oliffe manor from Ralph,⁹⁵ contributed to the endowment of the living;⁹⁶ the living was styled

a rectory in 1306.⁹⁷ There was a chapel at Shipton Solers in 1236⁹⁸ and the living there was a rectory in 1304.⁹⁹ The two benefices were held together from the later 17th century¹ and were united in 1776.² In 1962 Hazleton and Salperton were added to the united benefice³ and at a reorganization in 1975 the ecclesiastical parish of the Shiptons was merged with that of Salperton in a new united benefice including Dowdeswell.⁴ In 1998 the two Shipton churches were among eight churches served by a priest-in-charge living in Shipton.⁵

The first known presentation to Shipton Oliffe church was by Robert Oliffe in 1289.⁶ The patronage evidently descended with Shipton Oliffe manor and was exercised in 1346 by Ralph of Dowdeswell.⁷ In 1532 and 1542 the advowson belonged to patrons for the turn⁸ and, although a Mr. Horowde was said to be patron in 1551,⁹ the next presentation, in 1554, was by Ralph Oliffe, the lord of the manor. Richard Oliffe filled a vacancy in 1577 but his presentee was evidently replaced the following year by Ralph's nominee, who retained the living despite presentations by the Crown in 1581 and 1582.¹⁰ Patrons for the turn filled the next two vacancies, in 1619 and 1666.¹¹ After the union of benefices in 1776 the lords of Shipton Oliffe had the right to present at every other vacancy,¹² a right that passed on the division of W. P. Chapeau's estate in 1848 to his son H. E. C. Chapeau and, under an earlier sale of one turn, was exercised in 1862 by Elizabeth Carr of Peterborough (Northants.). H. E. C. Chapeau (d. 1877) retained the alternate right in the patronage and in 1918 his trustees sold it to W. J. Fieldhouse,¹³ whose son E. F. Fieldhouse,¹⁴ a landowner in Shipton Solers, became sole patron of the united benefice.¹⁵

In 1236 Roger, son of Warin of Shipton, quitclaimed a house and 6 a. in Shipton to Jordan, the parson of Shipton Oliffe,¹⁶ and less than a month later John of Shipton and his wife Olive gave 15 a. in each of the two open fields and other land to augment the parson's living.¹⁷ The rector's glebe included 20 a. of arable in 1535¹⁸ and a yardland, as well as common rights for

⁸⁰ Ibid. ii, pp. 620–1.

⁸¹ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 245.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/26; the cts. of survey also dealt with land in nearby parishes belonging to the manor's owner.

⁸³ Fosbrooke, *Glos.* ii, 434.

⁸⁴ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 41; xxviii, 1540 visit. f. 5; xxix, 1543 subsidy, ff. 21, 26; *G.D.R.*, V 5/267t 4–5.

⁸⁵ *G.D.R.*, V 5/267t 6–9.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/CW 2/1.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Q/SO 4.

⁸⁸ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 1818, 146–7.

⁹⁰ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁹¹ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁹² *Poor Law Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation Act*, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 61 (Local).

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/300/2.

⁹⁴ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 167v.

⁹⁵ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/73/12, no. 208.

⁹⁶ Ibid. no. 207.

⁹⁷ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 173.

⁹⁸ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/73/12, no. 207.

⁹⁹ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 133.

¹ Below, this section.

² *G.D.R.*, D 17/6.

³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/VE 2/1, p. 165; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1970), 56–7.

⁴ *G.D.R.*, V 7/1/69.

⁵ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1998–9), 107–9.

⁶ *Reg. Giffard*, 349.

⁷ Above, manors; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Lynn*, f. 16v.; *Reg. Carpenter*, i, f. 112v.; *P.R.O.*, C 142/27, no. 32.

⁸ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 51; Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁹ *E.H.R.* xix, 104.

¹⁰ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii; *Cal. Pat.* 1580–2, pp. 121, 224; Hockaday Abs. xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 9, names Ric. Oliffe as patron.

¹¹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

¹² *G.D.R.*, D 17/6.

¹³ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii; *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 3/2.

¹⁴ *V.C.H. Warws.* iii, 210.

¹⁵ Below, this section.

¹⁶ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/73/12, no. 209.

¹⁷ Ibid. no. 207.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 442.

sheep and cattle, in 1584;¹⁹ in 1612 the yardland was represented by 22½ a. in each of the open fields.²⁰ Corn and wool tithes provided the bulk of the rector's income in 1535²¹ and they and his other tithes were farmed in 1576.²² In the 17th century, when the rector received moduses for some tithes, not all parts of the parish paid him tithes²³ and in the early 18th century Lower Hampen paid him only corn tithes.²⁴ The rectory was worth £5 13s. 4d. in 1291,²⁵ £7 5s. 9d. in 1535,²⁶ £45 in 1650,²⁷ and £65 in 1750.²⁸ In 1776, on the eve of the union with Shipton Solers, it was valued at £83.²⁹

The rectory house, which under a non-resident incumbent was in disrepair in 1569, had a thatched roof and was repaired in 1572.³⁰ In 1584 the rector occupied part of the house and two tenants the remainder.³¹ From the later 17th century the incumbents presumably used the much larger house belonging to Shipton Solers rectory³² but the Shipton Oliffe house, which in 1680 comprised two bays,³³ remained part of the glebe of the united benefice in 1828.³⁴

In 1289, Henry of Shipton having been presented to Shipton Oliffe rectory, William of Owdeswell, a priest, was given custody of the church and responsibility to provide for Henry's schooling and maintenance;³⁵ Henry was instituted to the living in 1291.³⁶ In 1306, following Henry's resignation, the living was granted *in commendam* to John of Rodborough³⁷ and the following year the same or another Henry of Shipton was instituted.³⁸ In 1540 William Swan, formerly a Dominican at Gloucester, became rector.³⁹ Richard Davis, Swan's successor in 1542,⁴⁰ was unable to recite the Ten Commandments and did not know the provenance of the Lord's Prayer in 1551. Under Mary, he was deprived of the living and, in 1554, it was given to John Hancocks⁴¹ (d. 1562), who was also known as John Augustine and had been prior of Winchcombe abbey.⁴² John Rhodes, rector from 1562, was ordered to be resident in 1569. Richard Jones, rector from 1575,⁴³ was

presented the following year for neglecting his spiritual duties, for wearing a surplice on Rogation days, and for fomenting discord.⁴⁴ He had been deprived by 1577. George Mace, instituted in 1578, retained the living despite uncertainty over the patronage.⁴⁵ Neither a graduate nor a preacher in 1584,⁴⁶ he was deemed of slender scholarship and was presented for simony in 1593.⁴⁷ Samuel Temple, his successor in 1619,⁴⁸ was described as a preaching minister in 1650;⁴⁹ he retained the living until his death in 1665.⁵⁰ His successors were also rectors of Shipton Solers.⁵¹

The church or chapel of Shipton Solers was in the gift of William de Solers in 1298.⁵² The patronage descended with Shipton Solers manor⁵³ and in 1527 it was exercised by a patron for the turn.⁵⁴ Vacancies in 1531 and 1545 were filled jointly by Anne and Henry Heydon and Catherine and John Dauntesey.⁵⁵ Francis Heydon was sole patron in 1570 and, at the next vacancies, Robert Heydon presented, under grant from Mary Heydon, in 1619 and Robert Cooke of Painswick in 1642.⁵⁶ From 1776 the lords of the manor had an alternate right of presentation to the united benefice⁵⁷ and in 1817 the right was exercised by the Crown on account of the lunacy of W. G. Peachey.⁵⁸ On the break up of the manor in the early 20th century the interest in the advowson was evidently included in the part acquired by E. F. Fieldhouse,⁵⁹ who was sole patron of the united benefice in 1927.⁶⁰ His interest, which at the union of benefices in 1962 became a right to present at the first and third of every four turns,⁶¹ passed in turn to his wife Evelyn May Fieldhouse (d. 1986), who became a joint patron of the benefice created in 1975, and his daughter Lucy Evans.⁶²

In 1535, when Shipton Solers rectory was worth £7 2s. 2d., its glebe included 40 a. of arable.⁶³ In 1584 it had 35½ a. in the open fields⁶⁴ but perhaps another 9 a. in one field had been lost by then, as it had by 1632.⁶⁵ Corn and wool tithes provided over two thirds of the rector's

¹⁹ G.D.R., V 5/267t 1.

²⁰ Ibid. 3.

²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 442.

²² G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 36.

²³ Ibid. V 5/267t 5.

²⁴ Ibid. B 4/3/1070.

²⁵ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 223.

²⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 442.

²⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

²⁸ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 74.

²⁹ Ibid. D 17/6.

³⁰ Hockaday Abs. cccxxvii.

³¹ G.D.R., V 5/267t 1.

³² Below, this section.

³³ G.D.R., V 5/267t 5.

³⁴ Ibid. 9.

³⁵ *Reg. Giffard*, 349.

³⁶ Ibid. 406.

³⁷ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 173.

³⁸ Ibid. 177.

³⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 95; Swan was styled parson of Shipton Solers in his will: G.D.R. wills 1542/44.

⁴⁰ Hockaday Abs. cccxxvii.

⁴¹ *E.H.R.* xix. 104.

⁴² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 86.

⁴³ Hockaday Abs. cccxxvii.

⁴⁴ G.D.R. vol. 40, f. 36.

⁴⁵ Hockaday Abs. cccxxvii.

⁴⁶ Ibid. xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 9.

⁴⁷ Ibid. lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 14.

⁴⁸ Ibid. cccxxvii.

⁴⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/1.

⁵¹ Below, this section.

⁵² *Reg. Giffard*, 496.

⁵³ Above, manors; *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 46; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Hemenhale*, f. 16; *Reg. Peverell*, ff. 39v.-40; *P.R.O.*, C 142/45, no. 32; C 142/297, no. 164.

⁵⁴ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 29v.

⁵⁵ Ibid. f. 49v.; Hockaday Abs. cccxxvii.

⁵⁶ Hockaday Abs. cccxxvii.

⁵⁷ G.D.R., D 17/6; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902), 280.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/47, abs. of title 1830.

⁵⁹ Cf. above, manors.

⁶⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927), 314; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1930-1), 48-9.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 172/VE 2/1, p. 165.

⁶² G.D.R., V 7/1/69; inf. from Mrs. Evans, of Northfield, Withington; for the Fieldhouses, floor mon. in Shipton Solers ch.

⁶³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437.

⁶⁴ G.D.R., V 5/267t 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 4.



FIG. 16. SHIPTON SOLERS RECTORY, C. 1823

income in 1535⁶⁶ but the rector did not have the corn and hay tithes—the penny fee tithes—from the demesne farm of Shipton Solers manor. In 1570 a new rector let his glebe and tithes for £9 a year and the provision of lodgings and a horse, but the arrangement was abandoned ten years later because it gave the rector too small an income, and in the mid 1580s another farmer of the rectory was party to disputes concerning tithes. The demesne farm tithes were in dispute in following years but its wool tithes were paid in cash in the early 17th century.⁶⁷ The rectory was valued at £35 in both 1650 and 1750⁶⁸ and at £67 in 1776 when it was united with Shipton Oliffe.⁶⁹ At inclosure in 1793 the incumbent of the united benefice was awarded 60 a. for glebe and 385 a. and £2 3s. 10d. in rents for tithes⁷⁰ and in 1856 the living, which had 453 a.,⁷¹ was worth £412.⁷² Most of the land was sold in 1919.⁷³

The Shipton Solers glebe house, occupied by the rector in 1584,⁷⁴ was rebuilt by the rector Thomas Wilde in the 1620s and had six bays in 1632.⁷⁵ After 1776 it was the principal residence

of the united benefice⁷⁶ and it was usually occupied by a curate by 1797, when a faculty was obtained for raising the roof to improve the accommodation. Following that work much of the building collapsed and was rebuilt by the rector John Chapeau on a larger scale.⁷⁷ The house, which had one and a half storeys on a high basement and a main north-east front of five bays,⁷⁸ was rebuilt by the rector John Anby Carr in 1863 to designs by Fulljames & Waller with a square main block having four bays and a porch on the north-east front.⁷⁹ It was sold in 1964 and a new rectory house built to the north-east was in 1998 the residence of the priest in charge of Shipton and neighbouring parishes.⁸⁰

On becoming rector of Shipton Solers in 1301 Robert de Solers had licence to study;⁸¹ he had resigned the living by 1304.⁸² In the late 14th century and the early 15th the rectory was frequently exchanged for another benefice and between 1411 and 1414 seven men held the rectory in succession.⁸³ Thomas Sende, rector for a short period in the mid 1420s,⁸⁴ held the living with the vicarage of Burford (Oxon.) from

⁶⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 437.

⁶⁷ G.D.R. vol. 100, depositions 14 April–29 Nov. 1607; B 4/3/1067–9; for the penny fee tithes, above, manors.

⁶⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92; G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 74.

⁶⁹ G.D.R., D 17/6.

⁷⁰ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* D 245/1/27.

⁷² G.D.R. vol 384, f. 176.

⁷³ Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/137.

⁷⁴ G.D.R., V 5/267t 2.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 4.

⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.* D 17/6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* V 5/267t 8; Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii, 1801.

⁷⁸ Sketch, on map in Glos. R.O., D 245/1/27, reproduced above, Fig. 16.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* D 2593/2/171.

⁸⁰ Inf. from Mrs. E. Smith, of the Old Rectory, Shipton Oliffe; *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1998–9), 107–9.

⁸¹ *Reg. Giffard*, 552.

⁸² *Reg. Ginsborough*, 128.

⁸³ *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 365; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Peverell*, ff. 39v.–40, 43 and v., 45 and v., 55 and v., 63, 68v.–69.

⁸⁴ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Morgan*, ii, ff. 28, 33v.–34.

1437.⁸⁵ In 1498 the rector and a chaplain officiated in the church⁸⁶ and in 1544, the year of the death of an incumbent,⁸⁷ a stipendiary curate was paid by John Hurlston.⁸⁸ John Lambert, rector from 1545,⁸⁹ was found satisfactory in learning in 1551.⁹⁰ Thomas Rock, his successor in 1570,⁹¹ was not learned in Latin but was considered a sufficient scholar.⁹² Thomas Wilde, who succeeded Rock in 1619, exchanged livings with William Ackson, vicar of Painswick, in 1642⁹³ possibly in resolution of a dispute with him.⁹⁴ Following Ackson's death later that year⁹⁵ Wilde regained the rectory⁹⁶ but it seems that the living was sequestered after a while; during that period Wilde was twice imprisoned and was ejected from Painswick in favour of a Puritan minister. In 1647, following Wilde's death,⁹⁷ a new rector was instituted to Shipton Solers⁹⁸ and in 1650 another minister served the church.⁹⁹ Arthur Charlett, the rector in 1653,¹ subscribed to the Act of Uniformity in 1662.²

Joseph Walker, rector of Shipton Solers from 1663, was also rector of Shipton Oliffe from 1666. After his death in 1706 the two benefices continued to be held together³ and in the mid 18th century, when incumbents or stipendiary clergy from nearby parishes were employed as curates, a morning sermon was delivered in one of the churches and afternoon prayers were said in the other in alternation.⁴ The union of the benefices in 1776 followed the death of William Chapeau, rector from 1756,⁵ and the next two rectors, Chapeau's brother John (d. 1816)⁶ and Lawrence William Eliot (d. 1862),⁷ both non-resident pluralists, continued to leave Shipton to curates.⁸ The curates, usually resident from the late 18th century,⁹ included T. B. Newell (1816–37), who also served Salperton from 1820, and W. P. Mellersh (1837–62), who was incumbent of Compton Abdale and also, from 1840, of Salperton.¹⁰ Although Shipton Solers church was designated the mother church of the united parishes in 1776,¹¹ Shipton Oliffe church, because of its central position in the village, had larger attendances¹² and regular services ceased at Shipton Solers c. 1830.¹³ In 1851 alternate

morning and afternoon services at Shipton Oliffe drew average congregations of 70 and 130 respectively¹⁴ and occasional morning services in the summer at Shipton Solers an average congregation of 20.¹⁵ Services ceased completely at Shipton Solers soon afterwards¹⁶ and were resumed there in 1884 and, after the church had been abandoned once more, in 1930.¹⁷ In 1998 a service was held at one or other of the two churches several Sundays each month.

The endowment of a lamp in Shipton Oliffe church was put to another use in the mid 1540s. The same or another light there had received an income from a hive of bees.¹⁸

Shipton Oliffe church, which had a dedication to *ST. OSWALD* in 1307,¹⁹ comprises chancel and nave with south chapel, south porch, and west bellcot. The piers of the chancel arch and the nave north doorway with a plain tympanum date from the 12th century. In the 13th century the chancel was remodelled with plain and trefoil-headed lancets and the chapel and bellcot were added in work of high quality with dog-tooth decoration and rich external mouldings. The stone bellcot, an unusual feature of that date, has two chambers and pinnacled buttresses and is an integral part of the design of the church's west front with its central pilaster buttress.²⁰ The twin lancets of the chancel east window have an elaborate internal arcade. The chapel south wall includes a piscina. In the 14th century the chancel south-east window was crudely remodelled internally with stepped sedilia and a canopied piscina made within an enlarged embrasure; re-used corbel heads have been placed one on each side of the window. The chapel east window dates from the 14th century. Rectangular mullioned windows in the nave, one within the blocked north doorway, were probably among alterations made in the late 17th century or the 18th century. The two small rectangular windows in the west front, which were described in 1857 as 'most vile' and 'modern',²¹ were replaced as part of an extensive restoration in 1903 and 1904 to designs by H. A. Prothero and G. H. Phillott.²² During the restoration a

⁸⁵ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Bouchier, f. 31v.; cf. *Cal. Papal Reg.* ix. 80–1.

⁸⁶ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 41.

⁸⁷ Ibid. cccxxxvii.

⁸⁸ Ibid. xxx, 1544 stipendiaries, f. 11.

⁸⁹ Ibid. cccxxxvii.

⁹⁰ *E.H.R.* xix. 110.

⁹¹ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁹² Ibid. xlvii, 1576 visit. f. 141; xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 21; lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 10.

⁹³ Ibid. cccxxxvii, ccxix.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1639–40, 272; 1640–1, 398.

⁹⁵ G.D.R. wills 1642/131.

⁹⁶ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁹⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1661–2, 233; *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 179; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052, Painswick.

⁹⁸ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁹⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/3.

² Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

³ Ibid.; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 234.

⁴ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 74; *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/2, mem. 16 Nov. 1776.

⁵ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/47.

⁷ Ibid. P 290/IN 1/4.

⁸ G.D.R., D 8/1776; vols. 382, f. 41; 383, no. cclxxi; 384, f. 176.

⁹ Ibid. V 5/267t 8.

¹⁰ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii; *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/4, 11; above, Salperton, church.

¹¹ G.D.R., D 17/6.

¹² P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/10/20; HO 129/341/2/11/22.

¹³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/CW 2/1.

¹⁴ P.R.O., HO 129/341/2/11/22.

¹⁵ Ibid. HO 129/341/2/10/20.

¹⁶ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 101, which confuses the ch. with that in Shipton Oliffe.

¹⁷ Below, this section.

¹⁸ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

¹⁹ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 177.

²⁰ Above, Plate 39.

²¹ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 102, where the ch. is said erroneously to be in Shipton Solers; photog. of ch. from W. before 1904 (pasted in copy of *Glos. Ch. Notes* in *Glos. Colln.* 35130, between pp. 102–3).

²² G.D.R., F 1/1/1903/22; the W. windows are dated 1904.

west gallery, erected by the later 18th century,²³ was removed, new seats were installed, and an arcade of two bays was built between the nave and the chapel. The rebuilding of the porch presumably took place at the same time.²⁴

Inside the church the walls in places bear traces of medieval decoration and of later texts. The plain medieval font has an octagonal bowl. Seventeenth-century panelling at the east end of the chancel is said to have been made from pews formerly at Shipton Solers church.²⁵ Panelling throughout the rest of St. Oswald's church is from the pews discarded in 1903. The pulpit, a gift from the rector, E. C. Hanson, in 1937, replaced one which until 1903 had an upper tier.²⁶ The chapel contains a wall monument to Mary Peachey (d. 1772) of Shipton Solers and the chancel, where memorials to members of the Oliffe family from the late 17th century had been obliterated by 1870,²⁷ has memorial glass to Thomas Handy (d. 1871) of Hampen. The bellcot presumably always housed two bells. In 1904 two new bells, cast by Mears & Stainbank, were acquired at the expense of Mrs. Bingham, presumably the wife of D. G. Bingham, and the old bells, of which one had been cast or recast in the early 17th century, were placed on a window sill inside the church.²⁸ In 1925 E. F. Fieldhouse gave an almsdish of 1753 to the church.²⁹ The surviving registers for Shipton Oliffe parish begin in 1656 but there are no entries for the period 1711–1743.³⁰

Shipton Solers church, which in 1236 was a chapel dedicated to *ST. MARY*,³¹ comprises chancel and nave with west bellcot. It stands on sloping ground with the nave floor at a higher level than the chancel floor. The fabric of limestone rubble dates from no later than the 13th century; the chancel south wall has a lancet and a simple piscina. During the 15th century the church was largely remodelled and given Perpendicular windows and a wagon roof, which is panelled at the east end of the nave to form a ceiling. A small wooden bellcot at the west end of the nave was recorded from the early 18th century³² and was replaced in stone *c.* 1818.³³

On becoming rector in 1883 Charles Pugh found the church in use as a cattle shed, its windows blocked, and trees growing through its roof.³⁴ With the help of his wife Catherine, Pugh

repaired the building and reopened it in 1884.³⁵ Occasional evening services were held in the summer³⁶ but the church once again fell into disrepair³⁷ and services were discontinued for many years until 1930 when E. F. Fieldhouse restored and refurnished it in memory of his parents. That work, begun in 1929, was to designs by W. E. Ellery Anderson and included the reconstruction of the roof, the unblocking of the nave north doorway, and the removal from the walls of wash³⁸ painted on them in or after 1884.³⁹ The chancel south doorway had been blocked evidently in the later 19th century.⁴⁰

The 15th-century font has a plain octagonal bowl on an octagonal stem.⁴¹ There are traces of 16th- and 17th-century decoration, including texts, on the nave walls. The pulpit with its sounding board dates from the 17th century; an hour glass fixed near by was recorded in the church in 1870⁴² and reinstated there in 1930. The altar incorporates a stone slab found under the floor during the 1929–30 restoration and the carved and painted reredos is among the fittings introduced at that time. Nearly all the stained glass in the chancel was made at the restoration by Geoffrey Webb and in one window it displays rebuses for the names Shipton and Fieldhouse.⁴³ Older memorials include a brass to the rector Joseph Walker (d. 1706) in the chancel and several stone wall monuments of the late 17th century and the early 18th in the nave. The church has a single bell installed not long before 1885.⁴⁴ A new chalice and paten were acquired in 1758 by the gift of Mary Peachey⁴⁵ and among plate given by E. F. Fieldhouse in 1930 was a chalice apparently dated 1637.⁴⁶ The Shipton Solers registers begin in 1653 but contain no entries for the years 1711–43. In the late 18th century baptisms and burials were recorded at the back of a Shipton Oliffe register⁴⁷ and from 1813 separate registers were not kept for Shipton Solers.⁴⁸

NONCONFORMITY. The sole nonconformist recorded in Shipton in 1676 lived in Shipton Oliffe,⁴⁹ where a Baptist refused along with other members of his family to attend the parish church in the mid 1680s.⁵⁰ Baptists registered a house in Shipton Oliffe for worship in

²³ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 233.

²⁴ Cf. U. Daubeny, *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 146.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 147.

²⁶ W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe, 2; G.D.R., F 1/1/1937/29.

²⁷ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 233.

²⁸ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 20, 549, 683; for D. G. Bingham, above, manors.

²⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxiii, 228.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/1–2.

³¹ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/12, no. 207.

³² Atkyns, *Glos.* 650.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/CW 2/1.

³⁴ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 234; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxx, 3.

³⁵ *Glouc. Jnl.* 14 June 1884; for Catherine Pugh, *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/CW 2/2: 3/4.

³⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 881; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxx, 3.

³⁷ U. Daubeny, *Ancient Cotswold Churches*, 147.

³⁸ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 3 May 1930; G.D.R., F 1/1/1929/30.

³⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 234.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1232.

⁴¹ According to Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 234, the Shipton Solers font was removed to Shipton Oliffe ch. in the mid 19th cent.

⁴² Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 234.

⁴³ G.D.R., F 1/1/1929/30, 50; *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 3 May 1930.

⁴⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 564; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlii, 168; cf. *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 550.

⁴⁵ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 183; *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/CW 2/1; the plate was later kept at Shipton Oliffe ch.: B. Taylor, 'Shipton Churches' ([? 1949], TS. in *Glos. Colln.* 31629), 10.

⁴⁶ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 3 May 1930; Taylor, 'Shipton Churches', 16.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 290/IN 1/2–3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* IN 1/4, 7, 11.

⁴⁹ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 537.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052, Shipton Oliffe.

1773⁵¹ and James Smith, a Baptist minister from Cheltenham, registered a house in Shipton Solers in 1835.⁵² In 1837 a house in Shipton Oliffe was registered as a nonconformist meeting place⁵³ and in 1851 a house in the parish was used by a Particular Baptist meeting attended by up to 30 people.⁵⁴

In 1865 Wesleyan Methodists of the Cheltenham circuit began holding services in Shipton Oliffe but from 1867 they centred their mission to the area on Andoversford.⁵⁵ A few years later Primitive Methodists established a meeting in Shipton Oliffe and in 1877 they had a brick chapel in the village.⁵⁶ The chapel, which was rebuilt in 1889,⁵⁷ closed after 1990⁵⁸ and the building was sold in 1997.

EDUCATION. In 1818 the Shiptons had a single Sunday school teaching 25 children⁵⁹ and in 1847 eight children attended a dame school on weekdays.⁶⁰ A schoolmaster living in Shipton Oliffe in 1851⁶¹ taught there for a number of years.⁶² In 1863 subscriptions supported a village school providing free education to boys and girls.⁶³ The school was held in a cottage until 1869 when it moved to a new schoolroom on the north side of the village street. Known as Shipton Parish school, it was run by the rector and others as a church school and voluntary contributions remained its principal source of income in the late 19th century. The average attendance, including infants, was 43 in 1883⁶⁴ and 45 in 1904.⁶⁵ Under the will of Mary

Handy (d. 1889) £540 was provided as an endowment for the school in or soon after 1915.⁶⁶ After the older children were transferred to Andoversford school in 1930⁶⁷ the average attendance fell to 21 in 1938.⁶⁸ The younger children were also taught at Andoversford from 1946 and the abandoned schoolroom was acquired with funds supplied by E. F. Fieldhouse for use as a church hall in 1955. The hall was disused in 1973 and was later sold. Mary Handy's charity was used to support the parish Sunday school and other educational ventures in the early 1970s.⁶⁹

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. Giles Dean by will proved 1635 left £5 for a dole among the poor of Shipton Oliffe a week before Christmas.⁷⁰ In 1680, when it was asserted that it was customary for the rector of Shipton Oliffe to hand out two wheat loaves, two cheeses, and a barrel of beer at his house on Christmas day, the principal of the charity was presumably in the hands of members of the Oliffe family, as it was a few years later. In 1704 Ralph Oliffe's widow Elizabeth promised to pay back the £5 to the rector and churchwarden.⁷¹ Although the charity was recorded in the late 18th century⁷² it had evidently lapsed by the early 19th.⁷³ Sarah Anne Fletcher (d. 1863) by will left £333 stock for a coal charity for the poor of Shipton Oliffe and Shipton Solers. Under a Scheme of 1972 the charity's income was distributed among the poor of Shipton parish in cash or kind.⁷⁴

STOWELL

STOWELL, one of the smallest parishes in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds but long the centre of one of the principal estates in the area, lay near Northleach at 16.5 km. SE. of Cheltenham and 12.75 km. NNE. of Cirencester. For much of its history the country house called Stowell Park, the church, and a few cottages for estate workers were the only buildings in the parish. From 1656 Stowell was united for ecclesiastical purposes with Hampnett⁷⁵ and in 1935 it became part of Yanworth civil parish.⁷⁶

The parish of Stowell comprised 851 a.⁷⁷ (347 ha.) and had the shape of a flattened arrowhead, its south-east boundary formed by the Foss way and its north-east boundary by part of a salt way leading from Droitwich (Worcs.) towards the river Thames at Lechlade. The crossroads made by those two ancient roads at the eastern tip of the parish was probably the 'cross by Stowell' where the Bradley hundred court met in the late Middle Ages⁷⁸ and the place called Bradley where the tithingman of Stowell was required

⁵¹ G.D.R. vol. 292a, f. 79 and v.

⁵² Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii; for Smith, *New Guide to Chelt.* [1837], 149–50.

⁵³ Hockaday Abs. cccxxxvii.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., HO 120/341/2/11/21.

⁵⁵ G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Methodism in Chelt. and District* (1912), 70, 78.

⁵⁶ Glos. R.O., D 3418/2/18/3.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 18/7.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 18/9.

⁵⁹ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 311.

⁶⁰ Nat. Soc. *Inquiry*, 1846–7, Glos. 14–15.

⁶¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁶² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 352.

⁶³ Ibid. (1863), 336.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., ED 7/35/282; O.S. Map, Glos. XXVII. SE. (1883 edn.).

⁶⁵ *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 189.

⁶⁶ Glos. R.O., reg. wills 1890, ff. 16v.–17v.; P 290/SC 1/6–7.

⁶⁷ Ibid. P 290/SC 1/5.

⁶⁸ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1922 (H.M.S.O.), 107; 1932, 117; 1938, 129.

⁶⁹ Glos. R.O., P 290/SC 1/4, 6; D 3469/5/133.

⁷⁰ G.D.R. wills 1635/41.

⁷¹ Ibid. V 5/267t 5–7.

⁷² Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 233.

⁷³ It is not recorded in *21st Rep. Com. Char.*

⁷⁴ Glos. R.O., D 3469/5/133.

⁷⁵ Below, church. This account was written in 1999 and 2000.

⁷⁶ *Census*, 1931 (pt. ii).

⁷⁷ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884).

⁷⁸ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ix. 333; cf. *Ciren. Cart.* ii, pp. 620–1.

to perform watching duty in 1394.⁷⁹ The west boundary of the parish left the salt way at a place called, by 1759, Hangman's Stone⁸⁰ and ran to a small stream, which it followed down to the river Coln; it then descended the Coln to meet the Foss way at Fossebridge.⁸¹

In 1086 Stowell was a member of the large manor of Northleach⁸² on the other side of the Foss way but its situation and boundaries suggest a more ancient tenurial connexion with its western neighbour, Yanworth. Such a connexion is also suggested by an agreement made between the lords of Stowell and Yanworth in 1457, adjusting the boundaries between their two manors and releasing all claims to inter-commoning. The landmarks given in the agreement cannot be identified clearly, but the 63¼ a. of land given then to the lord of Yanworth may have been near the boundary between the manors in the valley of the tributary of the Coln west of the later Oxpens farm buildings, and the 103 a. given to the lord of Stowell in exchange, adjoining the Foss way and so presumably forming a detached part of Yanworth, was possibly in an area to the south of the later Stowell park.⁸³

The land of the ancient parish is formed of the Inferior Oolite and the Great Oolite, with an intervening band of fuller's earth outcropping on the hillsides⁸⁴ and causing the eruption of several springs in the vicinity of Stowell Park house. A height of just over 200 m. is reached on the north-east boundary and the land falls to c. 130 m. in the Coln valley. A wood called Stowell grove, occupying part of the hillside on the west side of the parish, covered 50 a. in 1842 and with other smaller groves and plantations made a total of 81 a. of woodland in Stowell; it belonged, as did the whole parish, to the Stowell Park estate.⁸⁵ A deer park, encompassing Stowell Park house and its attendant buildings on three sides, existed by 1750⁸⁶ but was possibly established much earlier. It covered 89 a. in 1842.⁸⁷ The house was described c. 1775 as being hidden from the Foss way by plantations,⁸⁸ perhaps referring to the long shelter belt at the roadside; the belt had certainly been planted by 1842, when a similar belt (in the late 1990s replanted with saplings) extended along the salt way on the north-east.⁸⁹ A large new plantation called

Camp wood was formed on Foss hill at the south end of the parish in the late 20th century after the removal of a wartime camp.⁹⁰

Eleven tenants or servile inhabitants were recorded on Stowell manor in 1086.⁹¹ Seven people were assessed for the subsidy in 1327⁹² and 18 for the poll tax in 1381,⁹³ but only the lord of the manor was listed at Stowell in the military survey of Gloucestershire in 1522.⁹⁴ A single household, evidently that of the lord, was recorded there in 1563⁹⁵ and the nine or ten communicants recorded in 1551 and 1603⁹⁶ were presumably servants or members of his household. The lord's household was the only one mentioned at Stowell during the 18th century,⁹⁷ and in 1801 only 13 people, comprising 3 families and occupying two houses, were enumerated. The population rose to 43 in six houses by 1831, and the only significant increase later in the century was from 50 in 1881 to 83 in 1891 after the 3rd Lord Eldon took up residence at Stowell Park. In the early 20th century the parish had a population of c. 70, and 74 people were enumerated in 1931 before the union with Yanworth in 1935. The population of Yanworth civil parish, a total of 166 at the union, was later temporarily boosted by the inhabitants of the camp at Foss hill in Stowell: 830 people were enumerated in 1951, but only 138 in 1961 after the camp's removal.⁹⁸

Little is known of Stowell's small medieval settlement beyond the record of tenants in 1086 and taxpayers in the 14th century. Probably the few houses were mainly in the area where the manor house and church stand on the hillside above the Coln; the springs there may be the origin of the name, which appears in 1086 and later as 'Stanwelle'.⁹⁹ A John de Stonwelle was one of the taxpayers in 1327, but another taxpayer was called John le S(c)agges,¹ suggesting that there were one or more dwellings lower down the hill, near the Coln, where the name Skeggs was used later for a small plantation.² As the record of 1381 shows, the depopulation of Stowell was only partly connected with the Black Death and the general slump in arable cultivation of the 14th century.

At the start of the 18th century the manor house was apparently the only dwelling in the parish.³ In the early 19th, however, there were

⁷⁹ *Ciren Cart.* ii, p. 634.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812; Stowell and Hampnett deeds 1766–9, mortgage 1766; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁸¹ *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. SW.* (1883 edn.); XLIV. NW. (1884 edn.).

⁸² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁸³ *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 550–2. The land given to Yanworth, part of the 'north field' of Stowell, was bounded on the W. by a small stream, perhaps the tributary of the Coln, and on the south by Dene Lane, perhaps the track through the valley leading from Oxpens to Yanworth village; the land given to Stowell, part of a field called Southfield Neville, extended from the Foss to Scagges furlong, a name perhaps surviving later in a small wood called the Skeggs, and was bounded on the N. by Jordan's brook, perhaps a watercourse flowing from the later Dogkennel Cottages to the Coln: cf. *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXXVI. SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁸⁴ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn., revised to 1879).

⁸⁵ *G.D.R.*, T 1/173.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, trust deeds 1675–1761.

⁸⁷ *G.D.R.*, T 1/173.

⁸⁸ Rudder, *Glos.* 707.

⁸⁹ *G.D.R.*, T 1/173.

⁹⁰ *O.S. Map 1/25,000*, SP 01 (1957, 1985 edns.).

⁹¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁹² *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁹³ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 290.

⁹⁴ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 120.

⁹⁵ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. C.* 790, f. 24v.

⁹⁶ *E.H.R.* xix. 113; *Eccles. Misc.* 95.

⁹⁷ Atkyns, *Glos.* 698; *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(1), f. 33; Rudder, *Glos.* 709.

⁹⁸ *Census*, 1801–1991.

⁹⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.; *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 182–3.

¹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

³ *Bodl. MS. Rawl. B.* 323, f. 55; *G.D.R.* vol. 285b(1), f. 33.

also a few cottages occupied by labourers on the large farm in which Stowell was then included: in 1812 there were two cottages and a yard and farm buildings at Oxpens near the north end of the parish, one, with a dog kennel, to the south of Stowell Park house at the later Dogkennel Cottages, and another,⁴ later occupied by a gamekeeper, on a lane leading down from the house to the Coln. In 1841 three families of labourers lived at Oxpens and two at Dogkennel.⁵ Lord Eldon added more cottages for his staff and estate workers after he took up residence at Stowell in the early 1880s⁶ and he built a small farmhouse, Home Farm, east of the house in 1886. In 1923 there was a total of 11 cottages on the estate at Stowell, six of them at Oxpens.⁷ In 2000 most of the houses in Stowell (and in the neighbouring village of Yanworth) were occupied by employees on Lord Vestey's Stowell Park estate.⁸

In the Second World War a hospital for the American army, comprising a large collection of huts, was built on Foss hill in the south part of the parish. After the war it became a school for girls from Polish refugee families.⁹ The school continued until 1953,¹⁰ but in 1950 the Northleach rural district converted some of the huts to 32 dwellings to accommodate homeless families pending the completion of housing schemes in its area; some huts were occupied until 1959.¹¹ Later they were dismantled and the site landscaped and planted.

MANOR. In 1086 Stowell was part of the manor of Northleach, one of the Gloucester abbey estates then held by the archbishop of York.¹² Stowell has not been found recorded again until 1236 when, having perhaps descended for some time with Farmington, another member of Northleach at Domesday,¹³ it was held from William of Hastings.¹⁴ In 1285 Emme de la Penne had an intermediate lordship between the tenant-in-demesne and the Hastings family;¹⁵ her right presumably derived from John de la Penne, who had the wardship of the tenant during a minority in 1272.¹⁶ No later record of the overlordship has been found, except that in 1564, apparently through a misunderstanding deriving from his exercise of leet jurisdiction, it was said to be

vested in the lord of Bradley hundred, Thomas Parry.¹⁷

Geoffrey Martel held the manor of *STOWELL* as ½ knight's fee in 1236.¹⁸ It passed later to Richard Martel, apparently Geoffrey's son,¹⁹ and Richard's heir held it in 1272.²⁰ Adam Martel held it in 1285,²¹ and by 1307 it belonged to another Adam Martel,²² whose lands were in the hands of royal receivers in 1322, presumably as a result of his involvement in the recent rebellion.²³ An Adam Martel, probably the same mentioned in 1322, was later said to have enfeoffed John Fachel with the manor to hold in trust for his son Adam and the son's wife Ellen, who were both minors at the time of their marriage. In 1343 Adam Martel, the son, settled Stowell on himself, his then wife called Cecily, and their heirs, with remainder to Robert of Staverton and his heirs. That same year, however, John Fachel's grandson, also John Fachel, claimed the manor against Adam on the grounds that his grandfather had been seised in his own right, and the younger John is said to have been awarded the manor in court;²⁴ Adam had a grant of free warren in the manor in 1345,²⁵ but John was presumably in possession of it in 1355 when he presented to Stowell church.²⁶ Claimants under John's supposed title were later in possession of the manor and were challenged by James Clifford and his wife Margaret, daughter and heir of Robert of Staverton. The Cliffords' claim was upheld,²⁷ and they were dealing with the manor in 1374.²⁸ In 1389 William Weston and Thomas Bird, presumably feoffees in trust, presented to Stowell church.²⁹ The same or another James Clifford was lord of the manor in 1394 when, in preparation for accompanying Richard II's expedition to Ireland, he granted his lands to four feoffees, Anselm Guise, John Haresfield, Thomas Alford, and Matthew Clifford.³⁰ Haresfield and Matthew Clifford apparently still held the manor in 1410, when they presented to the church.³¹

William Clifford owned Stowell manor in 1457 and it passed later to his daughter Elizabeth, who married first Edmund Catesby and second Thomas Limerick.³² Limerick was patron of Stowell church in 1467³³ and died in 1486. His second (or later) wife Joan may have survived him³⁴ and held the manor for a few years before it passed to his daughter and heir

⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁵ *P.R.O.*, H10 107 351 16; cf. *G.D.R.*, T 1/173.

⁶ Cf. below, manor; *P.R.O.*, RG 12/2036.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5018.

⁸ Inf. from Maj. C. R. W. Bradford, resident agent, Stowell Park est.

⁹ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach; *O.S. Map* 1/25,000, SP 01 (1957 edn.).

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/9, p. 499.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 100/8, pp. 223, 237, 342; 100/9, pp. 914, 935.

¹² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

¹³ Above, Farmington, manor.

¹⁴ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 438.

¹⁵ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

¹⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 283.

¹⁷ *P.R.O.*, C 142/130, no. 78; cf. *ibid.* C 142/306, no. 150, where Ld. Danvers was thought to be overlord in 1608.

¹⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 438.

¹⁹ Cf. *Ciren. Cart.* i, p. 266.

²⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* i, p. 283.

²¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 238.

²² *Reg. Ginsborough*, 180.

²³ *Cal. Fine R.* 1319–27, 97, 175.

²⁴ *P.R.O.*, CP 40/412, m. 187 and d.

²⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1341–1417, 42.

²⁶ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Brian, i, f. 13v.

²⁷ *P.R.O.*, CP 40/412, m. 187 and d.

²⁸ *Ibid.* CP 25/1/78/77, no. 526.

²⁹ *Reg. Wakefeld*, p. 71.

³⁰ *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 358–9.

³¹ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Clifford, ff. 87v.–88; *Reg. Peverell*, f. 18v.

³² *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 550–2; *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/79/93, no. 23.

³³ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 215v.

³⁴ *Hockaday Abs.* ccclvii.

Agnes. Agnes, who married first William Tame and second Sir Robert Harcourt³⁵ (d. by 1504), settled the manor, from after her death, on her son Thomas Tame,³⁶ who held it, apparently as the sole landowner in the parish, in 1522.³⁷ Thomas Tame died c. 1545, having settled the manor on his wife Joan, who survived him, with reversion to his daughter Elizabeth and her husband Edmund Horne; Edmund survived Elizabeth and died in 1553, having settled Stowell on a later wife, Amy (or Anne), and leaving a daughter called Elizabeth.³⁸ In 1559 the patrons of Stowell church were Walter Baskerville and his wife Jane (in her right),³⁹ and Walter was living at Stowell in 1567.⁴⁰ In 1575 Anthony Bourne and Elizabeth his wife were dealing with the manor,⁴¹ which they conveyed in 1577 to Robert Atkinson and his wife Joyce.⁴² Robert died in 1607 and was succeeded by his son Henry,⁴³ who in 1627 with his wife and his brother John settled the manor, presumably in reversion, on his nephew Sir Thomas Wentworth (later earl of Strafford) and his heirs.⁴⁴ In 1655 the manor was evidently owned by John Atkinson,⁴⁵ later Sir John, who died in 1662,⁴⁶ and by 1667 it had passed to Thomas's son William Wentworth, earl of Strafford.⁴⁷

About 1689 the earl of Strafford sold Stowell manor to John Grubham Howe,⁴⁸ who was then M.P. for Cirencester and sat for the county 1698–1705. A politician of pronounced Tory views, Howe was made a privy councillor in 1702 and was joint paymaster-general from 1703 to 1714. He died in 1722⁴⁹ and was succeeded at Stowell (with Hampnett, which had usually been in the same ownership since the late 15th century) by his son John, who in 1735 inherited the adjoining estates of Chedworth, Yanworth, Compton Abdale, and Cassey Compton in Withington from another branch of the Howe family. The younger John was created Lord Chedworth in 1741 and died in 1742, his estates and title passing in turn to his sons John Thynne Howe, who was lord lieutenant of Gloucestershire from 1758 to his death in 1762, and Henry Frederick Howe (d. 1781). Henry was succeeded by his nephew John Howe, Lord Chedworth (d. 1804).⁵⁰

The 4th Lord Chedworth devised his estates to his solicitor Richard Wilson and a friend

Thomas Penrice, who were to sell them in order to finance numerous and valuable legacies, the largest for the executors themselves and the others mainly for friends and acquaintances connected with the theatre. After ineffectual efforts by an heir-at-law to upset the will,⁵¹ the Gloucestershire estates were sold in 1812. Stowell and much of the land in the adjoining parishes were bought by Sir William Scott,⁵² an eminent judge and M.P. for Oxford University, who was created Lord Stowell in 1821. He died in 1836 and was succeeded by his daughter Marianne (or Mary Anne), the wife of the former Prime Minister and Home Secretary, Henry Addington, Vct. Sidmouth.⁵³ She died in 1842 and was succeeded in the Stowell estate by her kinsman John Scott, 2nd earl of Eldon. The earl died in 1854 when the estate, including the whole of Stowell parish and several adjoining manors and large farms, totalled 5,756 a. It passed with the earldom to his son John, who came of age in 1866⁵⁴ and held the estate until 1923. A large part of it, comprising Stowell, Yanworth, and Chedworth woods, was then bought by the Hon. Samuel Vestey,⁵⁵ son of Lord Vestey, the owner of refrigerated food and shipping concerns. Samuel Vestey succeeded to his father's title in 1940 and died in 1954. He was succeeded by his grandson Samuel George Armstrong Vestey, Lord Vestey,⁵⁶ who owned the estate in 2000. Cassey Compton had been reunited with the estate in 1927 and lands in Hampnett and Compton Abdale parishes had been acquired later, and in 2000 the Stowell Park estate formed a compact unit of 2,400 ha. (5,930 a.).⁵⁷

Most of Stowell's owners resided on the estate from the time of Thomas Limerick in the late 15th century⁵⁸ until the death of the 3rd Lord Chedworth in 1781.⁵⁹ The 4th Lord Chedworth, however, lived at Ipswich (Suff.) and rarely visited his Gloucestershire estates;⁶⁰ all the household goods at Stowell Park were offered for sale in 1782.⁶¹ For the next 100 years the house was leased as the farmhouse of a large farm, though the 19th-century tenants, members of the Counce and later Walker families, kept a considerable household; in 1841 Richard Counce had six servants living in.⁶² In the early 1880s the 3rd earl of Eldon took up residence at

³⁵ P.R.O., C 1206, no. 80.

³⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1500–9, pp. 135–6.

³⁷ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 120.

³⁸ Hockaday Abs. ccclvii, 1545; P.R.O., C 142/139, no. 78.

³⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccclvii.

⁴⁰ Ibid. ccxcii, Westcote, 1567.

⁴¹ P.R.O., CP 25/2/142/1820/17 Eliz. I East. no. 7.

⁴² Ibid. CP 25/2/143/1827/19 Eliz. I Hil. no. 4.

⁴³ Ibid. C 142/306, no. 150.

⁴⁴ Ibid. CP 25/2/420/3 Chas. I Mich. no. 46; cf. *Visit. Glos.* 1623, 5; *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 325–7.

⁴⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccclvii.

⁴⁶ *Glos. N. & Q.* i. 241.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., CP 25/2/657/19 Chas. II Mich. no. 36.

⁴⁸ Ibid. CP 25/2/831/1 Wm. & Mary Trin. no. 1; Atkyns, *Glos.* 698.

⁴⁹ *D.N.B.*; Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Glos.* 61–2.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Chedworth deeds 1776–1846,

abs. of title of Wm. Dyer; *Complete Peerage*, iii. 156–7.

⁵¹ *Gent. Mag.* lxxiv. 1242–4; lxxvi. 1030–2, 1201–7.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, deed 14 Jan. 1812.

⁵³ *D.N.B.* s.v. Scott, Wm.; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 259.

⁵⁴ Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 836; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, succession duty accts. of earl of Eldon.

⁵⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5018.

⁵⁶ Burke, *Peerage* (1963), 2473.

⁵⁷ Inf. from Maj. Bradford.

⁵⁸ *Cely Papers*, ed. H. E. Malden (Camd. 3rd ser. i), 102–3; Hockaday Abs. ccclvii.

⁵⁹ G.D.R. wills 1545/366; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1634–5, 426; *Glos. N. & Q.* i. 241–2; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Chedworth deeds 1776–1846, abs. of title of Wm. Dyer; Rudder, *Glos.* 707; Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 619.

⁶⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ii. 51; *Gent. Mag.* lxxiv. 1242.

⁶¹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 15 Apr. 1782.

⁶² P.R.O., HO 107/351/16; Kelly's *Dir. Glos.* (1856), 362; (1870), 642; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ii. 20.



FIG. 17. STOWELL PARK FROM THE WEST AFTER REMODELLING IN THE 1880s; BEHIND THE HOUSE (ON LEFT) IS STOWELL CHURCH AND (ON RIGHT) THE NEW STABLES

Stowell and altered and improved the house and grounds,⁶³ and Stowell remained the country residence of the Vestey family in the 20th century.

Stowell Park stands high on the hillside, facing over the Coln valley to the extensive Chedworth woods which were long part of its estate. It incorporates a 16th-century or slightly earlier stone house, which was extended in the 17th century and disguised by alterations and additions made for the earl of Eldon in the 1880s.

The original house can be identified with the west seven bays of the north range and the north three bays of the west range. Probably of the 16th century, it seems to have been on an **L** or **H** plan with south projecting wing or wings; it was probably entered from the south. The walling is of coursed rubble, later roughcast. The westernmost of two bay windows on the north front is apparently older internally in its lower parts than the eastern one and may represent the hall bay window. There are three small doorways with plain-chamfered, four-centred heads in the thick walling, one leading into the east wing, one (blocked) on the south wall, and one (also blocked) leading from the north range into the west range. Under the north end of the original west range is a barrel-vaulted cellar with unmoulded transverse ribs.⁶⁴ In the mid 17th century the west range seems to have been extended to seven bays by the Atkinsons, whose arms appear over the west door⁶⁵ though not in situ. That range has a south-east staircase projection and may have contained a parlour.⁶⁶ The north range was probably also altered at the period, judging from the east gable. There is some mid 17th-century panelling, which was moved to the library in the late 20th century. In 1685 it was reported that 'the rooms are very little, all but the parlour and hall, which are fit for a country gentleman'.⁶⁷ The extent of the house remained the same throughout the 18th century and the early 19th,⁶⁸ though sash windows were inserted.⁶⁹ On the north side of the house there were farm buildings, including a large barn, stables, and a detached dovecot.

The house, then described as having 'no outstanding architectural character', was extensively remodelled in French Renaissance style for the 3rd earl of Eldon to the designs of John Belcher⁷⁰ and was probably that architect's most important country house commission; work had begun by 1885 and was completed before 1889.⁷¹ Belcher replaced the sash windows with mullioned and transomed windows, probably refaced the south front in ashlar, and recast

the north bay windows, perhaps adding the easternmost one. He reroofed the house and renewed most, if not all, of the embattled parapet. Inside he reorganized the staircase, improved the circulation, and redecorated the interior, re-using much old panelling; the staircase and dining room at the south end of the west range were in Jacobean style, and bedrooms have panelling in late 17th- and 18th-century styles. He made a walled 'Green Court' on the north side of the house, enclosed by the existing barn, which he planned to convert to a banqueting hall, ballroom, or billiard room. Belcher also added a south wing, which included a new entrance and a 'Lower Hall', and provided, on the north-east, service accommodation in 17th-century Cotswold style with English baroque style interiors. The octagonal kitchen is based on medieval monastic examples. A laundry was built north-east of the Green Court.

Belcher's proposals were completed c. 1918–20 to the designs of Sydney Tatchell,⁷² who built a south smoking room, a vaulted corridor linking service wing and laundry, and perhaps added the Flamboyant-style chimneypiece in the Lower Hall. Tatchell also made a south terrace with a conservatory at the west end, and replaced part of the outbuildings north of the Green Court with a badminton court⁷³ (later converted to a banqueting hall) in early Elizabethan style. Alterations for the Vestey family in the late 20th century included the building of a new badminton court adjoining the Green Court and the demolition of the smoking room and the west wall of the Court. Belcher's decoration was removed from the reception rooms, some of which were amalgamated.

Ponds and watercourses found by Belcher in the gardens⁷⁴ may have dated from the 16th or 17th century. He laid out the grounds with a terraced west garden, decorated with statuary, and added various outbuildings including, to the south-east, a large stable court, walled kitchen gardens, and a gardener's house;⁷⁵ a timber peach house seems to have been contemporary. A second garden with brick-lined walls, the east one designed as a forcing-wall, was added on the east c. 1914, and a second timber peach house was built. A large new motor house was built for the Vestey family in the 1960s.⁷⁶ The lodge in French style, at the end of the drive on the Foss way east of the house, had been built by 1900,⁷⁷ presumably to a design of Belcher.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 Stowell manor formed part of the large manor of

⁶³ Below.

⁶⁴ *Archit. Review*, June–Nov. 1898, 202.

⁶⁵ Cf. Bigland, *Glos.* ii. 619; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxviii. 155.

⁶⁶ *Builder*, 22 Sept. 1888, 232, said the staircase itself was old work and only 'slightly altered in its arrangement' by Belcher.

⁶⁷ N. Kingsley, *Country Houses of Glos.* i (Chelt. 1989), 181.

⁶⁸ Cf. G.D.R., T 1/173.

⁶⁹ *Builder*, 3 Aug. 1901.

⁷⁰ *Archit. Review*, June–Nov. 1898, 201–3; *Builder*,

19 June 1887, 902–3, 917; 22 Sept. 1888, 232; 3 Aug. 1901, 108.

⁷¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 580; (1889), 896.

⁷² *Builder*, 18 Apr. 1919, 378; 15 July 1921, 75.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5018.

⁷⁴ *Archit. Review*, June–Nov. 1898, 202.

⁷⁵ For the gardens, illus. in *Builder*, 3 Aug. 1901 (reproduced opposite, Fig. 17), and the stables, *ibid.* 10 Nov. 1888, 340.

⁷⁶ Inf. from Mr. N. Hewittson, head gardener.

⁷⁷ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 13 (1902 edn.).

Northleach, but it was described as if a separate agricultural unit and possibly the owner, the archbishop of York, had a tenant there, though none was named in the survey. The demesne at Stowell was then worked by two ploughs and employed 4 *servi* and 2 *ancille*, and the tenantry were 5 *villani*, working five ploughs.⁷⁸ Those figures and the 8 ploughteams recorded there in 1220⁷⁹ show that the small parish was fairly intensively cultivated during the early Middle Ages.

Little later evidence has been found before the 19th century for the agricultural development of Stowell, and in particular for the process by which, at some time after the late 14th century,⁸⁰ the tenant holdings were replaced by a single inclosed farm based on the manor house. The Cotswold location of the manor, particularly its proximity to Northleach, suggests the possibility that the small village was cleared for the purposes of sheep farming. The ownership in the first half of 16th century by Thomas Tame, of the prominent Gloucestershire family of woolmen and sheep graziers, may also be significant. His will of 1545 left various legatees a total of 100 sheep,⁸¹ presumably part of a much larger flock kept at Stowell.

Stowell apparently had two open fields in the Middle Ages. By an agreement of 1457 William Clifford, lord of Stowell, gave 63¾ a. in the north field of Stowell to Winchcombe abbey, lord of Yanworth, in exchange for 103 a. of less fertile land and meadow (then regarded as a part of Yanworth manor) in a field called Southfield Neville. The parties made a mutual release of all claim to commoning rights, not only in the exchanged lands but in the whole of their respective manors,⁸² suggesting ancient arrangements for intercommoning between the tenants of the two manors. Southfield Neville was evidently 'le Nevele' recorded earlier, in 1355, when the lord of Stowell held 15 a. freely there from Winchcombe.⁸³ It adjoined the Foss way and if, as suggested above, it lay south of the later Stowell park,⁸⁴ part would have been included later in a large inclosed pasture there called Foss hill (mostly planted in the late 20th century as Camp wood). Foss hill, the only field specifically mentioned among the lands of the manor in a mortgage of 1750,⁸⁵ comprised 141 a. in 1842.⁸⁶

At the end of the 18th century and for much of the 19th the parish formed part of a large tenant farm, based on Stowell Park house. John Handy was the lessee in 1786⁸⁷ and 1801; at the

latter date his farm, at a rental of £600, was the most valuable on Lord Chedworth's Stowell estate.⁸⁸ In 1842, when Richard Cuncer was the tenant, the farm included all the farmland (733 a.) in the parish and the buildings and labourers' cottages at Oxpens.⁸⁹ In 1851 Cuncer was described as the farmer of 1,100 a. employing 28 labourers (including 4 women and 7 boys).⁹⁰ In 1857, when he had been succeeded by John Cuncer, the farm comprised 958 a. in Stowell, Hampnett, and Yanworth and was held for a rent of £900.⁹¹ It was later held by Thomas Walker⁹² before being taken in hand by Lord Eldon when he came to live at Stowell Park in the early 1880s.⁹³ The earl retained it in hand for the remainder of his ownership until 1923.⁹⁴ It was leased for some years under Samuel Vestey in the 1920s and 1930s⁹⁵ but during the second half of the 20th century it was kept in hand by the estate as part of a much larger farming unit.⁹⁶

In 1842 the farmland at Stowell was cultivated as 298 a. of arable and 432 a. of permanent pasture,⁹⁷ and in 1866 318 a. on Stowell Park farm was returned as under crops, mainly wheat, barley, roots, and clover or grass seeds, and 400 a. as permanent grassland.⁹⁸ The farm had a stock of 209 cattle in 1866, including a small dairy herd, and a flock of 1,544 sheep and lambs.⁹⁹ By 1896, against the usual trend and presumably as a reflection of hobby farming on the part of Lord Eldon, the land returned as under crops had increased to 521 a., with 310 a. of permanent grassland. The cattle and sheep had been reduced by 1896;¹ Lord Eldon had dispersed a flock of pure-bred Cotswold sheep kept by Thomas Walker, though he had built up flocks of Cotswolds on other farms of his estate.² In 1926 for the large tenant farm based on Stowell 466 a. was returned as cropped and 503 a. as permanent grassland and the farm supported a flock of 1,028 sheep and lambs; it then employed 18 farmworkers.³

From the mid 20th century the bulk of the farmland of the Stowell Park estate was managed as one large farm. In 1956 it comprised c. 3,500 a. and employed c. 50 farmworkers. It had a large acreage of permanent grassland and rough grazing but was predominantly arable, cropped with cereals, principally barley, and with grass seeds. The farm supported a large herd of beef cattle and a flock of over 900 breeding ewes.⁴ In 2000 the Stowell estate farm, managed from the estate office in Yanworth village and farmed from the buildings at Oxpens, comprised

⁷⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁷⁹ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 309.

⁸¹ G.D.R. wills 1545/366.

⁸² *Reg. Mon. Winch.* ii. 550–2.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rental 1355.

⁸⁴ Above, intro.

⁸⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, trust deeds 1675–1761.

⁸⁶ G.D.R., T 1/173.

⁸⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/REI 1.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* D 1878, title deeds 1711–1801, rental.

⁸⁹ G.D.R., T 1/173.

⁹⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, succession duty accts. of earl of Eldon.

⁹² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 642; (1879), 750.

⁹³ *Ibid.* (1885), 580; (1894), 296; P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2.

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5018.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁹⁶ Below, this section.

⁹⁷ G.D.R., T 1/173.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., MAF 68/26/12.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

¹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

² A. Jones, *The Cotswolds* (Chichester, 1994), 103.

³ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁴ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/209 (where the farm is returned under Yanworth civil par.).

c. 1,619 ha. (c. 4,000 a.). The land was cropped with feed wheat, winter barley, oilseed rape, and peas and beans, and a flock of 1,260 mule ewes and a beef suckler herd of 320 cattle were maintained. The farm employed ten people, a farm manager, a foreman, a shepherd, two stockmen, and five tractor drivers. The estate as a whole (which included extensive woodland, mainly in Chedworth) then also employed three gamekeepers and five maintenance men, two of them drystone wallers. An estate sawmill was operated in Yanworth adjoining the woods, and a number of redundant farm buildings in the various parishes were let to small commercial enterprises.⁵

A mill recorded at Stowell in 1086⁶ was possibly on or near the site of Stowell mill on the Coln below Stowell Park. In the 19th century the building at Stowell mill was situated within Chedworth parish, though it then belonged to the owners of Stowell as part of the Chedworth manor estate.⁷

The small working population in Stowell parish in the 19th and 20th centuries comprised agricultural labourers and estate workers, the latter including a carpenter in 1896.⁸

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The manor court for Stowell presumably did not survive the depopulation of the manor in the late Middle Ages and no record of one has been found. Leet jurisdiction was exercised by the Bradley hundred court, which was attended by a tithingman for Stowell in the 15th and 16th centuries. Walter Baskerville, the lord of the manor, appeared in that capacity in 1560.⁹

No records of parish government are known to survive and possibly none were kept in a formal way, government of the parish being in the hands of the lord of the manor or his lessee as sole occupier of the land. The lord, Thomas Tame, was acting as churchwarden in 1543;¹⁰ there was no churchwarden in 1750;¹¹ and in 1851 the lessee of the farm, Richard Cuncer, styled himself chapelwarden.¹² In the early 19th century no poor rates were levied, the lessee paying for relief when it was required. In the 1780s the annual cost of relief was c. £8 and it

was at a similar level in the years 1813–15 when one or two people received relief occasionally; in 1803, however, £40 was paid out and 5 people were on regular relief.¹³ By the last years of the old system between £50 and £80 was required.¹⁴ Stowell became part of Northleach poor-law union in 1836,¹⁵ and of Northleach rural district in 1895,¹⁶ and in 1974, as part of the civil parish of Yanworth, it was included in the Cotswold district.

CHURCH. Stowell church originated by the mid 12th century as a chapel to Northleach church. In the late 14th century the inhabitants were buried at Northleach and the vicar there took the mortuaries and part of the profits of the church,¹⁷ and Northleach remained the burial place for Stowell people in the early 17th century.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Stowell had its own rector by 1269¹⁹ and it was described as a parish church in 1340.²⁰ The patronage of the rectory was exercised by the lords of Stowell manor.²¹ In 1656 Stowell was united as an ecclesiastical parish with Hampnett on the petition of John Atkinson, the landowner and patron of both.²² The union of the benefices was confirmed in 1660,²³ though the two evidently remained separate ecclesiastical parishes. Stowell continued to be served with Hampnett, becoming part of a united benefice based on Northleach in 1929, to which Yanworth was added in 1938.²⁴ In 1964 Stowell was separated from Hampnett and Northleach and, with Yanworth, became part of a united benefice based on Chedworth,²⁵ in which it remained in 1999.

In the late 14th century the vicar of Northleach took half the tithes of Stowell.²⁶ The owner of the other half was presumably the rector, but no further evidence about the disposition of the tithes of the parish has been found before the early 19th century when all of them belonged to the rector of Hampnett with Stowell.²⁷ In 1535 Stowell rectory included glebe²⁸ but in 1842 no glebe in Stowell was attached to the living.²⁹ In 1535 Stowell rectory, then on lease from the incumbent Humphrey Bowyer to the lord of the manor Thomas Tame, was valued at £6 a year.³⁰ It was worth £18 at

⁵ Inf. from Maj. Bradford.

⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.

⁷ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 171; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5018. A mill in Chedworth called Gothurst mill, associated with a deserted hamlet of that name and with a meadow called Edric's mead in Yanworth and Chedworth, is suggested in *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 165, 171, as having been higher up the Coln, but possibly it was Stowell mill. A grant of Gothurst mill (by Miles of Stowell, clerk) in 1279 included land in Stowell, and a nearby stream called Dean brook, mentioned then, may have been that joining the Coln just below Stowell mill: *P.R.O.*, C 115/77, ff. 266–267v. Thomas Tame, lord of Stowell, was lessee of Gothurst mill in 1539: *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), p. 532.

⁸ *Census*, 1831; *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969; *Glos. R.O.*, P 318/IN 1/3.

⁹ *Ciren. Cart.* ii, p. 621; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496–502.

¹⁰ Hockaday Abs. xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 15.

¹¹ *G.D.R.* vol. 381a, f. 82.

¹² *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/15/26.

¹³ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3; 1818, 146–7.

¹⁴ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1), 66; (1835), 65.

¹⁵ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 3.

¹⁷ Above, Northleach, church.

¹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/1, burials 1608, 1618, 1629.

¹⁹ *Reg. Giffard*, 23.

²⁰ *Inq. Non.* (Rec. Com.), 418.

²¹ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 215v.; *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 30v.; *Hockaday Abs.* ccclvii.

²² *Hockaday Abs.* ccclvii, 1655–6.

²³ *Atkyns, Glos.* 698.

²⁴ *Lond. Gaz.* 7 Dec. 1926, pp. 7993–5; above, Northleach, church.

²⁵ *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1970), 56–7.

²⁶ *Glouc. Cath. Libr.*, Reg. Abb. Froucester A, f. 3v.

²⁷ *G.D.R.*, V 5/145t 5–6; T 1/173.

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

²⁹ *G.D.R.*, T 1/173.

³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 448.

the union with Hampnett in 1656³¹ and contributed £20 to the value of the united benefice in 1735.³² The tithes of Stowell were commuted for a corn rent-charge of £170 in 1842.³³ There was no house for the rector at Stowell by 1735.³⁴

Medieval rectors of Stowell included John Sodbury, abbot of Cirencester, who was instituted in 1467.³⁵ Walter Bede (or Turbot), a former monk of Winchcombe abbey, was rector 1559–73, holding the living with Hazleton rectory.³⁶ Edmund Bracegirdle served two terms, 1579–82 and 1590–1602. From 1580 he was also vicar of Chedworth and in 1591, prefiguring the permanent union in 1656, the rectory of Hampnett was united with Stowell for the term of his incumbency. Bracegirdle's successor Brian Atkinson, presumably of the patron's family,³⁷ also held Hampnett.³⁸ Francis Webb succeeded Atkinson at Stowell in 1606³⁹ and remained rector in 1642.⁴⁰

From 1656 Hampnett, which unlike Stowell had a small village, was the church of the united benefice.⁴¹ Stowell church remained in use, however, largely in the character of a private chapel to the manor house; a few of the occupants of the house, including the politician John Grubham Howe (d. 1722), were buried in the church.⁴² In the mid 18th century a single Sunday service was held at Stowell, in the morning or afternoon,⁴³ but by the 1770s services had been discontinued.⁴⁴ In 1810 the church was brought back into use for services⁴⁵ and in 1851 one was held each Sunday for a congregation of c. 10–15, made up of the household of the farmer of Stowell Park farm and those of his workers who lived in the parish. The parishioners were then, and presumably from the mid 17th century, buried at Hampnett,⁴⁶ but they were baptized and married at Stowell. Stowell church continued in the same roles in the later 19th century and the 20th, serving the Eldon and Vestey families and their estate workers.⁴⁷

The church of *ST. LEONARD*⁴⁸ (sometimes in the past thought to be dedicated to St. Peter)⁴⁹ is cruciform on plan, comprising chancel, central tower with north and south transepts, and aisleless nave. It is built mainly of coursed limestone rubble with some large dressed blocks and with a stone slate roof; the 19th-century work is mostly in ashlar.

The nave and chancel are of the mid 12th century. The north doorway of the nave has a shouldered surround and the south doorway, which is apparently reset, has plain jambs and a tympanum painted on the inside. The only origi-

inal window is the west one; the north wall is windowless and has the remains of tiers of 12th-century wall paintings. The chancel retains an original piscina. The crossing and the south transept (the north transept is a rebuilding) are of the later 12th century and Transitional in style. The crossing has double-chamfered arches, octagonal piers, and angle shafts on the outer faces with volute and stiff-stalk west capitals, and the transept has a lancet window in the west wall and fragments of late 12th- or early 13th-century wall paintings. A piscina in the south transept, a credence shelf over the chancel piscina, and the octagonal font date from the 13th century.⁵⁰ In the 14th century traceried windows were inserted in the chancel and in the south wall of the south transept; the south-eastern one in the chancel incorporates sedilia. The blocked opening to a rood stair survives beside the chancel arch.

The church suffered from instability, leading to the collapse of the upper part of the central tower and its replacement by a gabled roof. All the piers of the crossing are tilted from the perpendicular, the two eastern ones markedly so, and buttressing has been added at the south-east angle of the chancel and transept and at the west end of the nave, where a central buttress of unusual form is pierced by an aperture for the west window and crowned by a grotesque. Probably because of continuing instability, the north transept was demolished c. 1700.⁵¹

While it was out of use in the late 18th century the church deteriorated and it was described as ruinous in 1803;⁵² presumably some restoration work was done when it was reopened for services in 1810.⁵³ During 1898 and 1899 the church was restored for the earl of Eldon to the designs of C. Hodgson Fowler,⁵⁴ who replaced the north transept, added a west bell turret, inserted a new window in the south side of the nave, and reroofed and refurnished the chancel. New oak pews were installed in the nave in 1977 in memory of Samuel Vestey, 2nd Lord Vestey, and his wife Frances.⁵⁵

Remains of a once extensive system of early wall paintings were discovered at or shortly before the restoration of the church in 1898. On the north wall of the nave was a Doom, of which the top tier, a Majesty with angels, is mostly lost; below survives the Virgin flanked by saints within a tier of blank arcading, and in the lowest tier is the weighing of souls. The remains in the south transept include a scene almost certainly related to St. Margaret and another which is possibly a representation of St. Laurence on his

³¹ Hockaday Abs. ccclviii.

³² G.D.R. vol. 285b(3), pp. 55–6.

³³ Ibid. T 1/173.

³⁴ Ibid. vol. 285b(2), p. 12.

³⁵ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 215v.

³⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 87.

³⁷ Hockaday Abs. ccclviii; *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 173.

³⁸ *Eccles. Misc.* 95.

³⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccclviii.

⁴⁰ Ibid. xlix, 1642 visit. f. 22.

⁴¹ Ibid. ccclxvii, 31 Jan. 1655/6.

⁴² *Glos. N. & Q.* i. 241–2.

⁴³ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 82.

⁴⁴ Rudder, *Glos.* 708; Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 289.

⁴⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 318/IN 1/1.

⁴⁶ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/15/26–7.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 318/IN 1/1–4.

⁴⁸ Ibid. IN 1/4; G.D.R. vol. 397, f. 82.

⁴⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 259; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 362.

⁵⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlix. 137.

⁵¹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 698.

⁵² Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 289.

⁵³ Above, this section.

⁵⁴ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 636.

⁵⁵ Inscr. in church.

gridiron.⁵⁶ The only monuments are wall monuments to Lady Annabella Howe (d. 1704) and Anne Morgan (d. 1712), who were respectively mother and stepdaughter of John Grubham Howe (d. 1722).⁵⁷ The church has a single bell, cast by C. & G. Mears in 1848.⁵⁸ The plate includes a chalice of 1698.⁵⁹ The south side of the church has the large number of five mass-dials. The churchyard has no monuments, as Stowell probably never acquired full burial rights.⁶⁰ Registers for Stowell, recording marriages and baptisms, survive from 1810.⁶¹

NONCONFORMITY. None known.

EDUCATION. In 1846 the children of the few cottagers at Stowell attended Sunday school at Hampnett.⁶² From 1872 they attended a National school at Hampnett; known later as Hampnett cum Stowell school, it continued to serve Stowell until its closure in 1921.⁶³

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. None known.

TURKDEAN

TURKDEAN is a rural parish lying beside the Foss way 17 km. east of Cheltenham and 3 km. north of Northleach. It has the name given by the 8th century to the deep valley that is a prominent feature of the surrounding landscape;⁶⁴ the first part of the name is possibly from the Celtic word *twrch* meaning 'boar'.⁶⁵ The parish's area is 2,178 a. (881 ha.) and includes a limb on the north-west where it takes in land west of the Turkdean valley. The south-eastern boundary with its straight lines mostly observes the original route of the Foss way,⁶⁶ running SW.-NE. and bending slightly half way along its length before dropping down into Broadwater bottom, and the almost straight southern boundary is the line of an ancient track. From Broadwater bottom the northern boundary, following the southern boundary of an estate in Notgrove and Cold Aston described in an Anglo-Saxon survey,⁶⁷ ascends a valley formed by one of the headwaters of the Sherborne brook for some distance before climbing onto higher ground to the west and turning northwards to descend into the Turkdean valley. The main part of the western boundary follows the floor of the Turkdean valley and the line of an old road that ran south-westwards out of it.⁶⁸ The village, in the centre of the parish, comprises Upper and Lower Turkdean, which were taxed separately in the 14th century⁶⁹ and originated as separate manors.

On the west the Turkdean valley turns from its southwards course to run eastwards across the centre of the parish and in the eastern corner it meets other valleys of the Sherborne brook's headwaters, including that marking the north

boundary, to form Broadwater bottom. From the Turkdean valley, the floor of which descends from 167 m. in the north to 152 m. in the east, the land rises steeply and the highest places, at over 230 m., are in the north, the far north-west, and the south-west. In the north-east the land falls towards the valley on the boundary and in the south it ascends to 200 m. at the Foss way and includes the top part of a valley with its head at Leygore. While the valley bottoms are mostly on Midford Sand, most of the parish is formed by the Inferior Oolite with a band of fuller's earth separating it from the overlying Great Oolite of the highest ground.⁷⁰ Springs issuing from the fuller's earth determined the location of early buildings, including the main part of the village.⁷¹ The principal spring on Chalk hill, in the north on the east side of the Turkdean valley, feeds a stone-lined culvert probably associated with Roman settlement that lasted on the hillside until at least the 4th century.⁷² The spring, known as Chalk well long before 1614,⁷³ provided water for much of the parish from the early 20th century and continued to supply some outlying houses after the advent of mains water to the village in the 1950s.⁷⁴

Before parliamentary inclosure in 1793 the wolds in Turkdean were given over to large open fields and commons. There were meadows in the valley bottoms, and stone slots beside the stream in the centre of the parish in 1999 attested post-inclosure management of water meadows in the Turkdean valley.⁷⁵ Turkdean had little if any woodland at inclosure, but the Turkdean valley had long included withy beds, and in the centre

⁵⁶ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* [2nd ser.], xvii. 382-6; E. W. Tristram, *Eng. Medieval Wall Painting: the 12th Cent.* (1944), 147-8; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cii. 133-40.

⁵⁷ Burke, *Ext. & Dorm. Baronetcies* (1838), 370.

⁵⁸ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 588.

⁵⁹ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 112.

⁶⁰ See above.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 318/IN 1/1-4.

⁶² *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, *Glos.* 10-11.

⁶³ Above, Hampnett, educ.

⁶⁴ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 239-40, 320-2, 494-6; iii, pp. 37-8; Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 137, 178-81. This account was written in 1999.

⁶⁵ *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 183-4.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Proc. C.N.F.C.* xxxiv. 133-7.

⁶⁷ *Cart. Sax.* i, pp. 239-40; Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 35-6; cf. Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 178-81.

⁶⁸ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1884).

⁶⁹ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12; *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, 289, 313.

⁷⁰ *Geol. Surv. Map 1"*, solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁷¹ Cf. Richardson, *Wells and Springs of Glos.* 163-4.

⁷² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cxvi. 210, 212; cxvii. 184-5.

⁷³ *G.D.R.*, V 5/314t 1; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561; *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 184.

⁷⁴ Inf. from Mr. M. Mustoe, of Castle Barn Farm, Turkdean, and Mr. W. Mustoe, of Northleach.

⁷⁵ Inf. from Mr. F. Fleming, of Leygore Manor.

of the parish it was known as Withy bottom.⁷⁶ In the later 19th century woodland was confined mainly to a covert at Milkwell in the far north-west and several small coppices strung out along the bottom of the Turkdean valley in the centre.⁷⁷ The area of woodland, given in 1905 as 34 a.,⁷⁸ increased in the early 20th century. Some of the new woods and coverts were near the village⁷⁹ and some were in the south at Leygore,⁸⁰ where the landowner A. E. Moss (d. 1943) and his wife are buried in a grave in a belt of woodland he planted along the east side of the Northleach road.⁸¹ In 1986 the area of woodland in Turkdean was at least 73 ha. (180 a.).⁸²

In 1086 twenty-five tenants were recorded in Turkdean, twenty of them on the estate at Upper Turkdean.⁸³ Seventeen inhabitants of Upper Turkdean and seven of Lower Turkdean were assessed for tax in 1327⁸⁴ and at least thirty-one people in Upper Turkdean and twenty-two in Lower Turkdean were assessed for the poll tax in 1381.⁸⁵ The number of communicants in the parish was put at c. 68 in 1551⁸⁶ and 84 in 1603;⁸⁷ the number of households or families was given as 14 in 1563⁸⁸ and 22 in 1650.⁸⁹ The population, estimated c. 1710 at 120,⁹⁰ was reckoned c. 1775 to be 113⁹¹ and it rose between 1801 and 1821 from 143 to 228. The number of inhabitants continued to rise in the mid 19th century but it fell considerably in the late 19th century, from 337 in 1871 to 145 in 1901. The decline continued less dramatically and in 1991 the population was 100.⁹²

Upper Turkdean, the main part of the village, stands above a steep bank forming the east side of the Turkdean valley and is reached along several old roads. That from the north, described in the mid 18th century as a way from Evesham (Worcs.),⁹³ runs high above the valley before descending the bank on a curving route through the upper part of the village and an avenue of beeches to continue towards Northleach. Where it enters the parish from Notgrove that road was part of a way to Cirencester in the early 17th century.⁹⁴ The Cirencester way, which bypassed the village by following a route south-westwards down Kite hill into the Turkdean valley and along the line of the parish boundary out of the

valley, was visible in 1765⁹⁵ but its course seems to have disappeared a few years later.⁹⁶ A road leading to the top of the village from Cold Aston was once known on the north side of the parish as Mill way,⁹⁷ one of several routes, including Chalkwell way, recorded in Turkdean in 1614.⁹⁸ In the late 20th century the way from Cold Aston was a farm track and footpath and a road from Hazleton, to the west, to the top of the village had also long ceased to be a thoroughfare. High up in the south-western corner of the parish, Coxwell's Ash was a landmark on the road to Hampnett in 1777.⁹⁹

The ancient route on Turkdean's southern boundary presumably ceased to be an important through road long before the mid 18th century although its western end was part of a London road that diverged from it on a south-easterly course across Hampnett.¹ In 1999 parts of the ancient route, including the western end, survived as wide green lanes and the section east of the Turkdean–Northleach road remained a road to Farmington. The Foss way, to the south-east of Turkdean, was turnpiked from 1755² to 1877³ and it remained the principal route touching the parish in 1999. The section climbing the south side of the Leygore valley, where, as specified at inclosure in 1793, it turned on an oblique course,⁴ was diverted in 1964 to take a straight and steeper line along the parish boundary.⁵

The village's two parts have remained distinct settlements. Upper Turkdean, high on the side of the Turkdean valley close to several springs, includes the parish church and it has probably always been the larger settlement. It contained c. 16 houses in 1765⁶ and c. 30 in 1851.⁷ Most of the houses form a fairly regular village street, which rises eastwards from the town well, so called by 1672.⁸ Another spring, some way to the north, was known in 1793 as Gratton spring and was reached along Grathorne or Gratton Lane, recorded from 1640 and running from the west end of the street to the old Hazleton road.⁹ The church, standing a short distance south of the street, was possibly built before the early 12th century.¹⁰ Immediately to its south are the former rectory buildings (Rectory Farm) and, on their south-west, the former vicarage house

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 147; Christ Church, Oxf., Turkdean map 2; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, Hazleton and Turkdean leases 1700–1827, lease 15 Oct. 1712; D 2561.

⁷⁷ *O.S. Maps* 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1882 edn.); XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.); NE. (1884 edn.).

⁷⁸ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

⁷⁹ Cf. *O.S. Maps* 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXVI. 2* (1902, 1922 edns.); 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1903, 1924 edns.).

⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.* 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXVI. 6* (1902, 1922 edns.); 6", SP 11 NW. (1955 edn.).

⁸¹ J. S. Clarke, 'Turkdean, Glos.' (1982; copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PA 341/1), p. 15.

⁸² *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/6005/14/205.

⁸³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 167v., 168v.

⁸⁴ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁸⁵ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289, 313.

⁸⁶ *E.H.R.* XIX. 111.

⁸⁷ *Eccl. Misc.* 73.

⁸⁸ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 16v.

⁸⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

⁹⁰ Atkyns, *Glos.* 788.

⁹¹ Rudder, *Glos.* 778.

⁹² *Census*, 1801–1991.

⁹³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁹⁴ Cf. above, Notgrove, intro.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁹⁶ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561; P 341/IN 1/1, f. 12v.

⁹⁸ *G.D.R.*, V 5/314t 1.

⁹⁹ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

¹ Above, Hampnett, intro.; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

² *Glos. and Warws. Roads Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47.

³ *Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act*, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 147.

⁵ *Ibid.* Q/SRh 1964; *Proc. C.N.F.C.* xxxiv. 133–7.

⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁷ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁸ *Ibid.* E 134/4 & 5 Wm. & Mary Hil./17; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 147; Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 517; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

¹⁰ Below, church.

(the Glebe House); in the late 18th century those buildings had a water supply brought from Gratton spring by a culvert.¹¹ West of the church, and on the other side of the lane to the rectory and vicarage buildings, a house belonging to the Humphris family in the mid 18th century¹² was by 1826 the site of several cottages;¹³ they were abandoned in the early 20th century and demolished.¹⁴

Although some of the houses recorded from the mid 18th century have been demolished and not replaced,¹⁵ the village street retains several former farmhouses and cottages dating from the 17th and 18th centuries. One house (Rosemullion), opposite the churchyard, has an 18th-century front with plain mullions and another (Draper's House), higher up and south of the street, bears a datestone of 1780. North of the street a small two-bayed farmhouse with a central stack and staircase (the eastern bay being an addition) dates from the 17th century and has a 19th-century west wing. The house, the ownership of which passed to the vicar at inclosure in 1793,¹⁶ was used later as a labourer's cottage and a farm store and under W. A. Rixon, who bought it in 1908,¹⁷ it was a farmhouse once again.¹⁸ In the later 20th century it became a private dwelling (the Bakehouse) and, in the mid 1980s, a barn and other outbuildings were converted as houses.¹⁹ To the east a plot of land, which at inclosure in 1793 became the property *ex officio* of the parish clerk,²⁰ accommodated a cottage and garden but was derelict long before 1910 when it was sold to Rixon.²¹ Higher up to the north-east the top of the village centres on a small green, on the north side of which there was once a pound.²² On the east side, south of the former Cold Aston road, Turkdean Manor is a 16th-century manor house which served as a farmhouse before W. A. Rixon converted it as a country house in the early 20th century. The house's outbuildings include substantial former farm buildings.²³ West of the green an area once the site of a house²⁴ has remained a farmyard with buildings dating from the 19th and 20th centuries, among them a stable range built by Rixon in 1909;²⁵ some of its older buildings had thatched roofs until the mid 20th century.²⁶ North of the entrance to the Cold Aston road is a pair of 19th-century farm cottages and beyond them the village was extended northwards in

1952 by the construction of three pairs of council houses in gabled Cotswold style.²⁷

In the later 20th century²⁸ only one new house, a bungalow, was built in Upper Turkdean. Of the older cottages a few were demolished and most of the others were enlarged, the additions usually having gabled dormers after the local traditional style. In one or two cases cottages were amalgamated to form larger dwellings; a derelict cottage at the rear of Rosemullion was restored as the back wing of the house in 1968.²⁹ At the bottom of Upper Turkdean the former village schoolroom, south of the street, has been converted as a house and it retains its bellcot. Next to it a small house (Wright's Cottage) that was enlarged and raised in the late 20th century incorporates a datestone of 1821 that was evidently once part of a building belonging to the Humphris family.³⁰

Lower Turkdean, sometimes called Lower Dean, is situated to the south-west in the Turkdean valley. It includes a few houses in the lee of the steep bank or slope forming the valley's east side and strung out along a road running south-eastwards to join the road from Upper Turkdean to Northleach. Lower Dean Manor, a 16th-century manor house on the site of an earlier house,³¹ stands slightly higher up on the valley's west side. Two men assessed for tax in Lower Turkdean in 1327 took their surname (*atte Clive*) from the bank.³² Some buildings in Lower Dean in the late 18th century have been demolished and the only new house built since the inclosure of 1793³³ is an early 19th-century cottage on the bottom of the bank next to the bridleway leading directly down from Upper Turkdean. In the early 17th century one of the farmhouses there was called Fyfield House.³⁴ In the mid 19th century perhaps 20 dwellings, including the manor house, stood in Lower Dean³⁵ but by the mid 20th century there were below the manor house only four houses,³⁶ all substantially enlarged and given landscaped gardens by 1999. The Old House, which incorporates a small 17th-century cottage extended early by several bays, was once three separate dwellings.³⁷ Willowbank (formerly Elmbrook), at the south-east end of the settlement, also dates from the 17th century and was once several cottages.³⁸ The Grey House, on the south-west side of the road, dates from a rebuilding in 1816 of

¹¹ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 147.

¹² Ibid. D 2561.

¹³ Ibid. D 1433; Christ Church, Turkdean deeds B 1.

¹⁴ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 2 (1902, 1922 edns.).

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 2561; D 1433.

¹⁶ Ibid. Q/RI 147.

¹⁷ Ibid. D 2299/616; D 2428/2/163.

¹⁸ Ibid. D 2582/26; inf. from Mr. P. Mustoe, of Draper's Ho., Turkdean.

¹⁹ Inf. from Mr. J. Willmott, of the Bakehouse.

²⁰ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 147.

²¹ Ibid. P 341/IN 1/7, mem. at front of vol.; D 2428/2/163.

²² Ibid. D 2561.

²³ Below, manors.

²⁴ Glos. R.O., D 2561.

²⁵ Date and inits. on range.

²⁶ Inf. from Messrs. M. and W. Mustoe.

²⁷ Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/8, pp. 366-7, 396, 458.

²⁸ This para. is based on inf. from Messrs. M., P., and W. Mustoe, Mr. G. Daniels, of Rectory Farm, Mr. E. Hulton, of the Glebe Ho., and Mrs. E. Rowlands, of Rosemullion.

²⁹ Datestone on back wing of ho.

³⁰ The datestone bears the inits. 'IH'.

³¹ Below, manors.

³² Glos. *Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

³³ Christ Church, Turkdean map 1.

³⁴ Lincs. Archives, Linc., Nelthorpe 10/8/8, 17; Glos. R.O., D 678/Sherborne par./33, 49.

³⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; cf. T. B. Marson, *Twixt Grass and Plough* (London, 1934), 129.

³⁶ Clarke, 'Turkdean', preface and p. 14.

³⁷ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

³⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 2 (1884 edn.).

a farmhouse on a small estate owned by the Humphris family;³⁹ for a time called Blanche's Farm after the surname of the tenant in the 1820s,⁴⁰ it was altered in the early 20th century.⁴¹ Willowbank and the Grey House were, in 1932 and 1937 respectively, remodelled in Cotswold style as gentleman's residences on A. E. Moss's estate by Raymond Erith, who also designed a summer house as part of a new garden at Willowbank.⁴²

The oldest outlying buildings in Turkdean are two barns built by Edmund Waller when the parish was inclosed: Castle (formerly Coxwell's) barn⁴³ high up in the south-west near the Hampnett road is dated 1793 and Chalkhill barn on the east side of the Turkdean valley in the north-west 1794.⁴⁴ A pair of cottages was built at Castle barn in 1832⁴⁵ and the eastern cottage was given gabled dormers when it was extended in the 1950s to serve as a farmhouse.⁴⁶ A pair of cottages standing at Smith's (formerly Hill) barn in the east of the parish in 1851⁴⁷ had been abandoned by 1948.⁴⁸

At Leygore, in the south-east, a farmhouse was built soon after the inclosure and was enlarged in the 19th century and again in the early 20th to form a country house called Leygore Manor.⁴⁹ To the west, on the Northleach road, is a pair of cottages built by 1841.⁵⁰ Some way north-west of Leygore a barn set back from the road⁵¹ was converted as four cottages known in the 1880s as Newtown;⁵² using stone from Leygore Manor, the back-to-back cottages were remodelled in the later 20th century as a single dwelling known as Blanche House.⁵³

Although several houses in the village are reputed locally once to have been public houses there is no evidence that Turkdean ever had a licensed public house. After the closure of its school in the mid 20th century the village was without a public meeting place, and in the late 20th century, when its secluded position made it a favoured retreat for several rich people, village and parish activities benefited from their financial support.⁵⁴ Among earlier landowners,

W. A. Rixon (d. 1948)⁵⁵ painted landscapes and scenes in and around Turkdean.⁵⁶ A cricket team founded by 1905 had its ground in the south of the parish near the Foss way, where A. E. Moss placed a former tramcar as its pavilion.⁵⁷ During the Second World War the ground was covered temporarily with huts and shelters for an airfield in the neighbouring part of Hampnett.⁵⁸

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. An estate in Turkdean held in 1066 by Siward passed, together with an estate in Little Rissington, to Robert Doyley.⁵⁹ Robert, who allegedly married the daughter of Wigod of Wallingford,⁶⁰ included two thirds of the demesne tithes of both estates in the endowment of the church of St. George founded in Oxford castle in 1074⁶¹ and retained both estates in 1086.⁶² Later Turkdean, like Little Rissington, was regarded as part of the honor of Wallingford,⁶³ with which Robert had been connected, and after 1540 Wallingford formed part of the honor of Ewelme,⁶⁴ which thereby acquired lordship over part of Turkdean.⁶⁵

In the early 12th century Ralph Basset, the justiciar, held Turkdean and Little Rissington and he gave the churches there to his son Ralph, a clerk.⁶⁶ Both estates were among the knights' fees Nicholas Basset held from the honor of Wallingford in 1166.⁶⁷ Nicholas's sons forfeited his possessions to Henry II,⁶⁸ who in 1173 or 1174 granted William son of Henry an estate in Turkdean⁶⁹ later held from the honor for ½ knight's fee. William was succeeded c. 1202 by his son Robert of Torigni.⁷⁰ Robert acknowledged the ½ knight's fee to be the right of Henry of Theydon and Robert of Brightwell, both of them apparently grandsons of Nicholas Basset,⁷¹ and by 1224 they had granted him half of the estate to hold from them for ¼ knight's fee.⁷² In 1232 Henry's son Paulinus of Theydon reserved the services of Robert of Brightwell and William of Torigni and sold the rest of the estate, the part that Henry's widow Juliana had held in dower, to Oseney abbey (Oxon.).⁷³ Paulinus's

³⁹ Christ Church, Turkdean map 1; datestone with inits. 'TH' on ho.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, G/NO 160/25; Q/REL 1, Bradley hund., 1823-8.

⁴¹ *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 2 (1902, 1922 edns.).

⁴² Lucy Archer, *Raymond Erith, Architect* (1985), 111; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/163; DA 31/516/1/2, p. 49; 2/2, p. 41; cf. Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 702.

⁴³ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824).

⁴⁴ Both datestones bear Waller's inits.

⁴⁵ Datestone on W. end of range.

⁴⁶ Inf. from Messrs. M. and W. Mustoe.

⁴⁷ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969; RG 11/2560; *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 3 (1884 edn.).

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/26.

⁴⁹ Below, manors.

⁵⁰ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/351; *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 6 (1884 edn.).

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/151.

⁵² *Ibid.* D 2299/87; *P.R.O.*, RG 12/2036; cf. *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 2 (1884 edn.).

⁵³ Clarke, 'Turkdean', pp. 14-15; inf. from Mr. Green.

⁵⁴ Clarke, 'Turkdean', pp. 2, 12-13; inf. from Mr. P. Mustoe.

⁵⁵ Below, manors.

⁵⁶ Several of Rixon's paintings are reproduced in W. J. Monk, *Northleach & Around* (1935).

⁵⁷ Inf. from Messrs M. and W. Mustoe.

⁵⁸ Inf. from Mr. Fleming and Mr. Green.

⁵⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 168v.

⁶⁰ I. J. Sanders, *Eng. Baronies* (Oxf., 1963), 91 n.

⁶¹ *Oseney Cart.* iv (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xcvi), pp. 3, 7; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. (1), 249.

⁶² *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 168v.

⁶³ e.g. *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, pp. 466, 480; *P.R.O.*, SC 2/212/2, 9, 14, 18-19; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 108.

⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Berks.* iii. 523, 528.

⁶⁵ e.g. *P.R.O.*, SC 2/212/20-4; Bodl. MS. dd. Ewelme Honour 5/19/4; 7/7/3.

⁶⁶ *Oseney Cart.* vi (Oxf. Hist. Soc. ci), pp. 130-1.

⁶⁷ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 308.

⁶⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 117.

⁶⁹ *Pipe R.* 1173 (*P.R.S.* xix), 78; 1174 (*P.R.S.* xxi), 88.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1202 (*P.R.S. N.S.* xv), 178-9.

⁷¹ *Cur. Reg. R.* ix. 265; x. 101-2, 308; xi. 91, 179; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 108.

⁷² *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/73/6, no. 72.

⁷³ *Oseney Cart.* v (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xcvi), pp. 48-50.

mesne lordship passed, as did the manor of Little Rissington, to Robert de Briwes (d. 1276) and after him to Robert Burnell (d. 1292), bishop of Bath and Wells,⁷⁴ under whom three estates, including that of Oseney abbey, made up the ½ knight's fee, in Upper Turkdean, in 1285.⁷⁵ Philip Burnell was the mesne lord at his death in 1294,⁷⁶ but the mesne lordship was not recorded later and in 1300 the three estates were held directly of the honor of Wallingford.⁷⁷

Robert of Torigni's estate passed to his son William by 1232⁷⁸ and William retained land in Turkdean c. 1246.⁷⁹ The later descent of the estate is not known but it may have been acquired by Maud of Palton (or Paulton), who was assessed for a share of the ½ knight's fee in Upper Turkdean in 1285 and 1300.⁸⁰ Maud's estate passed by 1303 to John of Palton⁸¹ and he or another John of Palton was named among the lords of Turkdean in 1316,⁸² was taxed along with Roger of Palton in Upper Turkdean in 1327,⁸³ and was assessed for a share of the ½ knight's fee in 1346.⁸⁴ The estate seems to have passed, with Croscombe manor (Som.) after 1360, from John of Palton to his son Robert⁸⁵ (fl. 1385)⁸⁶ and it was known as the manor of *TURKDEAN* in 1405 when Robert's widow Elizabeth granted it with Croscombe and other Somerset manors to his son and heir William of Palton.⁸⁷

The Turkdean manor was possibly that which Westbury-on-Trym college acquired before 1509⁸⁸ and held of the honor of Wallingford for a rent of 3s. 4d.⁸⁹ In 1544 Henry VIII granted the college's possessions to Sir Ralph Sadler.⁹⁰ Sir Ralph, later Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster,⁹¹ conveyed the Turkdean manor to William Howse⁹² and he sold it soon afterwards, in 1585 or 1586, to William Bannister.⁹³ William (d. 1604) was succeeded by his son Thomas,⁹⁴ who acquired more land in Turkdean and at his death in 1633 was succeeded by his brother Richard.⁹⁵ At Richard's death without issue c. 1640 the manor passed to his nephew William Bannister, and after William's death in 1685 his

widow Jane evidently held it for several years before it passed to his eldest son William,⁹⁶ the lord of Hazleton manor,⁹⁷ who became a judge and a baron of the Exchequer and was knighted in 1713.⁹⁸ Sir William died in 1721 and trustees acting for his daughters and coheirs Jane and Elizabeth, respectively the wives of John Hamilton and Richard Harcourt,⁹⁹ sold the Turkdean and Hazleton manors in 1725 to Edmund Waller of Beaconsfield (Bucks.).¹ Edmund (d. 1771) was succeeded by his son Edmund (d. 1788),² whose son and heir Edmund acquired an estate in Lower Turkdean c. 1790 and sold much of his Turkdean land to Thomas Willan in 1799.³ The rest of Edmund's land was retained by the Waller family with its Farmington estate.⁴ In 1900 William Noel Waller sold a farm in Turkdean and Hazleton to John Ewen McPherson⁵ and in 1902 the manor house and other land in Turkdean were acquired by William Augustus Rixon.⁶ Rixon, who in the next ten years bought much of the rest of Turkdean,⁷ died in 1948⁸ and his executors sold most of his Turkdean Manor estate of over 1,500 a.⁹ to a family trust established under the will of W. H. Milne.¹⁰ Soon afterwards the manor house passed into separate ownership, changing hands several times in the later 20th century,¹¹ and Manor farm was sold in 1958 to Mr. Wilfred Mustoe. The other farms were sold off after 1958, and Mr. Mustoe, who purchased Castle farm in 1972, owned c. 283 ha. (700 a.) in 1999.¹²

Turkdean Manor is built of dressed limestone and has two storeys with attics and an irregular plan. William Bannister probably began it soon after buying the manor in 1585 or 1586; his name and the date 1588 are inscribed on a timber door frame (in 1999 ex situ). The earliest fabric is probably at the north angle but by the mid 17th century the house seems to have been remodelled on a U-shaped plan, open to the south-west and with a gabled three-bayed, two-and-a-half-storeyed south-east front.¹³ The front has three- and four-light windows with

⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 108; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 37.

⁷⁵ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 124.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 480.

⁷⁸ *Oseney Cart.* v, pp. 46, 48–50.

⁷⁹ *Langley Cart.* (Dugdale Soc. xxxiii), p. 2.

⁸⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 480.

⁸¹ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 246.

⁸² *Ibid.* 271.

⁸³ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 12.

⁸⁴ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 279.

⁸⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, p. 169; xiv, p. 82.

⁸⁶ *Fees of Fines for Som.* 1347–99 (Som. Rec. Soc. xvii), p. 201.

⁸⁷ Devon R.O., 1262 M/Leases/Misc. 1.

⁸⁸ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 516; *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 119.

⁸⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 432.

⁹⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), p. 175.

⁹¹ *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 267.

⁹² P.R.O., CP 25/2/144/1860/27 Eliz. I East. no. 23.

⁹³ *Ibid.* CP 25/2/144/1863/28 Eliz. I Hil. no. 1; C 66/1261, m. 56.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* C 142/286, no. 168.

⁹⁵ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625–42, i. 174–5.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/8; P.R.O., E 134/4 & 5 Wm. & Mary Hil./17; *Visit. Glos.* 1682–3, 8.

⁹⁷ Above, Hazleton, manors.

⁹⁸ *D.N.B.*

⁹⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278; Hazleton and Turkdean Manors Act, 11 Geo. I, c. 11 (Priv. Act).

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/1/8; cf. P.R.O., CP 25/2/1017/12 Geo. I East. no. 19; for the Wallers, *V.C.H. Bucks.* iii. 159; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), ii. 1532.

² Rudder, *Glos.* 778.

³ Below, this section.

⁴ Above, Farmington, manor; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1445, misc. title deeds 1766–1804; Q/REL 1, Bradley hund.; D 1388/SL 8/83.

⁵ Above, Hazleton, manors.

⁶ Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 9.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/25.

⁸ Turkdean burial reg. 1813–1970 (copy in *ibid.* PMF 341).

⁹ *Ibid.* D 2582/26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* D 2299/9943; DA 31/115/3, p. 342; cf. *ibid.* D 2582/25.

¹¹ Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 9.

¹² Inf. from Messrs. M., P., and W. Mustoe.

¹³ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561, which suggests that in 1765 the SE. front had a central entrance.

hollow-chamfered mullions and originally with transoms; the windows in the lower storeys have hoodmoulds and those in the gables are under string courses. The south-east range contains two rooms, the larger of which has a plain classical chimneypiece. In 1672 the house contained seven hearths.¹⁴

In the early 19th century, when the house was a farmhouse, there were also two projecting ranges on the north-east side but in the mid 19th century the areas between the projecting ranges on both sides were mostly infilled;¹⁵ the new building on the south-west side accommodated an entrance hall. In 1905, when W. A. Rixon extensively remodelled the house as a country house, the more southerly projection on the north-east side was demolished and there was much refenestration; many of the rainwater heads bear the initials of Rixon and his wife Lady (Julia) Bolton. Rixon's alterations also included a single-storeyed addition north-west of the entrance hall; the entrance hall contained a staircase with a Tijou-style balustrade.¹⁶ Between 1948 and 1966 the single-storeyed service wing on the north-east side was enlarged slightly,¹⁷ and before 1997 a south-west porch and a north-east conservatory were added.¹⁸ As part of extensive alterations in 1999 beams, fireplaces, and other fittings were imported, the conservatory was rebuilt in Gothic style, and an outbuilding to the north-east, used before 1948 as a studio and garden room,¹⁹ was converted as a dining hall with an imported late-medieval roof of West Country type, said to have been removed in 1937 from a house in Bradford-on-Avon (Wilts.).²⁰ The former farmyard, north of the house, has along its boundary good-quality stone buildings, most of which were converted for domestic use in 1999; one cattle shed is dated 1828. Wrought-iron gates erected in the early 20th century at a south-west entrance on the village street have been moved to a different position.²¹

Oseney abbey held that part of Paulinus of Theydon's estate it acquired in 1232 from the honor of Wallingford by the service of $\frac{1}{8}$ knight's fee and 2s. rent;²² that part of the estate was later described as a quarter of Turkdean.²³ The abbey, whose estate included land that Robert le Bel of Stow-on-the-Wold had held by military service by the grant of Robert of Torigni,²⁴ appropriated Turkdean church and merged its

land with Turkdean rectory, the history of which is given below.

In 1236 John of Brightwell, Robert of Brightwell's son, gave Robert's estate in Turkdean to his sister Maud and her husband Geoffrey of Langley²⁵ and in 1241 he gave them 3 yardlands there that the abbess of Godstow (Oxon.) had quitclaimed to him.²⁶ Geoffrey died in 1274²⁷ and the land passed to Maud's son Robert of Langley,²⁸ who had by 1280 been succeeded by his half brother Geoffrey of Langley.²⁹ After Geoffrey's death in 1297 his son and heir Edmund of Langley (d. 1316) released his *TURKDEAN* estate, described as a manor, to his mother Emme in dower.³⁰ Emme married John Severe of Gloucester and, despite her apparent intention in 1299 to return possession of the manor to Edmund,³¹ John retained it in 1303.³² In 1316 Lawrence Severe was recorded among the lords of Turkdean³³ and in 1321 Henry Severe, John's brother and heir, granted an estate in Turkdean to Richard of Foxcote. In 1363 John of Foxcote had land in Turkdean and in 1374 John Compton, rector of Stratton, gave it, together with John's lands in Duntisbourne Rouse and Withington, to John Serjeant of Cirencester. John Serjeant granted the Turkdean estate to John Cosyn, who in 1384 granted it to Thomas Raleigh.³⁴ Thomas (d. 1396 or 1397) was succeeded by his son Thomas³⁵ (d. 1404), whose son and heir William³⁶ died still a minor in 1419. The Turkdean estate passed with Edgeworth manor to William's sister Joan, wife of Gerard Braybrook and later of Edward Bromflete.³⁷ In 1423 Reginald Grey and his wife Joan held the Turkdean estate, apparently by title derived from Joan and Edward Bromflete, and by 1432 John Langley, a direct descendant of Edmund of Langley (d. 1316), had recovered it from the Greys as part of his inheritance.³⁸ At his death in 1458 John Langley left the Turkdean manor, together with Chesterton manor, in Cirencester, and other of his ancestral estates, to his niece Isabel de la Pole, wife of Walter Langley³⁹ (d. 1470) of Knowlton (Kent).⁴⁰ Isabel (d. 1474) was succeeded by her son William Langley⁴¹ (d. 1483), who was succeeded by his son John, a minor.⁴²

John Langley died in 1518⁴³ and the Turkdean estate evidently passed to John Strange, who died in 1536 seised of land in Upper and Lower Turkdean as well as of Chesterton manor. John's

¹⁴ P.R.O., E 179/247/13, rot. 32.

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1433; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 2 (1884 edn.).

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 2585/26; *Chelt. Chron.* & *Glos. Graphic*, 12 Oct. 1907.

¹⁷ Glos. R.O., SL 457.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* SL 701.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* D 2585/26.

²⁰ Inf. from Mr. A. Semke, site agent at Turkdean Man. (1999).

²¹ *Chelt. Chron.* & *Glos. Graphic*, 19 Feb. 1927; Glos. R.O., SL 701.

²² *Oseney Cart.* v, pp. 48–51.

²³ *Ibid.* iii (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xci), p. 346.

²⁴ *Ibid.* v, pp. 51–2.

²⁵ *Langley Cart.* pp. 9–10.

²⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/14, no. 259.

²⁷ For a pedigree of the Langley fam., *Langley Cart.* p. x.

²⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 37; *Cal. Close*, 1272–9, 107.

²⁹ *Langley Cart.* p. xiii; cf. *Cal. Close*, 1288–96, 31.

³⁰ *Langley Cart.* p. 76.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 9.

³² *Cal. Inq. p.m.* iii, p. 480; *Feud. Aids*, ii. 246.

³³ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 271.

³⁴ *Langley Cart.* pp. 1–3.

³⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xx, p. 394.

³⁶ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359–1413, 241.

³⁷ P.R.O., C 138/51, no. 96; *V.C.H. Glos.* xi. 42.

³⁸ *Langley Cart.* pp. 3–4.

³⁹ P.R.O., C 139/176, no. 31; *Glos. N. & Q.* x (1), 18–19.

⁴⁰ *Langley Cart.* p. xi.

⁴¹ P.R.O., C 140/50, no. 40.

⁴² *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII.* iii, p. 379.

⁴³ *Langley Cart.* p. x.

son and heir Anthony⁴⁴ (d. 1542) was succeeded by his son John, a minor,⁴⁵ and after John's death in 1559 or 1560 the Turkdean estate evidently passed with Chesterton in turn to his brothers Thomas (d. 1594), perhaps the Thomas Strange who became M.P. for Cirencester in 1572, and Anthony (d. 1596), who left part of his estates to his widow Helen.⁴⁶ In 1600 Thomas's nephew Thomas Strange of Gray's Inn (Mdx.) sold part of his uncle's Turkdean estate to William Truby of Cirencester⁴⁷ and in 1610, at her death, Helen Strange left land in Upper and Lower Turkdean to William Trotman, her son-in-law.⁴⁸ The later descent of the estate has not been traced.

In 1066 Osgot had an estate in Turkdean and in 1086 William Leuric had the same with Geoffrey as his tenant.⁴⁹ The estate may have been that said later to have been held in turn by Osbert and his son Hugh, the latter of whom confirmed to Llanthony priory a grant of land by his tenant Richard son of Pons (*Pontius*).⁵⁰ In 1165 Mahel of Hereford granted the priory the part of Turkdean that he held by the grant of Henry II.⁵¹ The priory's estate, to which land in Aylworth, in Naunton, was attached in 1291,⁵² was known by the mid 14th century as the manor of *TURKDEAN*.⁵³ In 1543, following the Dissolution, the Crown granted that manor, which included land in Lower Turkdean, to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple in two stages and they sold it to William Walter, the tenant of the demesne.⁵⁴ William died in 1559 seised of the manor, usually known later as *NETHER TURKDEAN* manor, and his heir was his son John.⁵⁵ In 1575 John sold the manor to Oliver St. John, Lord St. John of Bletso.⁵⁶ Lord St. John (d. 1582) left the manor to a son Oliver,⁵⁷ who succeeded to the barony in 1596⁵⁸ and had conveyed the manor to Sir John Spencer by 1599.⁵⁹ Sir John, a former Lord Mayor of London, died in 1610 and was

succeeded in his manor in Turkdean by his daughter Elizabeth and her husband William Compton, Lord Compton.⁶⁰ They retained it until at least 1612.⁶¹

Soon afterwards the manor was acquired by Thomas Dutton (d. 1615), who left it to his elder brother William Dutton of Sherborne to buy lands as an endowment for almshouses in Northleach.⁶² William and his successors did not use the bequest as Thomas had intended⁶³ and in 1648 William's son John evidently sold at least part of Nether Turkdean manor to Robert Brereton.⁶⁴ John Rich, to whom Brereton quit-claimed his estate in 1660,⁶⁵ sold Nether Turkdean manor to John Coxwell of Preston, near Cirencester, in 1665.⁶⁶ John Coxwell (d. 1667) was survived by several sons including John, who died a minor in 1675. Henry, a younger son,⁶⁷ inherited the manor before 1687⁶⁸ and retained it until his death in 1725.⁶⁹ Henry's heir, his grandson Sir Henry Nelthorpe,⁷⁰ Bt., died a minor in 1729 and the manor passed, presumably with the baronetcy, to his uncle Henry Nelthorpe of Barton on Humber (Lincs.). After his death in 1746 his widow Elizabeth (d. by 1768) held the manor, and his son and heir Sir John Nelthorpe⁷¹ sold it c. 1790 to Edmund Waller, the lord of Turkdean manor. In 1799 Edmund sold much of his Turkdean estate, including part of Upper Turkdean, to Thomas Willan.⁷² Willan, who by his later acquisition of Leygore farm⁷³ enlarged his Turkdean estate to 1,182 a., died in 1828 and his executors put the estate up for sale in 1829. Lower Turkdean farm (212 a.), the part which included the house known later as Lower Dean Manor,⁷⁴ was evidently bought by Thomas Tayler⁷⁵ and owned in 1835 by his widow Rebecca. After her death in 1848 ownership of the farm passed to their son Thomas Tayler⁷⁶ and he retained it until his death in 1903.⁷⁷ In 1905 Thomas Colpitts Granger sold the farm to W. A. Rixon⁷⁸ of

⁴⁴ P.R.O., C 142/58, no. 76.

⁴⁵ Ibid. C 142/69, no. 122.

⁴⁶ Ibid. PROB 11/43 (P.C.C. 30 Mellershe), f. 223 and v.; PROB 11/83 (P.C.C. 43 Dixy), ff. 328v.-329; PROB 11/88 (P.C.C. 59 Drake), f. 52 and v.; for Thos. Strange, *Hist. Parl. Commons*, 1550-1603, iii. 454-5.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., CP 43/69, Carte rott. 17d.-18d.

⁴⁸ Ibid. PROB 11/116 (P.C.C. 64 Wingfield), ff. 61v.-62v.

⁴⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 167v.

⁵⁰ P.R.O., C 115/74, f. 119 and v.; C 115/83, f. 135 and v.; cf. *Cartae Antiquae* (P.R.S. N.S. xvii), p. 35; *Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), 7.

⁵¹ *Camd. Misc.* xxii, pp. 50-1.

⁵² *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 232; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 80.

⁵³ P.R.O., C 115/82, ff. 14v.-15; C 115/76, f. 24v.

⁵⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (1), p. 536; (2), pp. 53, 57.

⁵⁵ P.R.O., C 142/118, no. 60; G.D.R. wills 1559/362.

⁵⁶ P.R.O., CP 40/1328, Carte rott. 12d.-13d.

⁵⁷ Ibid. C 142/198, no. 1; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/misc./65.

⁵⁸ *Complete Peerage*, xi. 333-6.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., CP 25/2/146/1914/41 Eliz. I Hil. no. 3.

⁶⁰ Ibid. C 142/318, no. 165; *Complete Peerage*, ix. 677-9.

⁶¹ P.R.O., CP 25/2/386/10 Jas. I Mich. no. 4.

⁶² *Memoirs of the Dutton Fam. of Sherborne* (priv. print. 1899), 93-9; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/misc./145.

⁶³ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 117; cf. *Memoirs of Dutton Fam.* 152-5.

⁶⁴ P.R.O., IND 17238, f. 157; Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/4; cf. below, this section.

⁶⁵ Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/6.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Nelthorpe 10/8/8-10.

⁶⁷ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278; *Visit Glos.* 1682-3, 51-2.

⁶⁸ Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/16-18.

⁶⁹ G.D.R., V 1/251.

⁷⁰ P.R.O., PROB/11 (P.C.C. 227 Romney), f. 27 and v.; Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 5/7/56; 10/8/22.

⁷¹ G.E.C. *Baronetage*, iv. 29; cf. G.D.R. vols. 285b(3), pp. 47-8; 397, f. 76; Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/26.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, Q/REL 1, Bradley hund., 1790-1800; Q/RI 147; D 6148/1/2; cf. *ibid.* D 2561; D 1433.

⁷³ Below, this section.

⁷⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/1739 (P.C.C. 244 Sutton), ff. 351-362v.; Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 595-600.

⁷⁵ A datestone of 1832 on a pair of cottages on the farm at Castle Barn bears the initials 'TT'.

⁷⁶ G.D.R. wills 1849/24; cf. P.R.O., HO 107/351; HO 107/1969; Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 15.

⁷⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856-1902 edns.); burial reg. 1813-1970; for Tayler also, T. B. Marson, *Twixt Grass and Plough* (London, 1934), 128-33.

⁷⁸ Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 15; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/25; for Granger, *Who Was Who*, 1916-28, 428-9.

Turkdean Manor and after Rixon's death in 1948⁷⁹ Lower Dean Manor was included in that part of his estate sold to the Milne family. In 1968 the house and 46 a. (c. 19 ha.) were sold to Mr. S. L. Winwood, who remained their owner in 1999.⁸⁰

Lower Dean Manor, which is presumably on the site occupied in the later Middle Ages by the demesne buildings of Llanthony priory's manor, is a two-storeyed, mainly rubble-built house on an irregular plan. The block which extends west from the centre of the east front and has massive walling on its south side may represent the chamber block of the house in which William Walter, who became the priory's tenant in 1534,⁸¹ lived until his death in 1559.⁸² Under the east end of it is a cellar, which may predate the rest of the fabric and may have related to a former undercroft. Entered from a smaller cellar on the north side through a four-centred doorway within a blocked arch, it has buttress-like pilasters along the south and east walls. The room above dates from the early 16th century and is lit by mullioned windows with arch-headed lights and has a heavily beamed ceiling; its west part has been interrupted by the insertion of a chimney stack. A one-bayed north extension with windows with ovolo-moulded surrounds was added to give the chamber block an L plan in the early 17th century. A larger south-west addition was built in the late 16th or early 17th century, probably by Sir John Spencer or Lord Compton; its south front, which has been reduced in height, is ashlar-faced and has an eight-light ground-floor window, with channelled king mullions and transoms, lighting a single large room containing a fine classical chimneypiece. While it was the Coxwell family residence, the house included a hall (perhaps the large room in the south-west block), great and little parlours, and great and little cellars in 1667⁸³ and contained nine hearths in 1672;⁸⁴ by the latter date a three-bayed, two-storeyed west extension of the north range of the chamber block had probably been added. Henry Coxwell had let the west part of the house to a tenant farmer by 1706⁸⁵ and Lady (Elizabeth)

Nelthorpe reserved the part not occupied as a farmhouse for her agent in 1762.⁸⁶ The house, solely a farmhouse in 1820⁸⁷ and until c. 1930,⁸⁸ was enlarged by the addition of a rear wing in the 19th century and an extension of that wing in the 1960s.⁸⁹ The garden contains a dovecot built in the early 1950s.⁹⁰ Part of a range of out-buildings west of the house was a separate dwelling in 1999.

On selling Nether Turkdean manor John Dutton evidently reserved an estate in Lower Turkdean to himself in 1648.⁹¹ That estate, part of which was held under lease by the Radway family by the mid 18th century,⁹² centred on *LEYGORE* following parliamentary inclosure in 1793⁹³ and the ownership descended with the Duttons' Sherborne estate until c. 1813⁹⁴ when Leygore was acquired by Thomas Willan.⁹⁵ In 1829 Willan's executors put Leygore farm (369 a.), then reputed a manor, up for sale with the rest of his land in Turkdean⁹⁶ and in 1831 the farm's owner was William Hewer⁹⁷ (formerly Radbourne). William died in 1846 and his son George⁹⁸ owned the farm at his death in 1887.⁹⁹ After mortgagees offered the farm, comprising 378 a., for sale in 1900,¹ Arthur Edmund Moss, the son of a Winchester (Hants) brewer,² bought it³ and made the farmhouse his country seat. At his death in 1943 Moss was survived by his wife Norah and his daughter Judith Main⁴ and a few years later Leygore was sold to Richard Evelyn Fleming, a merchant banker⁵ who added part of the adjoining rectory farm to the estate in the 1960s.⁶ Fleming died in 1977 and his son Mr. Fergus Fleming owned the estate in 1999.⁷

The Leygore farmhouse was built in 1797⁸ to replace an old house that was perhaps in Lower Dean⁹ and it was on an L plan with an outbuilding near by in 1829.¹⁰ By the late 19th century the house's three-bayed south front had a porch, the angle of the L had been infilled, and there was a detached building to the north-east, probably a coach house.¹¹ A. E. Moss renamed the house Leygore Manor in the early 20th century¹² and enlarged it in a heavy 17th-century style. By 1920 he had extended the north-east service wing and by 1927 had added a ballroom in a

⁷⁹ Above, this section.

⁸⁰ Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 15; inf. from Mr. Winwood.

⁸¹ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 11.

⁸² G.D.R. wills 1559/362.

⁸³ Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/12.

⁸⁴ P.R.O., E 179/247/13, rot. 32.

⁸⁵ Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/21, 23.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Nelthorpe 10/8/26.

⁸⁷ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 595–600.

⁸⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁸⁹ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, p. 352.

⁹⁰ Inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁹¹ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/Sherborne par./33, 49; Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/8, 14, 17.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/misc./63, 116, 147.

⁹³ Ibid. Q/R1 147; Christ Church, Turkdean map 1.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., C 142/378, no. 107; Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 257v.; Atkyns, *Glos.* 787; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 123.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/REL 1, Bradley hund., 1812–13.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., PROB 11/1739 (P.C.C. 244 Sutton), ff. 351–362v.; Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 595–600.

⁹⁷ Datestone with Hewer's inits. on farm bldg. at

Leygore.

⁹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 231/IN 1/3, baptism 29 Nov. 1774; 8, baptism 27 July 1820; 13, burial 9 April 1846.

⁹⁹ Ibid. D 2299/87; burial reg. 1813–1970.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 8/82.

² *Kelly's Handbook to Titled, Landed and Official Classes* (1916), 1074; *Who's Who of Brit. Members of Parl.* ii. 259.

³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902), 338; (1910), 347; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/114.

⁴ Clarke, 'Turkdean', pp. 5, 15.

⁵ *Who Was Who, 1971–80*, 269.

⁶ Inf. from Messrs. M., P., and W. Mustoe.

⁷ Inf. from Mr. F. Fleming.

⁸ Datestone on S. front of ho. masked by later porch: inf. from Mr. Fleming.

⁹ *Glos. Colln.* JZ 6.2, f. 9; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/misc./63.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/151; Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 595–600.

¹¹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXVI. 6 (1884 edn.).

¹² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 339; (1902), 338.

south-west block which lengthened the south front by three bays. He also made a west entrance with a two-storeyed staircase hall and added a north-west wing.¹³ In work begun in the early 1950s the ballroom was demolished and other parts of the house were remodelled; some of the fabric was re-used in a house elsewhere in Turkdean.¹⁴ Moss also enlarged the grounds south of the house,¹⁵ where he created a rockery and, in the bottom of the valley, a lake or fish-pond, but in the mid 20th century a large part of the new gardens was laid down as grass.¹⁶ Higher up to the north are extensive ranges of 19th-century farm buildings and a house built in the 1950s for the farm manager.¹⁷

The abbot of Cirencester was named in 1316 among the lords of Turkdean¹⁸ but there is no record of the abbey having an estate in the parish.

Ralph Basset, the clerk, gave Turkdean church to Oseney abbey in or before 1151.¹⁹ About 1190 William son of Henry and his son Robert acknowledged the abbey's right to two thirds of the Turkdean demesne tithes that it had acquired as the successor in 1149 to the endowments of St. George's church in Oxford castle.²⁰ The abbey appropriated Turkdean church before 1294²¹ and it retained the rectory, which was valued at £10 in 1522²² and was farmed with the abbey's land for £12 in 1535, until the Dissolution.²³ The Crown granted the rectory together with the land to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1542 and renewed the grant in 1546.²⁴

The dean and chapter's estate, reputed to be of manorial status, was held by lessees until the late 19th century. Robert Hyett, who had been Oseney abbey's lessee in 1535,²⁵ became the dean and chapter's first tenant²⁶ and died in 1570 leaving his title to his son William.²⁷ Soon afterwards the dean and chapter granted a reversionary lease of the estate to Matthew Mantell, and in 1587 he granted his title to his sister-in-law Christian Wake of Oxford. She assigned the manor and rectory to her son Abraham Wake in 1599²⁸ and he retained the estate in 1608.²⁹ The rectory, valued at £50 in 1603,³⁰ received the corn tithes of 27 yardlands.³¹

In 1633 the dean and chapter of Christ Church leased the manor and rectory to William Blomer of Eastleach Martin for a term of three lives.³² Later leases were similar and were renewed after one of the named lives had lapsed; the dean and chapter's income included a fine, calculated in 1807 at 2 years' valuation,³³ levied at each renewal. Thomas Keble of Southrop was the lessee in 1649 and the estate passed to his son-in-law John Wheeler, of Minster Lovell (Oxon.), to whom the dean and chapter granted a lease in 1662. William Dewey of Iffley (Oxon.) acquired the leasehold in 1665 and retained it until 1699, when John Knight, rector of Broughton (Oxon.), became the lessee.³⁴ Knight died in 1712³⁵ leaving as coheirs his daughters Elizabeth, Hannah, and Susannah. Hannah, of Bicester and later of Banbury (both Oxon.), survived her sisters³⁶ and at her death in 1751 or 1752 left the leasehold estate to Susannah Trotman, wife of the architect Sanderson Miller of Radway (Warws.). Miller died in 1780³⁷ and his son Fiennes Sanderson Miller sold the estate, possibly on Susannah's behalf, to Edmund Waller in 1790.³⁸ At inclosure in 1793, when the rectorial tithes were commuted for 277 a., the leasehold was enlarged to 601 a.³⁹ and in 1799 Edmund included it in a sale of land to Thomas Willan.⁴⁰ After Willan's death in 1828 his executors were unable to sell Rectory farm, the leasehold part of his estate,⁴¹ and by 1837 it was in the hands of Henry Seymour (d. by 1879), the husband of Willan's daughter Jane. Hers was the last surviving life named in the most recent lease, granted in 1818, and on her death by 1880 the leasehold was extinguished.⁴² The dean and chapter of Christ Church sold the freehold of Rectory farm in 1911 to W. A. Rixon of Turkdean Manor⁴³ and after his death in 1948 the farm was sold with much of his estate to the Milne family.⁴⁴ In 1968 the farmhouse and 415 a. (c. 168 ha.) were bought by Mr. Giles Daniels, their owner in 1999.⁴⁵

The farmhouse, Rectory Farm, has a rubble-built rectangular main range of two and a half storeys with a south-east front of four bays, including gabled end bays, and a south-west addition behind a screen wall. The mullioned

¹³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 6 (1902, 1922 edns.); *Chelt. Chron. & Glos. Graphic*, 5 Mar. 1927; Glos. R.O., DA 31/100/5, p. 372.

¹⁴ Inf. from Mr. Green; Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 15; cf. Glos. R.O., DA 31/115/3, p. 788.

¹⁵ Cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXVI. 6 (1902, 1922 edns.).

¹⁶ Inf. from Mr. Fleming and Mr. Green.

¹⁷ Inf. from Mrs. S. B. McKay, of Leygore Mains.

¹⁸ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 271.

¹⁹ *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 130-1.

²⁰ *Ibid.* v, pp. 42-3; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (1). 248-52.

²¹ *Oseney Cart.* v, pp. 46-8; below, church.

²² *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 119.

²³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 220.

²⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 491; xxi (2), p. 334.

²⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 220.

²⁶ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 526.

²⁷ G.D.R. wills 1569/107.

²⁸ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 1.

²⁹ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 267; P.R.O., C 3/270/7.

³⁰ *Eccl. Misc.* 73.

³¹ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 517v.

³² *Ibid.* Turkdean deeds A 2.

³³ *Ibid.* MS. Estates 31, f. 558.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Turkdean deeds A 3-11.

³⁵ *Alum. Oxon. 1500-1714*, ii. 862; *V.C.H. Oxon.* ix. 100, gives year of death as 1715.

³⁶ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 15-21.

³⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/798 (P.C.C. 280 Bettesworth), ff. 70-71v.; Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Architects 1660-1840*, 548-51.

³⁸ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 28.

³⁹ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 147.

⁴⁰ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 28; Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1, Bradley hund., 1799-1800; above, this section.

⁴¹ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 585 and v., 595-600, 604-6, 614 and v.

⁴² *Ibid.* ff. 616 and v., 620 and v., 643, 691; *ibid.* Turkdean deeds A 30.

⁴³ Glos. R.O., D 2428/2/163.

⁴⁴ Above, this section; Glos. R.O., DA 31/115/3, pp. 20, 254.

⁴⁵ Inf. from Mr. Daniels.

windows, those on the ground floor with king mullions and all perhaps originally with transoms, have hoodmoulds except in the gables where they are under string courses. The north-east bay, which has a very thick south-west wall and floor levels higher than elsewhere in the house, may represent the chamber block of a late-medieval, perhaps 15th-century, house. Its undercroft is of exceptional quality and has a lierne vault in which sixteen chamfered ribs spring from a central pier and rest on semicircular responds on the side walls and on quarter responds in the angles. Piers and responds have moulded capitals and plain bases; the ribs are connected by liernes to four rings, each enclosing a half-spherical boss.

In 1606 Abraham Wake reserved part of the house, including the hall, a kitchen, a buttery, a storehouse, and the parlour with two rooms over it, for his own use.⁴⁶ The ground-floor room at the north-east end has a classical chimneypiece of the late 16th or early 17th century. John Wheeler heavily remodelled or entirely rebuilt the main range apart from the north-east bay in the mid 17th century⁴⁷ and William Dewey, who lived in it in the late 17th century,⁴⁸ was assessed for tax on seven hearths in 1672.⁴⁹ The south-west fireplace, the south-west entrance, and probably the main south-east doorway are of the 17th century, and the south-east porch added in the 19th century is composed from 16th- and 17th-century ornamental fragments. The service rooms at the south-west end had been added by the late 18th century.⁵⁰ The house, which was said in 1727 to contain six bays,⁵¹ was occupied as a farmhouse by the Smith family for much of the 19th century and was much repaired shortly before 1857.⁵² A short north-west range built parallel with the main block in the 19th century was extended c. 1993.⁵³

The outbuildings, which included a great barn by the early 17th century,⁵⁴ stood almost in front of the farmhouse.⁵⁵ In 1839, to improve the accommodation of the adjacent vicarage house, a large barn south of the farmhouse was rebuilt further east and farm buildings along the south-west side of the farmyard were added to the vicarage grounds.⁵⁶ Some ranges on the north-east side date from the later 19th century.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 eleven hides in Turkdean were divided almost equally

between two estates but all but one of the eleven ploughs they supported were on Robert Doyley's estate with its 4 demesne ploughs and its 6 ploughs shared by 12 *villani*. Robert's estate, which had decreased in value from £6 to £5, also included 8 *servi* and *ancillae*. On William Leuric's slightly smaller estate, which had decreased in value from £4 to 10s., nothing was in demesne and the single plough was shared by 3 *villani* and 2 bordars.⁵⁷

Upper Turkdean, the part of the parish held from the honor of Wallingford, was assessed for tax in 1220 on nine ploughteams.⁵⁸ There is little evidence to show how much land in Upper Turkdean was kept in demesne and how much was held by tenants in the Middle Ages. Westbury college had leased its manor by 1509⁵⁹ and it received £4 13s. 4d. from the farm and £3 15s. from assized rents in 1535.⁶⁰ Oseney abbey in 1280 maintained a permanent staff of farm servants and kept oxen and sheep on its Turkdean estate, which was then administered as part of the abbey's Bibury estate.⁶¹ In 1291 the Turkdean estate comprised a ploughland in demesne and assized rents.⁶² The demesne was later let at farm with the Turkdean rectory and the tenants' rents for £10, and by 1509 the abbey had leased pasture in Turkdean for 160 sheep to the farmer for £2.⁶³

Llanthony priory in 1291 had two ploughlands in demesne in Lower Turkdean and Aylworth, in Naunton, but a greater part of the total value of the two estates came from assized rents.⁶⁴ The Turkdean demesne arable evidently comprised one ploughland⁶⁵ and in the later 14th century, when it was leased, the priory provided oxen and a plough for the lessees' use and reserved pasture for its sheep and other animals.⁶⁶ In the 15th and early 16th century all the demesne was leased⁶⁷ and in 1535, as in 1464, the demesne rent of 30s. was less than half the value of the priory's customary rents in Turkdean.⁶⁸ In 1401 eight tenants, of whom one was probably the lessee of the demesne,⁶⁹ held between them 5 yardlands, 11 half yardlands, and a few smaller holdings for cash rents, and a tenant at will held a cottage and some land from the priory for cash. By 1464, when the priory's rental was less, the number of tenants had fallen to three, not including the tenant at will, and the largest holding included 4 yardlands.⁷⁰ The rental remained the same at the Dissolution when some of the land was held with the

⁴⁶ P.R.O., C 3/270/7.

⁴⁷ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 519, 526.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Turkdean deeds A 8-10.

⁴⁹ P.R.O., E 179/247/13, rot. 32.

⁵⁰ Christ Church, Turkdean map 1.

⁵¹ Ibid. Turkdean deeds A 13.

⁵² Ibid. MS. Estates 31, ff. 595-600, 608-10, 644-5, 677, 713-715v.

⁵³ Inf. from Mr. Daniels.

⁵⁴ P.R.O., C 3/270/3.

⁵⁵ Glos. R.O., D 2561; Christ Church, Turkdean maps 1-2.

⁵⁶ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 624-5, 669-670v.; cf. below, church.

⁵⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 167v., 168v.

⁵⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 314; cf. *ibid.* 291, 308.

⁵⁹ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 516.

⁶⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 432.

⁶¹ *Oseney Cart.* vi (Oxf. Hist. Soc. ci), pp. 193-5.

⁶² *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 236-7.

⁶³ *Oseney Cart.* vi, pp. 231, 262; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 220.

⁶⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 232.

⁶⁵ Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 81.

⁶⁶ P.R.O., C 115/78, ff. 63, 113v.-114; C 115/82, ff. 18v.-19.

⁶⁷ Ibid. C 115/76, f. 24v.; C 115/85/1, ff. 9v.-10.

⁶⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 427; B.L. Add. MS. 31892, f. 34v.

⁶⁹ Cf. P.R.O., C 115/78, ff. 113v.-114.

⁷⁰ B.L. Add. MS. 31892, ff. 9 and v., 34v.

demesne farm.⁷¹ A yardland was later reckoned to contain c. 40 a.⁷²

By the early modern period the village was surrounded by meadow and pasture closes. Two or three of those on the east side may have been created at the expense of parts of open fields or commons in the late 15th or early 16th century by Westbury college's tenant.⁷³ Beyond the closes in the early 17th century two adjacent open fields took in most of the parish north and north-east of the village; one extended as far as Notgrove and, in the north-west, down into the Turkdean valley to include a few strips on the valley's west side, and the other, called the nether field, extended as far as Cold Aston.⁷⁴ The fields, which were farmed on a two-course rotation with a fallow in the second year, were known in 1640 as the north field and the east field.⁷⁵ The varying width of holdings in them in the mid 18th century was presumably in part the result of some consolidation of strips.⁷⁶ Lower Turkdean had separate open fields described in the mid 1380s as a north and a south field.⁷⁷ A large part of those fields may have been inclosed by the mid 17th century, when the estate acquired by John Rich included 160 a. in two several fields and 8 a. arable in a close called New Tynings,⁷⁸ but in 1727 the rectory estate included 19½ a. dispersed in a field called Sir Henry Nelthorpe's field, mostly in pieces of ½ a. bounded by land belonging to Nelthorpe and to Edmund Waller.⁷⁹ Later the Nelthorpe family's estate included an 'in field' and an 'out field', the latter south of the former and on the Hazleton boundary.⁸⁰

Before inclosure the valley bottoms were used mostly as grassland, those in the east, upstream of Broadwater bottom, being divided into small meadows.⁸¹ Parts of several other meadows, in Lower Turkdean, were ploughed up and planted with corn in the late 17th century.⁸² The largest commons were on the high ground farthest from the village, in the east by the Foss way above Broadwater bottom and in the north-west beyond the Turkdean valley, and elsewhere there were smaller commons on some of the steeper hillsides.⁸³ In the early 17th century the commons were stinted at 3 cattle, 1 horse, and 50 sheep-pastures to a yardland.⁸⁴ In the early 1670s William Bannister, the lord of Turkdean manor, disputed William Dewey's claim that the rectory estate had owned manorial rights over one common by the mid 16th century.⁸⁵ The

common in dispute was presumably on either Bicknells hill, by the Foss way leading out of Broadwater bottom, or Greendean hill, north-east of the village descending to the floor of the Turkdean valley. In the early 17th century both pastures had been regarded as part of the rectory estate⁸⁶ but in the 18th century rights in them between Lady Day and Lammas were divided three to one between Edmund Waller, the lord of Turkdean manor, and the rector.⁸⁷

Although the common in dispute in the early 1670s had been open for many years to cattle from 3 May and to sheep from Michaelmas,⁸⁸ the principal sheep pastures were the open fields following the harvest. In the late 14th century, according to regulations for the commoning of sheep enforced in Llanthony priory's court, sheep were excluded from the Lower Turkdean fields until Martinmas.⁸⁹ Oseney abbey and Llanthony priory kept sheep in Turkdean in the 13th and 14th centuries,⁹⁰ when in 1366 the priory leased the demesne arable of its Lower Turkdean estate it reserved a sheephous and pasture rights for sheep and placed on the lessee the duties of providing a fold for its flock and employing a shepherd to look after those sheep between Lady Day and All Saints.⁹¹ At least two shepherds lived in Lower Turkdean in 1381.⁹² In the early 17th century, when a shepherd was among the Turkdean men named in a muster roll,⁹³ there was a sheephous on the rectory estate.⁹⁴ In the early 18th century the same estate had pasture rights for sheep in both Upper and Lower Turkdean, the greater part being in the Upper Turkdean fields.⁹⁵ Early evidence of dairying is provided by storage of sold cheeses at Lower Turkdean in 1667.⁹⁶

Turkdean was inclosed in 1793 under an Act of the previous year. The inclosure award, which commuted the tithes of the parish, allotted 1,964 a. of open-field and common land in Upper and Lower Turkdean and confirmed a series of exchanges in which some allotments and many old closes, some with buildings on them, changed hands. As a result of the exchanges Edmund Waller received 1,323 a., including 582 a. for the rectory estate, and James Dutton, Lord Sherborne, received 364 a., including 94 a. allotted to Mary Radway for an estate she held of him. Of the other beneficiaries the vicar received 167 a., Mary Humphris 87 a., the Revd. Harry Waller 15 a., and the parish clerk less than 1 a. *ex officio*. The award also

⁷¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 427; P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1224, rot. 11.

⁷² Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 517.

⁷³ Ibid. f. 516; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁷⁴ G.D.R., V 5/314t 1.

⁷⁵ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 517.

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁷⁷ Ibid. D 678/rolls/102, rott. 8, 10.

⁷⁸ Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/8, 17.

⁷⁹ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 13.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 147.

⁸¹ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 517; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

⁸² P.R.O., E 126/16, f. 110; E 134/4 & 5 Wm. & Mary Hil./17; cf. Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/8.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561; Q/RI 147.

⁸⁴ G.D.R., V 5/314t 1; Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 517.

⁸⁵ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 515-16, 522-30.

⁸⁶ P.R.O., C 3/270/7.

⁸⁷ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 13; *Glos. R.O.*, 2561.

⁸⁸ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 528.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/102, rott. 7d., 10d., 12-13.

⁹⁰ Above, this section.

⁹¹ P.R.O., C 115/82, ff. 18v.-19.

⁹² *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 289.

⁹³ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 267.

⁹⁴ P.R.O., C 3/270/7.

⁹⁵ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 13.

⁹⁶ Lincs. Archives, Nelthorpe 10/8/12.

designated nine small pieces of land as quarries for the repair of the parish roads.⁹⁷

Following the inclosure Turkdean was divided between a few farms and most parishioners depended directly on agriculture. In 1811 only 5 out of 32 families were supported chiefly by trades or crafts⁹⁸ and in 1831 50 parishioners worked as agricultural labourers.⁹⁹ In 1851 the main farms, two each in Upper and Lower Turkdean, ranged in size from 300 a. to 710 a. and their workforces from 5 to 41 labourers.¹ The four farms remained virtually intact in the late 19th century² and the one centred on Lower Dean Manor included the vicarial glebe for at least part of that period.³

In the early 20th century A. E. Moss took Leygore farm in hand but W. A. Rixon increased the number of tenanted farms on his estate from three to four by keeping the vicarial glebe, one of the smaller holdings, as a separate farm following his acquisition of it in 1908.⁴ Of seven farms and smallholdings returned for the parish in 1926, three farms had over 300 a. each and another over 150 a.⁵ In 1932 and 1933 Rixon, having cancelled the leases of his existing tenant farmers, took on new tenants, including W. W. Mustoe, and later he granted leases of Rectory and Glebe farms, the former rectory estate and vicarial glebe, to W. H. Johnston. For much of the 1950s, following the acquisition of the estate by the Milne family trust, Johnston farmed over 900 a. in partnership with W. G. Milne,⁶ and in 1956 six other farms, one with over 300 a., another with over 150 a., and the rest with under 15 a., were returned for Turkdean.⁷ The break up of the Turkdean estate started in the late 1950s led to a reorganization of the farms, part of Rectory farm being added to the Leygore estate and the part of Glebe farm on the north side of the parish being incorporated in the Notgrove estate. Much of the land was farmed by its owners and of the six farms returned for Turkdean in 1986 the three largest had over 200 ha. (494 a.) and the others under 30 ha. (74 a.). In 1999 the Mustoe family farmed nearly 404 ha. (1,000 a.), Rectory farm comprised over 161 ha. (400 a.),⁸ and Leygore farm, which had been in hand until the mid 1990s, was leased to the farmer of the adjoining part of Northleach parish.⁹ In 1926 the farmland provided regular employment for 27 labourers,¹⁰ but by 1986, when the smaller farms were worked part-time, eight labourers were hired on a regular basis¹¹ and in 1999 only two farmworkers lived in the village.¹²

In the early 19th century Turkdean was devoted to arable and sheep farming. The 654 a. recorded under arable crops in 1801 grew roughly similar areas of wheat, barley, oats, and turnips;¹³ according to at least one farmer turnips were the best food for increasing the size of sheep.¹⁴ Two shepherds lived in the parish in 1841.¹⁵ The crop rotation included also large areas of grass and clover in the mid 19th century and only 141 a. was returned as permanent grassland compared with 1,816 a. as arable and 12 a. as fallow in 1866.¹⁶ The animals returned in that year included 856 sheep, 187 cattle, including 27 milk cows, and 46 pigs.¹⁷ Substantial cattle sheds were among the farm buildings erected at Leygore during that period. Sheep farming remained important in the late 19th century and most if not all of the farms had their own shepherd at that time.¹⁸ The amount of arable land fell and the area of grazing land increased; in 1896, when at least 70 a. was fallow, 462 a. was returned as permanent grassland and 25 a. as heath land, presumably rough grazing. The animals returned in 1896 included 922 sheep, 137 cattle of which only 5 were in milk, and 145 pigs.¹⁹

The reduction in the area of arable farming continued in the early 20th century²⁰ and in 1926, when 504 a. was described as permanent grassland and 452 a. as rough grazing, only 396 a. was under cereals and 8 a. was fallow. The livestock returned included 384 ewes, 286 cattle of which 24 were in milk, 95 pigs, and, among the poultry, 742 chickens.²¹ In 1956, when at least 703 a. was given over to grazing and 664 a. to growing cereals, 431 a. was described as permanent grassland and the livestock included 483 ewes, 415 beef and dairy cattle, 198 pigs, and 1,604 poultry.²² From the mid 20th century the number of cattle fell and in 1986, when at least 163 ha. (403 a.) was grassland and 22 ha. (54 a.) rough grazing, 528 ha. (1,305 a.) was used for growing cereals and the farm animals returned for the parish included 945 ewes and 242 cattle. Of the three largest farms one mostly grew cereals and another raised cattle and sheep.²³ In 1999 the Mustoes, who had ceased dairy farming in 1946 and had sold their beef cattle some years later, had three quarters of their farm, the largest in Turkdean, under arable crops, including oilseed rape and linseed as well as corn, and owned a flock of several hundred ewes and a herd of 40 suckling cows.²⁴

⁹⁷ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 147; for Mary Radway's estate, *ibid.* D 678/misc./63.

⁹⁸ *Census*, 1811.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 1831.

¹ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–97 edns.).

³ T. B. Marson, *'Twixt Grass and Plough* (London, 1934), 128.

⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1902–27 edns.).

⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

⁶ Inf. from Mr. W. Mustoe; Glos. R.O., D 2582/25–6.

⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/205.

⁸ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/205; inf. from Messrs. M., P., and W. Mustoe, and G. Daniels.

⁹ Inf. from Mrs. S. B. McKay, of Leygore Mains.

¹⁰ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

¹¹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/205; MAF 68/6005/14/205.

¹² Inf. from Messrs. M. and W. Mustoe.

¹³ *1801 Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 179.

¹⁴ Rudge, *Agric. of Glos.* 137–8.

¹⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/351.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* MAF 68/26/12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* RG 11/2560; RG 12/2036.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* MAF 68/1609/2.

²⁰ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

²¹ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

²² *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/205.

²³ *Ibid.* MAF 68/6005/14/205.

²⁴ Inf. from Messrs. M., P., and W. Mustoe.

There is no evidence to indicate more precisely the location of a mill that in 1291 belonged to Llanthony priory's estates in Turkdean and Aylworth.²⁵ The route on the north side of Turkdean known in 1614 as mill way²⁶ probably led to a mill in Cold Aston.²⁷

The earliest reference to quarrying in Turkdean is the presentment in 1386 of the vicar for digging stones at the cliff,²⁸ presumably the steep bank between Upper and Lower Turkdean where quarries perhaps in use in the late 19th and the early 20th century²⁹ had been long abandoned by 1999. Two tunnels dug in the bank, below the Northleach road, before the mid 20th century³⁰ were possibly abortive stone mines. Most stone quarried in Turkdean, including by the Foss way,³¹ was presumably for local use. In the mid 17th century John Wheeler quarried perhaps more than 60 loads of stones in one common in the parish for rebuilding the farmhouse on the rectory estate.³² Local stone was used in walls bounding medieval closes³³ and post-inclosure fields. In the mid 20th century farmer Mr. W. Mustoe excavated a new quarry in a field north-west of the village to provide stone for a long wall built alongside a section of the Notgrove road.³⁴ One of the earliest known Turkdean masons and builders worked in the late 1650s in an area including Mangersbury.³⁵ In the early 19th century several Turkdean residents were masons, including by 1835 William Mustoe³⁶ (d. 1902),³⁷ whose son continued his business and whose grandson, W. W. Mustoe (d. 1943), established a building firm in Northleach before taking up farming in Turkdean in the early 1930s.³⁸

In 1608 a few Turkdean men followed the trades of smith, carpenter, tailor, and weaver.³⁹ In the mid 19th century, when most men living in the parish were agricultural labourers, Upper and Lower Turkdean each had a blacksmith and a carpenter.⁴⁰ A few other trades, including that of shoemaker, were also represented in Turkdean in the later 19th century but most trades died out in the early 20th century.⁴¹ A grocer's shop was perhaps one of two stores in Upper Turkdean in 1851⁴² and its owner also ran a post office by 1889.⁴³ The village ceased to

have a post office before the Second World War⁴⁴ and its sole shop in the mid 20th century, a confectionery shop in Upper Turkdean, closed before 1982.⁴⁵

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. By the later 13th century Cirencester abbey had exempted Llanthony priory's tenants in Turkdean from suit of hundred court⁴⁶ and the priory held view of frankpledge in Turkdean for Lower Turkdean.⁴⁷ According to its surviving rolls, for the years 1375–92, the priory's Turkdean court was sometimes held more than twice a year and, although it enforced the assize of ale and supervised the maintenance of roads and streams, its main business was as a manor court for the priory's estates in both Turkdean and Aylworth.⁴⁸ Following the division of Nether Turkdean manor in the mid 17th century the parts were regarded as separate franchises.⁴⁹ That the southernmost part of Turkdean adjoining the Foss way and the ancient route along the south boundary used to be called gallows furlong suggests that a gibbet once stood there or near by.⁵⁰ Leet jurisdiction in Upper Turkdean belonged to the honor of Wallingford (later the honor of Ewelme) and was exercised in a court held at Little Rissington. The earliest surviving roll of the court is for 1422⁵¹ and the Turkdean constable attended the court until at least 1808.⁵² Oseney abbey held a court for Turkdean and records of that court survive for 1427, 1499,⁵³ and 1511.⁵⁴

Turkdean had two churchwardens in 1498 and later.⁵⁵ Of the other parish officers there were two surveyors of the highways in 1768 and 1824.⁵⁶ Poor relief, administered by one overseer by 1799, cost £49 in 1776 and £112 in 1803. It took the usual forms, but by 1799 and until 1804 the parish bought wool for a few women to card and spin under the supervision of a master; during that period the annual cost fluctuated considerably and sometimes exceeded £200. In 1803 there were 17 people in receipt of regular help and 4 occasional help⁵⁷ and in 1815, when the cost was £168, 14 people received regular and 13 occasional help.⁵⁸ Between 1825 and 1834

²⁵ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 232.

²⁶ G.D.R., V 5/314t 1; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2561.

²⁷ Cf. above, Cold Aston, econ. hist.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/102, rot. 10d.

²⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXVI. 2* (1884–1922 edns.).

³⁰ Inf. from Mr. M. Mustoe.

³¹ O.S. Maps 6", *Glos. XXVIII. SW.* (1883 edn.); XXXVI. NE. (1884 edn.); XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.).

³² Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 526–30.

³³ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/102, rot. 12d.

³⁴ Inf. from Mr. W. Mustoe.

³⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 621/M 18.

³⁶ *Ibid.* P 341/IN 1/4; cf. P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

³⁷ Turkdean burial reg. 1813–1970 (copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PMF 341).

³⁸ Inf. from Messrs. M. and W. Mustoe.

³⁹ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 267.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁴¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856–1939 edns.).

⁴² P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁴³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 927; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, reg. wills 1896, f. 44.

⁴⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 353.

⁴⁵ J. S. Clarke, 'Turkdean' (1982), p. 2; inf. from Messrs. M., P., and W. Mustoe.

⁴⁶ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, p. 844.

⁴⁷ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 244.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 678/rolls/102.

⁴⁹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 257v.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 147.

⁵¹ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi. 111 and n.

⁵² *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/OV 2/1, p. 106.

⁵³ Bodl. MS. Rolls Oxf. (Oseney) 1, 98.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, EL 380; other Turkdean ct. rolls from 1450 and later, in Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, were not seen.

⁵⁵ Hockaday Abs. xxii, 1498 visit. f. 42; xxxi, 1548 visit. f. 72; lxiv, 1642 visit. f. 13; lxxiii, 1661 visit. f. 29.

⁵⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/SU 2/1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* OV 2/1; *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

⁵⁸ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1818, 146–7.

the cost fell from £215 to just over £100.⁵⁹ Turkdean joined the new Northleach poor-law union in 1836⁶⁰ and became part of Northleach rural district in 1895⁶¹ and part of Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCH. In the early 12th century Ralph Basset, the justiciar, gave Turkdean church to his son Ralph, a clerk, and by 1151 the younger Ralph had granted it to Oseney abbey.⁶² In the later 12th century the church was held for a time under its rector by a farmer, who received two thirds of demesne tithes in Turkdean in the name of a canon of St. George's church in Oxford castle until that canon's death.⁶³ St. George's church had been granted those tithes in the later 11th century and Oseney abbey owned them from 1149.⁶⁴ About 1176 the abbey granted William son of Henry and his immediate successor each the right to present once to the church, their priests to pay a pension to the abbey and the right of patronage to revert to the abbey.⁶⁵ The abbey was allowed to appropriate the church c. 1215, and it ordained a vicarage,⁶⁶ first recorded in 1289.⁶⁷ The living remained a vicarage⁶⁸ and in 1967 it was united with Cold Aston and Notgrove.⁶⁹ From 1986 Turkdean was served with other parishes by a priest-in-charge based in Northleach.⁷⁰

The advowson of the vicarage belonged to Oseney abbey⁷¹ and after the Dissolution it passed with the inappropriate rectory to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, Oxford.⁷² Although in 1635 the king was said to be the patron, the dean and chapter exercised the patronage themselves⁷³ and retained it after the sale of the rectory estate in 1911.⁷⁴ In 1964 the patronage passed by exchange to the bishop⁷⁵ and from 1967 he had the right to present at every third vacancy in the united benefice.⁷⁶

In 1614 the vicar's glebe comprised a house, an adjoining close, 2 yardlands of arable, and pasture for 100 sheep, 6 beasts, and 2 horses. The ancient endowment of the living also included the corn tithes of 3 yardlands, some hay tithes, and all the small tithes, including those of lambs and

wool, of the parish.⁷⁷ The hay tithes were taken in particular meadows and in the late 17th century, when some of those meadows were under the plough, the lessee of the rectory, which included all the other tithes of the parish, successfully impleaded the vicar for the right to the tithe of corn grown there.⁷⁸ In 1720, in response to grants worth £210 from Thomas Edwards and Edward Colston, Queen Anne's Bounty awarded £200 for the living's augmentation,⁷⁹ and in 1722 those sums were used to buy land in Badgeworth.⁸⁰ At the inclosure of Turkdean in 1793 the vicar's tithes were commuted for land and 6s. 6d. in rents, and a farmhouse and other buildings in the village were assigned to the living in exchanges of land, leaving the glebe with c. 172 a. in Turkdean.⁸¹ The living is said to have been augmented by another grant of £200 in 1820⁸² and a meadow near the vicarage house was added to the glebe in the 1870s.⁸³ The Turkdean land was sold to W. A. Rixon in 1908⁸⁴ and the Badgeworth land remained the property of the benefice until 1951.⁸⁵

Turkdean church was valued at £5 in 1291.⁸⁶ The vicarage was valued at £7 in 1522,⁸⁷ £10 in 1535,⁸⁸ and £40 in 1650.⁸⁹ In 1750 the living's value excluding the augmentation from Queen Anne's Bounty was put at £36⁹⁰ and in 1856 it was £228.⁹¹

In or before the 17th century the vicarage house was, to judge from a chamfered beam, thick walls, and external quoining, a range aligned NE.-SW. The vicar Henry Massey, who is said to have rebuilt the house in 1733,⁹² possibly raised the building and extended it on an L plan, and a later vicar Thomas Bowen, who is said to have 'made it more complete' in the later 18th century,⁹³ presumably filled in the south angle. The rooms in that angle are taller and they were refitted c. 1820.⁹⁴ The house stood right up against the yard of the rectory farmhouse, to the north-east, and in 1839, to improve the vicar's accommodation, a strip of land containing farm buildings was added to the vicarage grounds; one of the outbuildings was retained and converted by the vicar Frederick Biscoe as a stable, coach house, and laundry.⁹⁵ In 1847 the

⁵⁹ *Poor Law Returns* (1830-1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁶⁰ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/300/2.

⁶² *Oseney Cart.* vi (Oxf. Hist. Soc. ci), pp. 130-1.

⁶³ *Ibid.* v (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xcvi), p. 44.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* iv (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xcvi), pp. 3, 7; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (1). 248-52.

⁶⁵ *Oseney Cart.* v, pp. 44-5.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 46-8.

⁶⁷ *Reg. Giffard*, 354.

⁶⁸ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 72v.; G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 76; vol. 384, f. 203.

⁶⁹ G.D.R., V 7/1/56.

⁷⁰ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994-5), 103; (1998-9), 106.

⁷¹ *Reg. Giffard*, 354; *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 204; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Carpenter*, i, f. 235v.

⁷² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, p. 491; xxi (2), pp. 334-5.

⁷³ *Hockaday Abs.* ccclxxx.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1914 and later edns.); above, *manors*.

⁷⁵ J. S. Clarke, 'Turkdean' (1982), p. 7.

⁷⁶ G.D.R., V 7/1/56; *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1994-5), 103.

⁷⁷ G.D.R., V 5/314t 1; vol. 114, depositions 11 June 1612.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., E 134/4 & 5 Wm. & Mary Hil./17; E 126/16, f. 110.

⁷⁹ Hodgson, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (1826), 137, 325.

⁸⁰ G.D.R., F 4/1, Turkdean.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 147; G.D.R., V 5/314t 2.

⁸² Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278.

⁸³ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 680, 691.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2582/25.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* D 2299/10784.

⁸⁶ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 222.

⁸⁷ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 119.

⁸⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 436.

⁸⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii, 92.

⁹⁰ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 76.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* vol. 384, f. 203.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/IN 1/1, f. 21v.

⁹³ T. Horde, *The County Supplement* (copy in *Glos. Colln.* J 3.1), 12.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/IN 1/2, p. 34.

⁹⁵ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 624-5, 669-670v.

house, which had two storeys with attics and was roughly square with a north-west entrance, was enlarged and reoriented for Biscoe by the Cirencester builder Thomas Bridges; rooms were added on the north-west front and an entrance bay with a stepped gable was created in the centre of the south-west front, which gave access to a new hall.⁹⁶ From 1947 the incumbent lived outside the parish and in 1948 the house was sold.⁹⁷ In the 1960s a new staircase was inserted in the Victorian hall;⁹⁸ the flight from the 1st floor to the attics survives in place from the pre-1847 house.⁹⁹

In 1340 the bishop appointed a priest to administer the living of Turkdean as assistant to the vicar and the following year another man, from Arlington, became vicar on the death of the incumbent.¹ John Stackhouse, vicar 1535–60,² was unable to recite the Ten Commandments and expound the Apostles' Creed in 1551.³ His successor Richard Edmunds, vicar of Little Barrington, resided in Turkdean and served both cures; in 1563 he was presented for not performing services at Turkdean at the appropriate times and for keeping a mistress.⁴ Gilbert Hodson, vicar from 1572, was not a graduate and was categorized in 1593 as a sufficient scholar but no preacher.⁵ Presented in 1602 for not preaching,⁶ he retained the living until the early 1630s.⁷ Rowland Wilde, vicar in 1642,⁸ also acquired the livings of Stow-on-the-Wold and Lower Swell⁹ and in 1643 he handed possession of Turkdean church to Thomas Wilde.¹⁰ Lewis Jones, the resident clergyman at Turkdean by 1649,¹¹ continued to serve the church as curate in the early 1660s.¹² Thomas Wilde, who secured the vicarage at the Restoration,¹³ employed another curate in 1669 and had resigned the living by 1673.¹⁴

Henry Massey, vicar 1731–57, was the first of a succession of graduates of Christ Church college, Oxford, holding the perpetual curacy of Aldsworth in plurality with Turkdean, by the gift of the dean and chapter of Christ Church, between 1736 and 1837.¹⁵ Massey, who was also assistant master at Northleach grammar school,¹⁶ provided full services at Turkdean except in the winter.¹⁷ Thomas Bowen, vicar 1757–98,¹⁸ lived in Turkdean.¹⁹ George

Illingworth, vicar 1798–1807, employed a curate there and retained a living in Hampshire.²⁰ In 1817 the living was under sequestration and a stipendiary curate was appointed to serve Turkdean and Aldsworth from Turkdean, but in 1825 George Hornsby, vicar 1807–37,²¹ resided and the church had a single Sunday service alternately in the morning and afternoon.²² Frederick Biscoe, vicar 1837–80,²³ had Turkdean as his sole benefice and in 1859 conducted two Sunday services in the church.²⁴ Turkdean continued to have its own incumbent until just after the Second World War, but from 1947 it was served by a priest living outside the parish.²⁵ In 1999 there was a Sunday service in the church every other week.

Turkdean church was dedicated to *ALL SAINTS* probably by the later 18th century;²⁶ it bore a dedication to St. Mary in 1558²⁷ and allegedly to St. Michael in 1735.²⁸ The church comprises chancel, nave with north porch and south aisle, and west tower, and the chancel floor is much higher than that of the rest of the building. The site is very close to the former rectory buildings, to the south. Fragments of decorated stone of the mid 11th century incorporated in the west wall may indicate the presence of an 11th-century church on the site, but the oldest standing fabric, notably the west end of the nave, dates from the early 12th century and was possibly built by Ralph Basset, the justiciar.

Although small, the 12th-century church was very elaborately decorated. Its aisleless nave, which was slightly wider on the north than the present nave, was divided externally into bays by short, three-stage buttresses; there are three similar, graduated buttresses on the west wall with a carving of a human head set above the central one. The corbel table was of grotesque heads and abstract architectural forms. The nave had north and south doors, fragments of which survive; that on the north had an inner order comprising a multi-scalloped capital and chip-carved impost supporting three bands of chevron ornament and an outer hoodmould with two rows of syncopated billets. The south door appears to have been similar and was apparently covered by a porch. The form of the 12th-century east end is unknown as the chancel has

⁹⁶ G.D.R., F 4/1.

⁹⁷ Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 7; *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/IN 1/9.

⁹⁸ Inf. from the owner, Mr. E. Hulton.

⁹⁹ Cf. G.D.R., F 4/1.

¹ *Reg. Bransford*, pp. 35, 364.

² *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, *Reg. Ghinucci*, f. 72v.; G.D.R. wills 1560/80.

³ *E.H.R.* xix, 111.

⁴ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx; xlii, 1563 visit. f. 34; *V.C.H. Glos.* vi, 25.

⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx; xlix, state of clergy 1584, f. 20; lii, state of clergy 1593, f. 10.

⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁷ G.D.R., V 1/251; Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx.

⁸ Hockaday Abs. lxiv, 1642 visit. f. 13.

⁹ *V.C.H. Glos.* vi, 160.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/IN 1/1, f. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ff. 7–9v., 26.

¹² Hockaday Abs. lxviii, 1661 visit. f. 29; ccclxxx.

¹³ Cf. *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 179.

¹⁴ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ccclxxx, xcix; cf. Bigland, *Glos.* i, 37; iii, no. 278.

¹⁶ Bigland, *Glos.* ii, 287; G.D.R. vol. 285b(3), pp. 47–8.

¹⁷ G.D.R. vols. 397, f. 76; 381a, f. 76.

¹⁸ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278.

¹⁹ G.D.R. vol. 319.

²⁰ *Alum. Oxon. 1715–1886*, ii, 727; G.D.R. vol. 382, f. 42; *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/IN 1/2, p. 55.

²¹ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx.

²² G.D.R. vol. 383, no. ccclxxx.

²³ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx; Turkdean burial reg. 1813–1970 (copy in *Glos. R.O.*, PMF 341).

²⁴ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 667.

²⁵ Clarke, 'Turkdean', p. 7.

²⁶ G.D.R. vols. 381a, f. 76; 397, f. 76.

²⁷ *Ibid.* wills 1558/143; Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i, 290, indicates that the dedication to St. Mary was retained in the early 19th cent.

²⁸ G.D.R. vol. 285b(1), f. 31.

been entirely rebuilt apart from the round chancel arch, which is plain and stands on chamfered imposts, but it is possible that the upper part of a narrow 12th-century doorway, blocked and reset in the chancel south wall, was part of a priest's door; it has a pelleted and diapered tympanum, diapered hoodmould and imposts, and a large inner roll on cushion capitals.

Much of the church was rebuilt in the late 15th or early 16th century. The south aisle, which has a blocked door, was added, and the north wall was partly rebuilt within the line of the previous north wall and with a porch. The tower was probably added at the same time. The nave arcade is of three bays with double chamfered arches on octagonal piers and bases. The north door has a Tudor-arched head with a square surround and there are blank shields in the spandrels; the hoodmould has male and female headstops like that on the entrance to the porch. There are two contemporary square-headed windows in the nave north wall. The tower, which was built inside the west end of the nave, has low, flat chamfered arches to the nave and to the north and south. In 1500 there was a light dedicated to St. Anthony in the church.²⁹

The chancel, the maintenance of which was the responsibility of the lessee of the rectory from 1633 if not before,³⁰ appears to have been almost entirely rebuilt since the Reformation. Its south wall contains a datestone of 1741, and Thomas Willan claimed to have spent a considerable sum of money on the fabric between 1806 and 1809.³¹ In the 1850s parts of the church's fabric and fittings were described as unecclesiastical and unsightly. The chancel, which contained several box pews, had been reroofed; it had a round-headed east window, and the upper parts of the two lancets on its south side had been replaced by timber lintels.³² A small west gallery had been erected³³ and the pews at the east end of the nave and aisle faced northwards towards the pulpit.³⁴ In 1859, as part of extensive repairs and alterations instigated by the vicar Frederick Biscoe,³⁵ the east window and the lancets in the chancel were restored, the gallery was removed, and box pews were replaced by low open seats. On the north side of the nave the window that the gallery had obscured was restored and a more recent rectangular window over the pulpit was blocked. During the restoration the church's 14th-

century font was damaged and a copy of it made; the late-medieval stone pulpit, which had been stored under the tower after it had been superseded by an oak pulpit, was reinstated in the nave; and some new fittings were introduced. Ceilings in the chancel and nave were taken down a few years later.³⁶ New roofs were built in 1897 when, during restoration work designed by Charles Lloyd Tudor, a relative of the then vicar, the chancel arch was opened up fully by the removal of the lectern from within its north side, the steps from the chancel to the nave were renewed, the pulpit was placed south of the arch, and the nave seating was reorganized to face east and leave the aisle free of pews.³⁷ The chancel and nave were repewed in the late 20th century.³⁸

During the restoration of 1897 an altar stone was excavated together with fragments of 12th-century capitals and columns at the west end of the aisle.³⁹ Traces of medieval and later decoration in the nave are the only survival of paintings uncovered in 1967.⁴⁰ The church bells comprise a ring of three, of which the second dates from the 14th century and the others were cast by Edward Neale of Burford (Oxon.) in 1641, and a sanctus cast by Neale in 1663.⁴¹ In 1999 only the tenor was chimed; the second was not used and the treble and the sanctus were on the belfry floor in need of repair.⁴² The plate includes a chalice and paten of 1717 and a salver of 1754,⁴³ the latter bought with a bequest from Anne Coxwell⁴⁴ (d. 1736). Most of the stone memorials remaining in the church are ledgers that once marked the graves of members of the Bannister and Coxwell families;⁴⁵ many were used in 1859 to make a narrow central walkway between the pews and were relaid again in 1897 to make the aisle floor.⁴⁶ Some of the chancel windows have later 19th-century stained glass and one aisle window contains a glass memorial by Henry A. Payne to Lady Bolton (d. 1924) installed in 1937 at the expense of her husband W. A. Rixon.⁴⁷ A painted rood screen by Peter Falconer⁴⁸ was given in memory of A. E. Moss (d. 1943) and his son-in-law F. W. D. Main (d. 1949) and dedicated in 1949.⁴⁹ The parish registers contain entries from 1572.⁵⁰

In the churchyard are many richly carved headstones of the 18th century and the early 19th. Of the few tombchests, that of the vicar Thomas Bowen (d. 1798) is the only monument in the narrow part of the churchyard south of the church.⁵¹

²⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccclxxx, 1501.

³⁰ Christ Church, Turkdean deeds A 2.

³¹ Ibid. MS. Estates 31, f. 560 and v.

³² Ibid. ff. 652-8; *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 98-9.

³³ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278.

³⁴ Cf. G.D.R., F 1/1/1897/3.

³⁵ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 664-665v.

³⁶ Ibid. ff. 669-670v.; *Northleach par. mag.* June 1892: copy in *Glos. Colln.* 13617; J. L. Tudor and C. Ll. R. Tudor, 'Brief Account of Turkdean Church, Northleach', *Glos. N. & Q.* x (2), 40-1, which gives 1839 as the year of Biscoe's restoration.

³⁷ *Glos. N. & Q.* x (2), 41-2; G.D.R., F 1/1/1897/3.

³⁸ Inf. from Mr. P. Mustoe, of Turkdean.

³⁹ *Glos. N. & Q.* x (2), 36, 42.

⁴⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxvi. 203-4; cxii. 105-10.

⁴¹ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 623-4.

⁴² Personal observation.

⁴³ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 215.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., PROB 11/678 (P.C.C. 149 Derby), ff. 46v.-49.

⁴⁵ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278.

⁴⁶ G.D.R., F 1/1/1897/3; *Glos. N. & Q.* x (2), 42.

⁴⁷ G.D.R., F 1/1/1937/44; *Chelt. Chron. & Glos. Graphic*, 12 Feb. 1938.

⁴⁸ G.D.R., F 1/1/1949/299.

⁴⁹ Inscr. in ch.; *Glos. R.O.*, P 341/IN 1/9.

⁵⁰ *B. & G. Par. Rec.* 278.

⁵¹ Cf. Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 278.

NONCONFORMITY. Seven parishioners were enumerated as nonconformists in 1676⁵² and among several people not attending the parish church in the 1680s John Arkell was named in a royal pardon granted to nonconformists in 1686.⁵³ No other evidence of nonconformity in Turkdean has been found before 1830⁵⁴ when a Stroud minister registered a cottage there as a place of worship. That mission may have been revived in 1835 when a Wesleyan Methodist minister from Stroud registered another house and, several weeks later, a Leckhampton man registered the house of George Draper⁵⁵ (d. 1860), also a Wesleyan Methodist.⁵⁶ The Wesleyan meeting, which Cheltenham preachers regularly visited, had an attendance of 34 in 1851.⁵⁷ The following year the Wesleyans registered another house in Turkdean and, although in 1859 they had no meeting house there, in 1865 their meeting had 14 members. Turkdean remained on the circuit plan until 1894.⁵⁸

EDUCATION. In 1592 a parishioner was teaching without a licence.⁵⁹ A day school established after 1825⁶⁰ taught 15 children at their parents' expense in 1833.⁶¹ It had closed by the later 1840s when separate Sunday schools, supported voluntarily, taught 20 boys and 21 girls in the church.⁶² A mixed day school opened in 1850 taught in a room provided by the vicar Frederick Biscoe until a proper schoolroom was built for it in 1851.⁶³ Run as a National school by 1856,⁶⁴ it was re-established in 1874 in a new schoolroom near the church. The new school taught junior boys and girls and infants and it was supported by voluntary contributions and pence with a promise by local farmers to meet

any deficit in income.⁶⁵ The average attendance was 30 in 1889⁶⁶ and it had fallen to 18 by 1910.⁶⁷ In 1916 the school was closed for the remainder of the First World War, during which the pupils attended Hampnett school, and in 1919 it reopened with 21 pupils.⁶⁸ The average attendance was 19 in 1922 and 16 in 1938.⁶⁹ The school closed in 1950 and the children were transferred to Northleach school.⁷⁰ Later some Turkdean children attended Cold Aston school.⁷¹ After its closure the Turkdean schoolroom may have been used as an agricultural store⁷² before the building was enlarged and converted as a house.

CHARITY FOR THE POOR. Edmund Waller (d. 1810) by will left the income of £5,000 stock in reversion to provide bread, clothing, and blankets twice a year for the poor of Upper Turkdean, Farmington, and Beaconsfield (Bucks.). By 1835, when the bequest became operative, the principal had been reduced by the costs of litigation to £3,692 stock,⁷³ and in 1870 Upper Turkdean's share of the income was £36.⁷⁴ In 1887 the charity was divided into three and separate trustees were appointed for Upper Turkdean and for the other two parts.⁷⁵ Upper Turkdean's income, *c.* £30, was distributed in cash payments of £1 a head in the mid 20th century and in clothing and coal to up to half a dozen people in the late 1960s, when the charity occasionally benefited parishioners living outside Upper Turkdean. In 1970 a Scheme extended the charity's area to the entire parish and permitted cash payments and the provision of goods and services,⁷⁶ and in 1999 the charity was dispensed at Christmas in vouchers used mostly for fuel.⁷⁷

WHITTINGTON

WHITTINGTON is a small rural parish on the edge of the Cotswolds 7 km. ESE. of Cheltenham. The ancient parish, which comprised 1,479 a.,⁷⁸ was a thin and elongated band of land extending eastwards from the top of the Cotswold scarp. It was bounded by old tracks and ways on the west and on parts of the south,

including the Gloucester–Stow road in the south-east. In 1956 an area on the boundary in the south-east was included in the new civil parish of Andoversford, and Whittington was left with 1,434 a.⁷⁹ (580 ha.). The following account deals with the ancient parish apart from buildings in the south-east belonging to

⁵² *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 541.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁵⁴ Cf. *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. cclxxix.

⁵⁵ Hockaday Abs. cclxxx.

⁵⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁵⁷ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/17/30.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052; Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, f. 668.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2052.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 315; *G.D.R.* vol. 383, no. cclxxix.

⁶¹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 330.

⁶² *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846–7, *Glos.* 16–17; cf. Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 632–633v.

⁶³ Christ Church, MS. Estates 31, ff. 635 and v., 667v.

⁶⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856), 379.

⁶⁵ *P.R.O.*, ED 7/37, Turkdean Nat. sch.; O.S. Map 6",

Glos. XXXVI. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁶⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1889), 927.

⁶⁷ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1911 (H.M.S.O.), 168.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, S 341/3, pp. 119–20; S 159/1, pp. 194–234.

⁶⁹ *Bd. of Educ., List 21*, 1922, 108; 1938, 130.

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, S 341/4, p. 12.

⁷¹ Above, Cold Aston, educ.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/4, p. 254.

⁷³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 6148/3/4; cf. *V.C.H. Bucks.* iii. 164.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 663.

⁷⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/62.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 5/159.

⁷⁷ Inf. from Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mustoe, of Turkdean.

⁷⁸ *O.S. Area Bk.* (1885). This account was written in 1998.

⁷⁹ *Census*, 1961.

Andoversford hamlet which is included in the history of Dowdeswell given above.

Much of Whittington is on sloping ground rising in places to over 260 m. in the north and to 272 m. in the west at the top of the scarp. The eastern end of the parish is crossed by the river Coln which emerges at Syreford from a narrow valley to flow southwards across more open land at c. 168 m. towards Andoversford. The Whittington brook rising at Puckham, in Sevenhampton, has carved a valley in the west of Whittington, where it has several short tributaries, and continues on its south-eastwards course over flatter land to Andoversford; in its upper part it may have been the stream known as the 'honey bourne' in the early 11th century.⁸⁰ The western end of the parish drains off the Cotswold scarp towards the river Chelt. The flatter parts of the parish lie on the Upper Lias clay or, to the north and west, the overlying Midford Sand, on which Whittington village is built. The hills are formed by an outcrop of the Inferior Oolite⁸¹ and in places, notably in the north-west at Dodwell (in 1625 Davenport's) hill,⁸² they have been extensively quarried and mined for stone. Gravel has also been extracted in Whittington, from the lower ground near the river Coln.

Although an area at Whalley had been cleared by the early 11th century,⁸³ much of the western end of Whittington was probably woodland in 1086, when Whittington manor included a wood measuring a league by ½ league.⁸⁴ In the 13th and 14th centuries woodland on the manor was subject to common rights.⁸⁵ The largest area of ancient woodland in the parish in 1840 was high up in the west and comprised Whittington wood (68 a.) and, on its north, Arle grove (14 a.).⁸⁶ Small plantations of firs on hilltops on the north side of Whittington had been established by the 1770s.⁸⁷ In 1824 Sandywell park in Dowdeswell was extended northwards to the line of a new road being constructed in the south of Whittington;⁸⁸ plantations were created along the northern perimeter of the enlarged park and on spoil heaps thrown up during the road's construction. The total area of woodland in the parish, 87 a. in 1840,⁸⁹ was reduced considerably when Whittington wood, part of the Lawrence

family's Sandywell estate, was grubbed up in the early 1860s and the land brought into agricultural use⁹⁰ as Wood farm.⁹¹ Arle grove, which W. L. Lawrence acquired in 1864,⁹² was left as woodland.⁹³ In 1905 the area of woods and plantations in Whittington was given as 37 a.⁹⁴ and in 1986 the area of woodland returned for the parish was 54 a. (22 ha.).⁹⁵

Eleven tenants were recorded in Whittington in 1086.⁹⁶ Thirteen people were assessed for the subsidy in 1327⁹⁷ and over thirty-four inhabitants were assessed for the poll tax in 1381.⁹⁸ In 1551 the parish was said to have c. 53 communicants⁹⁹ and in 1563 the number of households was put at 13.¹ The number of communicants recorded in 1603 was 36² and in 1650 there were said to be 17 families.³ The total population, reckoned c. 1710 to be 126,⁴ was 194 in 1801 and rose to 274 in 1831. After that it fell to 183 in 1871 and, despite an increase in the 1870s, to 179 in 1891. It then rose to 200 in 1911 but was smaller than that in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1951 the use of a military camp in Whittington as a temporary housing estate boosted the population to 265 and in 1961 the population was only 157; part of the decrease was explained by the loss in 1956 of perhaps up to a quarter of the permanent population to the new civil parish of Andoversford. Whittington's population was even smaller in the late 20th century and the number of residents in 1991 was 126.⁵

Ancient routes in the western part of Whittington may have included the 'port street' mentioned in the early 11th century,⁶ and the parish's western boundary followed an old road from Winchcombe along the top of the Cotswold scarp east of Cheltenham.⁷ Of the ways up the scarp in Charlton Kings⁸ one skirted the top of Ham hill by way of Colgate and in the west of Whittington its irregular course, marking the parish's south boundary, perhaps followed the green way recorded in the early 11th century.⁹ The road was diverted to run straight over the hill in the late 18th or early 19th century.¹⁰ The place known as 'shaw end', where the Whittington tithingman kept watch in 1394,¹¹ was evidently a junction on that route south-west of Whittington village; later a coppice at the junction was called Shaw (or Share)

⁸⁰ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 417-18; H. P. R. Finberg, 'Roman and Saxon Withington', *Lucerna* (1964), 23-4 n.

⁸¹ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn.).

⁸² G.D.R., V 5/338t 2.

⁸³ *Cart. Sax.* i, pp. 417-18; *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i, 185.

⁸⁴ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 167v.

⁸⁵ P.R.O., CP 25/173/11, no. 198; *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359-1413, 13-14.

⁸⁶ G.D.R., T 1/197.

⁸⁷ Rudder, *Glos.* 815.

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SRh 1824 B/4; *Diary of a Cotswold Parson*, ed. D. Verey (1978), 37.

⁸⁹ G.D.R., T 1/197.

⁹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840-76; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* [2nd ser.], iii, 129.

⁹¹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SW. (1884 edn.).

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., award of Inclosure Com. 1864.

⁹³ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. NW. (1884 edn.), mistakenly names it Whittington wood; cf. *ibid.* (1903 edn.).

⁹⁴ Acreage Returns, 1905.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/6005/14/188.

⁹⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 167v.

⁹⁷ *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11.

⁹⁸ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i, 287, 313.

⁹⁹ *E.H.R.* xix, 104.

¹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 21.

² *Eccl. Misc.* 78.

³ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii, 92.

⁴ Atkyns, *Glos.* 815.

⁵ *Census*, 1801-1991.

⁶ *Cart. Sax.* i, p. 418. Finberg, in *Lucerna*, 23-4 n., places the port street at the east end of Whittington.

⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 254a/SD 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* D 6798/2.

⁹ *Cart. Sax.* i, p. 417. Finberg, in *Lucerna*, 23-4 n., suggests that the road along the top of the scarp was the green way.

¹⁰ Whittington Ct. MSS. (in possession of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Stringer), Sandywell estates maps 1816, p. 7; cf. Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

¹¹ *Ciren. Cart.* iii, p. 634.

grove.¹² The road running south from the junction towards Kilkenny, near Upper Dowdeswell, was known as a salt way in the early 17th century.¹³

The route up Ham hill was also part of a road to Whittington village which, near Whalley Farm, joined a road that once climbed the scarp up Northfield hill.¹⁴ Further north a road climbing Northfield hill by the house called the Hewletts once descended south-eastwards by way of Puckham Farm in Sevenhampton and at the west end of Whittington village it joined the road from the west by way of Ham hill. Both roads were described as highways in the early 17th century.¹⁵ From the junction the road continued on an easterly course through the village and the hamlet of Syreford, where it crossed the river Coln, and it provided a way to Northleach joining the Gloucester–Oxford road near Puesdown Ash, in Compton Abdale.¹⁶ Among abandoned ancient tracks and paths in Whittington is one leading south-eastwards from the village towards Andoversford.¹⁷

From 1756 the road through the village was part of a turnpike linking Cheltenham with the Gloucester–Oxford road near Puesdown Ash. In the west of Whittington the turnpike took an indirect route: having climbed Northfield hill by the road past the Hewletts, it turned southwards along the old road which formed part of the Whittington parish boundary and then south-eastwards to the junction near Whalley Farm.¹⁸ In 1786 it was replaced by a new turnpike up the Chelt valley through Charlton Kings and Dowdeswell, and in 1825 a new line of road was opened from that road below Dowdeswell village up to Whittington. The new road of 1825 passed close to the parish church, some way south of the village, before turning south-eastwards along the boundary with Dowdeswell for Andoversford.¹⁹ During its construction several roads west of the village were closed, and a straight road built northwards from the new road and east of the church was completed as far as the village green by W. L. Lawrence, the lord of the manor.²⁰ In 1998 there was little trace of the closed roads and much of the route along the scarp was a footpath only.

In 1793 the road east of Syreford was closed and a new road built leading south-eastwards from the hamlet to the Gloucester–Oxford road

by way of Shipton Oliffe village.²¹ The following year a road running south-eastwards over the hills to Syreford from Gotherington, in Bishop's Cleeve, and the new road were turnpiked as far as the junction with the Gloucester–Stow road.²² The road over the hills was described in 1818 as a way from Winchcombe²³ but by the later 19th century its southern end was primarily a way from Cleeve common, in Bishop's Cleeve,²⁴ and in the late 20th century a road further east, in the Coln valley, was the road from Winchcombe to Syreford. East of the river Coln a route from the north-east was designated a road from Chipping Campden in the early 19th century;²⁵ the section north-east of Syreford had become a track by the late 19th century.²⁶ The Gloucester–Stow road marking Whittington's southern boundary east of Andoversford was a turnpike between 1755 and 1871.²⁷

The Banbury and Cheltenham railway, opened through Whittington in 1881,²⁸ crossed the east part of the parish on an embankment and ran through Sandywell park, near the south boundary, in a cutting and tunnel.²⁹ The line, which in the south of Whittington ran close to workings begun in 1865 for the East Gloucestershire Railway company but never finished,³⁰ closed in 1962.³¹ Its route and some of the older workings were visible in 1998.

Roman and earlier remains have been found at several places in Whittington including Syreford,³² where the river Coln is fed by copious springs.³³ By the early 18th century ploughing in a field called Wycomb (formerly Wickham) on the east side of the river Coln had revealed evidence of a settlement, which excavations first conducted in 1863 by the landowner, W. L. Lawrence, have identified as a Roman town overlying earlier occupation and extending from Syreford in the north to Andoversford in the south. Remains discovered in the gravel pits at Syreford include a Roman burial.³⁴

Whittington village, in the centre of the parish, shelters below the hills to the north and spreads along the old Cheltenham–Oxford road with a small green at its centre.³⁵ The medieval parish church stands some distance to the south within a moated inclosure, west of the Whittington brook,³⁶ which also contains, right up against and dwarfing the church, the

¹² Glos. R.O., Q/SRh 1824 D/2, 1825 A/4.

¹³ Corpus Christi Coll., Oxf., Archives, Fb 14/17, f. iv.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., D 6798/2.

¹⁵ G.D.R., V 5/338t 2.

¹⁶ Cf. Glos. R.O., D 1930; above, Shipton, intro.

¹⁷ Below, this section.

¹⁸ Tewkesbury and Chelt. Roads Act, 29 Geo. II, c. 51; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); Glos. R.O., Q/SRh 1824 D/2.

¹⁹ Above, Dowdeswell, intro.; Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824); *Griffith's New Hist. Description of Chelt. and Vicinity* (1826), 99.

²⁰ Glos. R.O., Q/SRh 1824 D/2, 1825 A/4; Whittington Ct. MSS., box 16, plan of Whittington 1825.

²¹ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

²² Glos. and Worcs. Roads Act, 34 Geo. III, c. 135.

²³ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); Glos. R.O., Q/RI 123.

²⁴ O.S. Maps 6", Glos. XXVII. SW. (1883 edn.); NW. (1884 edn.).

²⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 123.

²⁶ O.S. Maps 6", Glos. XXVII. NE., SE. (1883 edn.).

²⁷ Glos. and Warws. Roads Act, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

²⁸ E. T. MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.*, revised C. R. Clinker (1964), ii. 315.

²⁹ O.S. Maps 6", Glos. XXVII. SE., SW. (1883 edn.); above, Dowdeswell, intro.

³⁰ Glos. R.O., Q/RUM 408; MacDermot, *Hist. G.W.R.* ii. 13–15.

³¹ Glos. R.O., D 2871/2/26.

³² R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i, pp. 124–8.

³³ O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE. (1903 edn.); Glos. R.O., D 4084/22/8.

³⁴ J. Timby, *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Glos.* (Cotswold Arch. Trust Ltd., Cirencester, 1998), 295–351; *Gent. Mag.* N.S. xv. 627; xvi. 86–8; xvii. 85–7.

³⁵ For settlement in Whittington, above, Fig. 13.

³⁶ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xlvi. 68; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SW. (1883 edn.).

16th-century manor house, Whittington Court. Earthworks east of the brook lie partly over the remains of a Roman villa³⁷ and represent a street running south-eastwards towards Andoversford, perhaps from the green, and containing more than ten dwellings, one of which was much more substantial than the others.³⁸ The abandonment of those dwellings, possibly before the 13th century,³⁹ indicates either that the village has shrunk or that part of it has shifted northwards.

At the east end of the surviving village one-bayed cottages, most of one storey with a gabled attic, line the street east of the green and south of a ground known as Burgage in 1742.⁴⁰ The earliest surviving cottages, with segment-headed doorways and two- and three-light mullioned windows under hoodmoulds, date apparently from the early 17th century and they were added to in the 18th century to form rows or pairs.⁴¹ One cottage has a sundial dated 1757 on its front and another has a reset datestone inscribed 1587 above the doorway. South of the street the end cottage of one row may originally have been an agricultural store; a mid 18th-century barn stands near the green on the corner of the road of c. 1825 linking the village with the Cheltenham–Oxford road. A few larger, mainly detached houses were built in the village in the 18th century and the early 19th. One, on the north side of the street opposite the green, was the village school and a public meeting place for many years from 1830. Further west a farmhouse has a main block dating from the late 18th century but its back wing incorporates walls of an earlier building and its outbuildings also include older ranges. In 1883 a schoolroom was built opposite the green, and in 1902 the rector built a pair of cottages next to it.⁴² In the late 19th century the east end of the village also included a pound⁴³ and a drinking fountain designed, in a Gothic style, presumably by F. S. Waller in the mid 1860s.⁴⁴

The west end of the village comprises a separate group of houses clustering around the junction of the old Cheltenham road with a lane that was once part of the road from Winchcombe by way of Puckham Farm. The largest house (the Old Rectory), standing between the roads and facing their junction, was formerly the parson-

age⁴⁵ and one cottage near by apparently also has an early core. Normans Meese, a house recorded in 1674⁴⁶ and converted as three cottages by 1776,⁴⁷ was demolished c. 1873⁴⁸ and was replaced in the early 20th century by a pair of new cottages further back from the street.⁴⁹ On the lane to the north-west Puckridge is an 18th-century house with a later wing; occupied as a house and a cottage in 1840,⁵⁰ it had been adapted as a single dwelling by 1931.⁵¹ In the early 1920s a farmhouse was built to the north-west⁵² with stone quarried on the site,⁵³ formerly part of the rector's glebe.⁵⁴ A few outlying houses to the west were farm cottages in the mid 19th century.⁵⁵

Northleach rural district council completed two pairs of houses at the east end of the village in 1950⁵⁶ and used a military camp, established south-west of Whittington Court during the Second World War, as a housing estate in the later 1940s and the 1950s. The huts, which numbered c. 24, were later pulled down.⁵⁷ In the later 20th century few houses and bungalows were built in the village, most of them at the west end, and in 1998, when a programme of repairing the older cottages at the east end was under way, several dwellings were unoccupied.

Syreford, in the east of the parish, takes its name from a crossing of the river Coln. The hamlet, which had been settled by the early 13th century,⁵⁸ is small and dispersed and the oldest surviving buildings stand on the river's western bank at the site of an ancient mill.⁵⁹ There was an alehouse at Syreford in 1607,⁶⁰ and a cottage east of the river beside the old Northleach road⁶¹ was the New Inn in 1782.⁶² The inn, which was rebuilt on a larger scale in the late 18th century or the early 19th, remained open until after 1854⁶³ but had closed by 1864 when the building was a farmhouse.⁶⁴ In the later 20th century a cottage at its rear was enlarged to serve as the farmhouse, and following the sale of the farm in the mid 1980s both houses were private residences.⁶⁵ In the mid 18th century a cottage or small farmhouse stood some way to the south-east and there were at least two cottages further north above the river's eastern bank.⁶⁶ In the mid 19th century the cottages above the bank accommodated six dwellings⁶⁷ and in 1900 they

³⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxi. 13–87; *R.C.H.M. Glos.* i, pp. 126–8.

³⁸ Above, Plate 41; *Glos. Sites & Monuments Rec.* (*Glos. co. arch. service*), no. 52. The site was examined with Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ.

³⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxi. 24.

⁴⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 73, deed 14 Sept. 1742.

⁴¹ Above, Plate 21; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 73, deed 29 Sept. 1743.

⁴² Dates on bldgs.; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 304.

⁴³ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/182.

⁴⁵ *G.D.R.*, V 5/338t 1.

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/I/26.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* D 444/T 22; *G.D.R.*, T 1/197.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., Whittington map 1864; O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁴⁹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SW.* (1903, 1923 edns.).

⁵⁰ *G.D.R.*, T 1/197.

⁵¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1931), 366.

⁵² O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SW.* (1923 edn.); *Glos.*

R.O., D 4858/2/3/1925/9.

⁵³ Inf. from Mr. K. Brassington, chairman of Whittington par. meeting.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, G/NO 160/26.

⁵⁵ *G.D.R.*, T 1/197.

⁵⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/8, p. 188.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 100/6, p. 445; 9, pp. 913–14; inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁵⁸ *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, pp. 44–5.

⁵⁹ Below, econ. hist.

⁶⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1.

⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.* D 1930.

⁶² *Ibid.* Q/RSF 2.

⁶³ *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969; Whittington Ct. MSS., box 7b, letter 16 Aug. 1854.

⁶⁴ *Gent. Mag.* n.s. xvii. 87.

⁶⁵ Inf. from Mr. S. Webb, of Brockhampton, Sevenhampton; according to Mr. Webb, the farmer until the mid 1980s, the former inn is dated 1646.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930.

⁶⁷ *G.D.R.*, T 1/197.

comprised a pair of later 19th-century cottages (in 1998 a single dwelling) and an older cottage to the south-west.⁶⁸ Both buildings were enlarged in the later 20th century. In the 20th century a few new houses were built elsewhere in Syreford, the first being a wooden bungalow erected high above the west bank of the river before the First World War.⁶⁹

In the west of the parish a farmstead or small hamlet at Whalley in 1236⁷⁰ was evidently depopulated in the later Middle Ages. Whalley Farm, the older of the two principal farmsteads at that end of the parish in 1998, was established in the later 17th century.⁷¹ Wood Farm, further west, was built following the clearance of woodland there in the early 1860s.⁷² After 1920 the land south-east of Whalley Farm was filled with extensive cow pens and additional farm buildings⁷³ and in 1939 a pair of farm cottages was built on the road to the village.⁷⁴ East of the cottages stand a bungalow and a larger detached house called Whittington House, built in the 1930s.⁷⁵ The southern edge of the parish included 19th-century entrances to Sandywell park after the park was extended in 1824 to the line of the new Cheltenham–Oxford road.⁷⁶

An inn with a sign was recorded in Whittington from 1559⁷⁷ and it may have been in the house called the Bell in 1688.⁷⁸ In 1755 there were two inns in the parish,⁷⁹ one possibly the Syreford inn, mentioned above. According to local tradition quarrymen patronized a public house in the village at Puckridge in the early 19th century.⁸⁰ A friendly society met at the Syreford inn in 1782.⁸¹ A society meeting there by 1794⁸² had 100 members in 1803.⁸³ A parish library was established in 1868, and the village schoolroom was used also as a reading room from 1879. The room remained a meeting place for many years⁸⁴ but a second schoolroom built in 1883 was the village hall in 1998.

From the 15th century the owners of Whittington manor were non-resident for long periods but from the mid 18th century and until the early 20th their principal seat was just outside the parish at Sandywell Park, a short distance from Whittington church; in the mid 19th century the owners, then the Lawrence family,

lived on their nearby Sevenhampton estate.⁸⁵ Under the Lawrences the west end of Whittington village obtained a piped water supply in 1877.⁸⁶ The Lawrences' influence in Whittington was greatest in the late 19th century and the early 20th when, in the person of A. C. Lawrence, they also had the rectory there.⁸⁷

MANOR AND OTHER ESTATES. Osgot held an estate of 3 hides in Whittington in 1066 and William Leuric held it in 1086.⁸⁸ Some of William Leuric's estates in the county descended before 1166 to Robert de Croupes (Scroupes), and Richard de Croupes, who had succeeded Robert by 1190, held an estate in Whittington from the Crown for a knight's fee. In 1204, following Richard's death, his son Henry obtained seisin of his lands but in 1205 Richard's widow Maud quitclaimed the service of the knight's fee to Richard's mortgagee, Thomas de Rochford.⁸⁹ In 1216 the estate was restored to Henry perhaps after it had been confiscated⁹⁰ and in 1230 he was succeeded by his son Richard de Croupes.⁹¹ Known by the mid 13th century as the manor of *WHITTINGTON*,⁹² the estate passed from Richard (d. c. 1278) to his son Richard⁹³ (fl. 1310). The latter was succeeded by his illegitimate son Richard de Croupes,⁹⁴ who at his death in 1336 was said to hold the manor by the serjeanty of providing the service of two armed men for forty days in war. Custody of his lands during the minority of his son and heir Edmund⁹⁵ was granted to John of Ravensholm,⁹⁶ who was assessed on the knight's fee in 1346.⁹⁷ Edmund Croupes or de Croupes died seised of the manor in 1361 and his sister Alice, wife of Thomas Baskerville, was his heir.⁹⁸ Alice later married in turn Edmund Hakelyt and, by 1367, William Barndhurst⁹⁹ (fl. 1400)¹ and she was assessed for the knight's fee in 1402.²

As a result of sales of the reversion, at Alice Barndhurst's death in 1404 two thirds of the manor passed to Elizabeth, the widow of Edward le Despenser, and the other third to Elizabeth's grandson Richard le Despenser, a minor.³ Elizabeth died in 1409,⁴ and in 1414, after Richard's death, Whittington, as one of

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388/SL 8, no. 81.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* G/NO 159/24/1, p. 2; *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXVII. SE.* (1903, 1923 edns.).

⁷⁰ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/1/73/11, no. 198.

⁷¹ *Below*, manor.

⁷² *Above*, this section; *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXVII. SW.* (1883 edn.).

⁷³ Cf. *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXVII. SW.* (1923 edn.).

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, p. 52.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* DA 31/100/5, p. 244; D 4858/2/3/1946/3.

⁷⁶ *Above*, Dowdeswell, manors (Sandywell).

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496, 502.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* D 269a/T 6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* Q/AV 2, rot. 3.

⁸⁰ Inf. from Mr. R. G. Brown, of Whittington.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/Rsf 2.

⁸² *P.R.O.*, FS 2/3, *Glos.* no. 61.

⁸³ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 4/4.

⁸⁵ *Below*, manor; cf. *above*, Dowdeswell, manors; Sevenhampton, manors.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 4/3.

⁸⁷ *Below*, church.

⁸⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 167v.

⁸⁹ C. T. Clay, 'Fam. of Scrupes or Crupes of Whittington', *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxx. 129–40; *Cur. Reg. R.* iv. 8–9.

⁹⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xii. 261–2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* lxx. 133.

⁹² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 473.

⁹³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 50.

⁹⁴ *P.R.O.*, C 143/80, no. 13; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xviii, p. 346.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* viii, p. 10.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1334–8, 345, 485.

⁹⁷ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 278.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi, p. 38.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* xviii, p. 347; *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Whittlesey, f. 14v.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1399–1401, 419.

² *Feud. Aids*, ii. 199.

³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xviii, pp. 346–7; *Cal. Close*, 1402–5, 390–1; *Cal. Fine R.* 1405–13, 5.

⁴ *Complete Peerage*, iv. 277–8.

several manors said to have been forfeited to the Crown by his father Thomas le Despenser (d. 1400), earl of Gloucester, was granted for life to Richard's guardian Edward, duke of York.⁵ At the duke's death in 1415 the manor reverted to Richard Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny, and his wife Isabel, sister and heir of Richard le Despenser. Richard Beauchamp, created earl of Worcester in 1421, died in 1422 and Isabel, whose second husband was Richard Beauchamp (d. 1439), earl of Warwick,⁶ made a settlement of the manor shortly before her own death later in 1439. Her son and heir Henry Beauchamp, earl of Warwick,⁷ was created duke of Warwick in 1445⁸ and at his death the following year the manor passed to his daughter Anne,⁹ a minor who died in 1449. Henry's sister and eventual sole heir Anne, whose husband Richard Neville (d. 1471) became earl of Warwick in her right, was deprived of her estates by Act of 1474. Part of them was awarded to her son-in-law George, duke of Clarence,¹⁰ who following his attainder in 1478 was said to have held Whittington in the right of his wife Isabel (d. 1476).¹¹ In 1487 Anne Neville was restored to her estates but she granted most of them, including Whittington, back to the Crown.¹²

The Crown, which in 1489 granted Whittington to Anne Neville for life,¹³ retained the manor after her death in 1492.¹⁴ George Cotton held a lease of the manor in 1518¹⁵ and his widow Anne conveyed it to their son and heir Richard in 1520.¹⁶ The Crown had the estate in hand in 1522¹⁷ and leased most of it to Richard in 1531.¹⁸ In 1544 it sold the manor to trustees for Sir Thomas Seymour¹⁹ and a few days later they sold it to Richard and his wife Margaret.²⁰ Richard died in 1555 and Margaret in 1559 and the manor passed to their son John Cotton.²¹ John (d. 1600) was succeeded in turn by his sons Richard²² (d. 1607), William²³ (d. 1612), and Ralph²⁴ (d. 1627). Ralph's heirs were Anne and Appolina Cotton, the infant daughters of his son Don²⁵ (d. 1624).²⁶ At a later division of Ralph's estates Whittington was allotted to

Appolina²⁷ and she survived her husband, Sir Alexander Hall, to die in 1642 leaving an infant son Alexander as her heir. He presumably died without issue, for the manor passed to his aunt Anne and her husband, the poet John Denham of Egham (Surr.);²⁸ in 1652 its sequestration on account of Denham's delinquency was lifted.²⁹ Following the Restoration Denham became surveyor-general of the king's works and was knighted and in 1667, after Anne's death,³⁰ he gave the manor to his daughter Elizabeth.³¹ She married Thomas Arden Price of Park Hall, in Castle Bromwich (Warws.), in 1675 and he, who succeeded to a baronetcy in 1678, died c. 1689. At Elizabeth's death c. 1702³² the manor passed to her nieces Mary and Cecily Morley, the daughters of Sir William Morley (d. 1701) of Halnaker, in Boxgrove (Suss.). In 1705 Mary, the sole owner since Cecily's death, married James Stanley, earl of Derby, and in 1714 they sold the manor to Francis Seymour-Conway, Lord Conway.³³

Lord Conway added the manor to his adjoining Sandywell estate, with which Whittington descended for the next 200 years³⁴ and to which Syreford farm was added in 1900.³⁵ Katharine Evans-Lawrence retained Whittington at her sale of Sandywell in 1920³⁶ and, having sold parts of her Whittington estate,³⁷ was succeeded at her death in 1954 by her daughter Stephanie Evans-Lawrence³⁸ (d. 1985), who left a reduced estate, including the manor house and much of the village, to a friend Joan Charleston, wife of Robert Charleston. The Charltons both died in 1994 and the estate, comprising c. 275 ha. (680 a.), passed to their daughter Jennifer, wife of Mr. J. L. Stringer.³⁹

Whittington Court, standing by the church south of the village and presumably on or near the site of the 14th-century manor house of the de Croupes family,⁴⁰ dates from the 16th century and 17th century. It is a house of two and a half storeys, faced in ashlar, with large mullioned and transomed windows. Its plan is two thirds of an **H**; the west end, of unknown form, had been

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1413-16, 192-3; P.R.O., SC 6/1112/22; *Complete Peerage*, iv, 280.

⁶ P.R.O., C 138/14, no. 45; *Complete Peerage*, i, 26-7; xii (2), 842.

⁷ P.R.O., C 139/96, no. 3.

⁸ *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 383.

⁹ P.R.O., C 139/123, no. 43.

¹⁰ *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 384-5, 392-3.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, 260-1; P.R.O., C 140/68, no. 47.

¹² *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 393; *Cal. Close*, 1485-1500, p. 90.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1485-94, 298.

¹⁴ *Complete Peerage*, xii (2), 393; *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1502, 62.

¹⁵ Hockaday Abs. cclxix, 1519.

¹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2957/338.2.

¹⁷ *Military Surv. of Glos.* 1522, 122.

¹⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* xix (2), pp. 178-9.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 195; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 81.

²¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1; P.R.O., C 142/105, no. 73.

²² P.R.O., C 142/265, no. 65; PROB 11/96 (P.C.C. 71 Wallop), f. 266.

²³ *Ibid.* C 142/297, no. 162.

²⁴ *Ibid.* C 142/336, no. 40.

²⁵ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, i, 54-6.

²⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1.

²⁷ *Ibid.* D 444/T 83.

²⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1625-42, iii, 68-70.

²⁹ *Cal. Cttee. for Compounding*, iii, pp. 1790-2.

³⁰ *D.N.B.*; Colvin, *Biog. Dict. Brit. Architects*, 258.

³¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 81; B.L. Eg. Chart. 844.

³² *G.E.C. Baronetage*, iii, 18-19; cf. *V.C.H. Warws.* iv, 45.

³³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 87; *V.C.H. Suss.* iv, 143; *Complete Peerage*, iv, 216.

³⁴ Above, Dowdeswell, manors (Sandywell); *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 17; D 182/III/162; Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i, 291.

³⁵ Below, this section.

³⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 4084/14/7; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1919 and later edns.); above, Dowdeswell, manors (Sandywell).

³⁷ Below, this section; inf. from Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Stringer, of Whittington Ct.

³⁸ *Kelly's Handbook to Titled, Landed and Official Classes* (1958), 758.

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/6; inf. from Mr. and Mrs. Stringer.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Glos. Subsidy Roll*, 1327, 11; *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i, 287.

demolished by 1816;⁴¹ the east wing has bay windows at its north and south ends. There is a square staircase projection in the south angle between hall and wing. Later alterations include the gabled attic storey over the hall range and a hipped roof over the east wing. Elizabeth I and her retinue dined at Whittington Court in 1592⁴² and the will of John Cotton, whose main residence was at Horsenden (Bucks.), suggests that in 1599 the Whittington manor house, then the home of John's youngest son Ralph, was at least of two and a half or three storeys with a two-storeyed hall range; the rooms also included a parlour with a dining chamber over it and another chamber over that, a ground-floor chapel chamber with a room over it, and a new kitchen with chambers on the two floors above it.⁴³

The core of the three-bayed hall range of Whittington Court was probably built in the third quarter of the 16th century. The range has a four-centred chimneypiece towards the east end, an original cross-passage doorway on the south, and another four-centred doorway to the east chamber wing. The hall was refaced and the east wing was rebuilt, apparently between c. 1600 and c. 1630, on a larger plan taking it to within a metre or so of the church's west front. Disturbed masonry on the north front⁴⁴ may indicate the site of a porch rising two storeys. High-quality stone chimneypieces in the north parlour and on the first floor have refined detail in the style popularized by Sebastiano Serlio and are presumably contemporary with the early 17th-century remodelling, as presumably are the stone arches leading from the staircase projection on both main floors. A matching arch opens from the hall into the present west service end. The staircase projection, on which a graffito dated 1637 has been scratched,⁴⁵ rises three storeys. The staircase itself, which has thick symmetrical balusters and a dog-gate made of splats and once had onion finials and pendants on the newels,⁴⁶ seems to date from the 1620s or 1630s. Also apparently of that date is the attic storey of the hall range which has, on its north front, three steep, slightly asymmetrical gables with onion finials and pedimented windows. The arrangement of the first-floor rooms of the east wing seems to be of the mid or late 17th century.

Whittington Court, for which Elizabeth Denham was assessed for tax on six hearths in 1672,⁴⁷ had become a farmhouse by the 1740s.⁴⁸ The east wing was given its hipped roof and the

service wing demolished probably during the 18th century; a rainwater head bearing the date 1763 and the initials of Thomas Tracy has been fixed at the west end of the south front. An L-plan west service wing was added after 1816,⁴⁹ and by 1862 the hall had been subdivided to form an east entrance hall, with a north doorway cut through a window, and a kitchen, with a new west chimney stack. When the stack was constructed, or afterwards, a 16th-century chimneypiece was set against it at attic level. In 1862 and 1863, during an extensive restoration by the occupant, the architect F. S. Waller, the south front was made the main front of the house,⁵⁰ the kitchen was divided to form a south entrance hall and a north kitchen, and the staircase was partly reconstructed with a pantry beneath it. On the ground floor of the east wing partitions were changed and a blind north-east window was uncovered or created. The service wing was extended,⁵¹ and the oriel window above the south entrance was probably inserted at that date. Following the alterations the house remained a farmhouse for several years⁵² but in the late 19th century it was let as a private residence.⁵³ In the 1920s, in work designed by the firm of Healing & Overbury, the 16th-century hall was reinstated as a single room with a new west chimneypiece and the service wing was rebuilt as a one-and-a-half-storeyed block.⁵⁴ Also in the 1920s fittings and furniture from Sandywell Park were installed in the house; some of them, including panelling and two carved overmantels, had formerly been in Sevenhampton Manor.⁵⁵ A small south loggia was added in 1936.⁵⁶

The barn and stable range respectively north-west and west of the house date from the early 17th century. The barn⁵⁷ is of eight bays and its entrance has a four-centred arch; inside, a beam over the entrance is carved 'RC 1614 WM'. The roof has the original braced double-collar trusses only at the east end. In 1805 there was also a five-bayed barn among the outbuildings.⁵⁸ The stable range has eight bays and two storeys with four-centred doorways and two-light windows on both floors. The roof was altered and a second upper entrance added in the mid 19th century as part of additions to the farm buildings, which also included a range beyond the kitchen garden north-east of the house.⁵⁹

In the early 11th century the Withington estate of the bishop of Worcester included land at *WHALLEY*, in the west of Whittington, as

⁴¹ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, p. 5. For the Cottons' house, *Archit. Hist.*, xlv (forthcoming, 2001).

⁴² *Glos. N.* 380.

⁴³ P.R.O., PROB 11/96 (P.C.C. 71 Wallop), f. 266 and v.; cf. *ibid.* PROB 11/64 (P.C.C. 39 Tirwhite), ff. 301v.-302.

⁴⁴ Cf. plans of the ho. c. 1920 at Whittington Ct.

⁴⁵ On external S. wall.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/180.

⁴⁷ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

⁴⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 182/III/162; D 444/T 73, deed 9 Jan. 1775; Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates surv. 1804, ff. 1-2.

⁴⁹ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, p. 5; R. J. Charleston, 'Whittington Ct., A Short Guide'

(unpublished hist. of ho. c. 1990), 7, gives the date of the addition as between 1845 and 1859.

⁵⁰ For the S. front, above, Plate 5.

⁵¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/169, 180; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1863), 373.

⁵² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 672.

⁵³ *Ibid.* (1879), 783; (1894), 344; (1910), 360.

⁵⁴ Plans of the ho. c. 1920 at Whittington Ct.

⁵⁵ *Glos. Countryside*, April-June 1957, 185; cf. Verey and Brooks, *Glos. i.* 723; Charleston, 'Whittington Ct.', 7.

⁵⁶ Photogs. at Whittington Ct.

⁵⁷ Above, Plate 32.

⁵⁸ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates surv. 1804, ff. 1-2.

⁵⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/169.

well as the adjoining part of Dowdeswell.⁶⁰ At his death in 1497 William Twyniho, lord of Shipton Solers, held a messuage and two ploughlands in Whittington, Sevenhampton, and Dowdeswell from Whittington manor,⁶¹ and in the early 16th century Richard Heydon evidently held the same estate as an escheat to the Crown.⁶² Some land in Whittington descended with Shipton Solers manor⁶³ and in 1673, to perform the will of Robert Heydon (d. 1668), land at Whalley was sold to Thomas Roberts of Cheltenham. In 1684, Thomas having died, his father George sold the land to the Revd. Joseph Walker (d. 1706) of Shipton Solers, whose heir William Walker sold it in 1717 to Lord Conway,⁶⁴ owner of the adjoining Sandywell estate. The land was then incorporated in a farm on the estate and descended to Katharine Evans-Lawrence,⁶⁵ who in 1921 sold the farmstead called Whalley Farm and c. 342 a., mostly in Whittington, to the tenant farmer, J. H. Clifford. He sold his farm in 1937 to J. E. Rowe,⁶⁶ who also bought adjoining farmland at Puckham, in Sevenhampton,⁶⁷ and in 1998 the Rowe family owned c. 202 ha. (c. 500 a.) in the two parishes.⁶⁸ Whalley Farm was established c. 1680⁶⁹ and the two-storeyed farmhouse built at that time had a T plan. A west wing was added in the mid 18th century and a south block in the early 20th century. Two stone outbuildings to the north, one a mid 18th-century barn, were converted in the 1990s for use by small commercial enterprises.

After 1673 the lords of Shipton Solers manor, which passed to the Peachey family,⁷⁰ owned the eastern end of Whittington as well as Arle grove at its western end. In the mid 19th century the estate retained 224 a. in Whittington⁷¹ but in 1864 William Peachey relinquished Arle grove on an exchange of land with W. L. Lawrence, owner of Whittington manor,⁷² and in 1900 John Peachey sold Syreford farm, comprising c. 220 a. in the east of Whittington, to C. W. Lawrence, owner of the manor.⁷³ The farm remained part of the manor estate until 1971 when Stephanie Evans-Lawrence sold it to the owner of Soundborough farm, in the adjoining part of Sevenhampton.⁷⁴

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 two of the six ploughteams recorded on William Leuric's estate at Whittington were on the demesne; the estate had fallen in value to £3 from £5 in 1066.⁷⁵ Although some 12 teams were enumerated in Whittington in 1220,⁷⁶ the manor had only two ploughlands in demesne in 1361 as well as two several pastures, 16 a. of meadow, and woodland subject to common rights.⁷⁷ In 1507 the site of the manor and its demesne were farmed at £5 6s. 8d.⁷⁸ and in 1714 the demesne, then covering 855 a. and including Whittington wood, was in hand.⁷⁹

In 1086 the tenants at Whittington, having four ploughteams between them, were 6 *villani*, 4 *bordars*, and a *radknight*.⁸⁰ In 1361 free tenants on the manor owed rents of assize totalling £5 11s. 3½d.⁸¹ and in 1507 the tenants' assized rents were valued at £9 4s. 8d.⁸² Copyhold tenure was recorded in Whittington in 1625.⁸³ Leasehold tenure for 99 years, usually on three lives, although established on the manor by 1667,⁸⁴ had not fully replaced copyhold by 1714, when the manor had 14 tenants holding c. 253 a. by lease or copy. The largest holdings, 54 a., 34 a., and 30 a. (the last held by the then rector), were without a house, as were several of the smaller holdings. There were also eight cottages, including one held by the rector and two held at will, with no land other than a garden.⁸⁵ In 1674 one of the Whittington tenants of Shipton Solers manor held two cottages for lives by the service of two fowls and four day's harvest work.⁸⁶

Inclosure of Whittington's two open fields had begun by the early 13th century when in granting common rights in Whittington for 300 sheep and 16 cattle to the Knights Templar, landowners in an adjoining part of Dowdeswell, Richard de Croupes and his wife Maud reserved one area or furlong in each field. The lands reserved, Wickham near Syreford in the east and Combe near the parish boundary west of the village,⁸⁷ were the demesne pastures recorded in 1361.⁸⁸ Whalley possibly had a separate system of farming in 1236 when Robert of Whalley, who did not have common rights in woodland belonging to the manor, successfully resisted Richard de Croupes's claim to common rights

⁶⁰ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, pp. 417–18. H. P. R. Finberg, in 'Roman and Saxon Withington', *Lucerna* (1964), 22–4, suggests that the bishop's est. included much more of Whittington. 'Tyreltune', where the church of Worcester acquired land in the later 8th cent., was presumably elsewhere: cf. Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 41, 84–5.

⁶¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 236.

⁶² P.R.O., SC 125/83; cf. *ibid.* SC 6/Hen. VII/245; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 37.

⁶³ P.R.O., C 142/377, no. 100; above, Shipton, manors.

⁶⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 77; for Heydon and Walker, above, Shipton, manors; churches.

⁶⁵ Above, Dowdeswell, manors (Sandywell); *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 72–3; Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/174; D 4084/14/7; cf. *ibid.* DA 31/516/1/4, p. 49; 2/4, p. 39.

⁶⁷ Above, Sevenhampton, manors.

⁶⁸ Inf. from Mr. C. J. Rowe, of Whalley Fm.

⁶⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 77.

⁷⁰ Above, Shipton, manors.

⁷¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 245/1/26; D 2057; P 290a/SD 1/1; G.D.R., T 1/197.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1388, Lawrence fam., award of Inclosure Com. 1864.

⁷³ *Ibid.* D 1388/SL 8, no. 81; D 5845/2/1, p. 183.

⁷⁴ Inf. from the Hon. R. I. H. Wills, of Soundborough; above, Sevenhampton, manors.

⁷⁵ *Dom. Bk. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 167v.

⁷⁶ *Bk. of Fees*, i, 309.

⁷⁷ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359–1413, 13–14.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VII/245.

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 81.

⁸⁰ *Dom. Bk. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 167v.

⁸¹ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359–1413, 13–14.

⁸² P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VII/245.

⁸³ G.D.R., V 5/338t 2.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 73.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* T 81.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* D 245/1/26.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/3, no. 62; cf. G.D.R., T 1/197.

⁸⁸ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359–1413, 13–14.

on his land.⁸⁹ In the late 16th century the west-end of Whittington, including Peatley north-west of Whalley and the hills north-west of the village, was in closes; one was known as Whalley furlong.⁹⁰ The eastern end of the parish was grassland in the late 17th century.⁹¹ Although most land had been inclosed,⁹² there were traces of open-field ridge and furrow north-east of the village in the early 18th century⁹³ and some land was apparently still cultivated on an open-field system in the mid 1770s.⁹⁴ A field west of the village was described as a common in 1836.⁹⁵

Much of the higher land on the north side of the parish was too steep and the soil too thin for arable farming⁹⁶ and, although about half of the rector's income in 1535 came from grain tithes,⁹⁷ in 1584 only three ploughs were said to be kept in the parish.⁹⁸ Several shepherds lived in Whittington in 1381⁹⁹ and sheep farming provided a considerable part of the rector's income in the form of lamb and wool tithes in 1535.¹ On relinquishing a lease of the manor to her son Richard in 1520, Anne Cotton reserved the right to summer 200 ewes in Whittington.² At the division of Ralph Cotton's estates in the early 17th century Appolina Hall acquired a sheep walk at Wontley, in Bishop's Cleeve, as well as Whittington manor.³ In 1714 the demesne farm grew corn and legumes on 142 a. and grass seeds, with sainfoin in two fields, on at least 166 a., but most of its 855 a. was evidently pasture. Among its livestock, a total of 574 sheep, 44 cattle, 41 pigs, and 11 horses, were 16 dairy cows and the farm had cheese-making equipment and a store of old cheeses.⁴

By the mid 18th century much of Whittington was divided between a few farms held on leases for 21 years or shorter terms. Whalley farm, one of two farms tenanted by the Arkell family in the 1740s,⁵ also included land in Charlton Kings and Prestbury.⁶ The other farm tenanted by the Arkells centred on Whittington Court and included much of the rector's glebe;⁷ in 1816 it took in 734 a. of Rebecca Lightbourne's estate in Whittington and Dowdeswell and Whalley farm comprised 529 a. on the same estate.⁸ Court farm was later leased to the Iles family but from 1828 it was held by John Arkell⁹ and in 1840 he

rented over 1,000 a. in the parish.¹⁰ Court farm was later divided between several farmers; in the 1850s Samuel Hitch, who ran an asylum near by at Sandywell Park, held c. 230 a., mostly in Whittington, and from 1862 his son-in-law F. S. Waller, who managed the asylum for several years, farmed c. 450 a. from Whittington Court.¹¹ The eastern end of Whittington was farmed separately from the rest of the parish¹² and was known in the mid 18th century as the East Hill farm or estate;¹³ in the later 19th century it was called Syreford farm¹⁴ and it comprised c. 220 a.¹⁵ Land in the west of Whittington cleared of trees in the early 1860s became a small farm.¹⁶

In 1896 eleven agricultural occupiers were returned for Whittington and the only freeholder among them had one of the smaller farms.¹⁷ The number of agricultural holdings returned in 1926 was 15, which included one tenant farm of over 300 a. and four tenant farms and one freehold farm of over 100 a. Of the others one was described as rough grazing and six had less than 50 a. each. The number of agricultural workers returned as having regular employment in the parish was 47, a sixth of them women.¹⁸ Of the ten holdings returned for Whittington in 1956 two had over 300 a., four over 100 a., and three under 15 a. The agricultural workforce at that time included 35 labourers with regular employment.¹⁹ The pattern of farming in Whittington remained broadly similar in the late 20th century, with much of the Whittington estate being worked by a farmer in partnership with the owner in the 1960s and 1970s,²⁰ but the agricultural workforce shrank and only four labourers were employed regularly on the eight farms returned for the parish in 1986. The two largest farms had over 100 ha. and 50 ha. (c. 250 a. and 125 a.) respectively and of the smaller holdings, all worked by part-time farmers, five had under 20 ha. (c. 50 a.).²¹ In 1998 several farms, some entirely and others partly freehold, had less than 20 ha. (c. 50 a.),²² and the two largest farms at that time, one comprising the bulk of the Whittington estate and the other freehold land at Whalley and Puckham, had c. 202 ha. (c. 500 a.).²³

⁸⁹ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/11, no. 198.

⁹⁰ Ibid. C 142/265, no. 65; G.D.R., V 5/338t 1-2; for the name Peatley, cf. G.D.R., T 1/197; Glos. R.O., D 4084/14/7.

⁹¹ Glos. R.O., D 2057.

⁹² Cf. ibid. D 444/T 81, deed 3 June 1714.

⁹³ Atkyns, *Glos.* plate at pp. 400-1.

⁹⁴ Rudder, *Glos.* 816.

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/RUm 145.

⁹⁶ Cf. Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates surv. 1804, f. 4.

⁹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 443.

⁹⁸ G.D.R., V 5/338t 1.

⁹⁹ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 287, 313.

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 443.

² Glos. R.O., D 2957/338.2.

³ Ibid. D 444/T 81, T 83.

⁴ Ibid. T 62, T 81.

⁵ Ibid. D 182/III/162; D 444/T 72-3; D 478/T 2; for the Arkell fam., also G.D.R. wills 1782/58; 1800/69.

⁶ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 72.

⁷ Ibid. T 73.

⁸ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, pp. 5-8.

⁹ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 71.

¹⁰ G.D.R., T 1/197.

¹¹ Glos. R.O., D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840-76; rentals 1862-76; Whittington leases; D 4183/2/7.

¹² Ibid. D 2057.

¹³ Ibid. D 444/T 73, deed 4 July 1752; cf. ibid. P 290a/SD 1/1.

¹⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 8, no. 81.

¹⁶ Above, intro.; Glos. R.O., D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840-76; rentals 1862-76.

¹⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2.

¹⁸ Ibid. MAF 68/3295/17.

¹⁹ Ibid. MAF 68/4533/188.

²⁰ Inf. from Mr. J. L. Stringer, of Whittington Ct.

²¹ P.R.O., MAF 68/6005/14/188.

²² Inf. from Mr. K. Brassington, of Whittington, and from Mrs. B. Baxter, of Wood Fm.

²³ Inf. from Mr. Stringer and from Mr. C. J. Rowe, of Whalley Fm.

In 1801 wheat, barley, and oats were the principal crops on the 288 a. returned as cropped²⁴ and in 1817 the livestock on Court farm included over 334 ewes and 171 wethers and 45 heifers, 29 dairy cattle, and 14 working oxen.²⁵ More corn was evidently grown in Whittington in 1866 when 893 a. in the parish was returned as under rotated crops, including root crops and grass leys, and 292 a. was recorded as permanent grassland.²⁶ The livestock returned were 1,016 sheep, 149 (mostly beef) cattle, and 76 pigs.²⁷ Whalley farm had over 400 ewes and lambs in 1868.²⁸ In the later 19th century arable farming contracted in Whittington, as it did elsewhere on the Cotswolds, and in 1896 small areas were described as fallow and as heath land and, although fewer animals may have been kept than in 1866, more land was returned as grassland.²⁹

The conversion of arable land to permanent pasture continued in the early 20th century. In 1905 the areas recorded as arable and as permanent grassland were 646 a. and 614 a. respectively³⁰ and in 1926 860 a. was returned as permanent grassland and 126 a. as rough grazing. The animals returned in 1926 included 224 ewes, 284 beef and dairy cattle, and 171 pigs; poultry farming was represented by over 1,500 birds, mostly chickens, and horse breeding by 56 horses not being used in agriculture.³¹ In 1956, when 587 a. was returned as permanent grassland and 232 a. as rough grazing, the livestock included 190 ewes, 559 cattle, 65 pigs, and 20,301 poultry, mostly chickens, and arable farming was represented by 455 a. under cereals.³² In 1986, when 180 ha. (445 a.) was described as grassland and 41 ha. (101 a.) as rough grazing, 175 ha. (432 a.) was under cereals. Pig and poultry farming had largely been abandoned and 88 ewes and 453 cattle were among the livestock returned.³³ In 1998 Whalley farm was used primarily for dairying, as it had been from the 1920s,³⁴ and the bulk of the Whittington estate was devoted to sheep and arable husbandry with some of the grass crop being let to other farmers. Of the smaller farms in Whittington one reared suckler cows³⁵ and another kept horses and ponies at livery as well as sheep.³⁶

A mill pool recorded in the early 11th century

may have been in the north-west of Whittington upstream of the village.³⁷ William Leuric's estate at Whittington included a mill in 1086³⁸ and the de Croupes family had two mills there in 1205.³⁹ At least one of those mills was presumably on the site occupied in 1361 by the manorial mill,⁴⁰ which was on the river Coln downstream of Syreford⁴¹ and was known in the 1520s as Whittington mill⁴² and later as Syreford mill. Having been farmed with a close called Wickham for £2 13s. 4d. in 1507,⁴³ it was included in the estate leased to the Cotton family.⁴⁴ Described as a grist or corn mill from 1535,⁴⁵ it was worked by the Mustoe family in the 17th century⁴⁶ and by John Dix, a local farmer, in the mid 18th century.⁴⁷ The Dyer family took over as millers in the early 19th century⁴⁸ and remained in business until the mill ceased to be worked a few years before the First World War.⁴⁹ The mill, which dates from c. 1600, is of two storeys with an attic; the south-west end, over the wheel, is timber-framed. The mill house, added to the north-east end shortly after the mill had been built, had two rooms, one of which was heated from a south-west stack and lit by a three-light mullioned window, and probably only an attic above. A bedroom was created in the mill's north-east end, perhaps in the 18th century, before the house's attic was made into a bedroom floor, probably in the 19th century. A gabled bay was added to the house's south-east front and a stable and hay loft to the north-east end; the stable and loft were incorporated in the house in the mid 20th century.⁵⁰ A bakehouse was built at the south-west end of the mill in the 19th century and the mill's machinery, dating probably from the 19th century and including a cast-iron overshot wheel, remained in place in 1998. The surviving out-buildings comprised a 19th-century range, which once accommodated a wash-house and an earth closet. In 1998 the large mill pond, fed by springs rising there, also survived but smaller ponds created for a trout farm, established downstream of the mill by 1920⁵¹ and abandoned c. 1940,⁵² had silted up.

In 1257 Richard de Croupes obtained a grant to hold a Friday market and a three-day fair at the feast of St. Mary Magdalen (22 July) on

²⁴ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 179.

²⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2080, 211.

²⁶ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/12/12.

²⁷ *Ibid.* MAF 68/25/23.

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2809/2.

²⁹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/1609/2.

³⁰ *Acreage Returns*, 1905.

³¹ *P.R.O.*, MAF 68/3295/17.

³² *Ibid.* MAF 68/4533/188.

³³ *Ibid.* MAF 68/6005/14/188.

³⁴ *Inf.* from Mr. Rowe.

³⁵ *Inf.* from Mr. Stringer and Mr. Brassington.

³⁶ *Inf.* from Mrs. Baxter.

³⁷ *Cart. Sax.* ed. Birch, i, p. 418; H. P. R. Finberg, 'Roman and Saxon Withington', *Lucerna* (1964), 23–24 n., places the pool at Syreford.

³⁸ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 167v.

³⁹ *Cur. Reg. R.* iv, 8–9.

⁴⁰ *Inq. p.m. Glos.* 1359–1413, 13.

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 74; Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁴² *Corpus Christi Coll.*, Oxf., Archives, F 1, cap. 1 (2), no. 47.

⁴³ *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VII/245.

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2957/338.2; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 37.

⁴⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 443; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1375/496, 502; D 444/T 62.

⁴⁶ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 273; G.D.R. wills 1685/222.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 74; cf. *ibid.* T 73, deed 4 July 1752.

⁴⁸ Whittington Ct. MSS., Sandywell estates maps 1816, pp. 9–10; G.D.R. wills 1829/136; T 1/197; *P.R.O.*, HO 107/1969.

⁴⁹ Kelly's *Dir. Glos.* (1856–1914 edns.); cf. F. Berry, *Whittington: Memories of a Cotswold Village* (Andoversford, 1982; copy in *Glos. Colln.* 40881), 26.

⁵⁰ *Inf.* from Mrs. White, of Syreford Mill.

⁵¹ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXVII. SE.* (1923 edn.).

⁵² *Inf.* from Mrs. White; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 4084/22/8.

the manor of Whittington.⁵³ Although the grant was confirmed in 1287⁵⁴ there is no evidence that market and fair were ever firmly established.

In 1625 a field north-west of the village on Dodwell hill was known as Quarry close⁵⁵ and in 1632 a Whittington quarry supplied stone for building work at Dowdeswell church.⁵⁶ One parishioner, John Hill, was listed as a mason in 1608⁵⁷ and his descendants followed the same trade in the mid 18th century.⁵⁸ Among other Whittington men Robert Newman, a mason, was engaged in 1767 to rebuild the town hall at Stratford-upon-Avon (Warws.)⁵⁹ and several generations of the Ebsworth family, including John (d. 1733) who is commemorated by a wall monument in local stone in the parish church, worked as slaters and tilers.⁶⁰ A limekiln operated north of the village in the mid 18th century.⁶¹

In the early 19th century Dodwell hill was extensively quarried for freestone, which was used in Cheltenham and places further afield, and the workings extended in long underground galleries from which horse-drawn trolleys removed the stone. The principal quarries on the hill were closed in the mid 1860s but stone was occasionally quarried there for local use until the 1920s. The quarrying heavily scarred the hillside and the spoil from the mines formed a long bank on the lower part, which later acquired a thick cover of trees and undergrowth.⁶² In 1998 sealed drift entrances were also visible evidence of the mining.

In the early 19th century there were also important quarries north-east of Syreford. Supplying freestone to Cheltenham in the 1820s and 1830s, they were extended underground and were probably abandoned by the late 1840s.⁶³ A new quarry opened west of the hamlet in the mid 1860s.⁶⁴ In the mid 19th century road stone was quarried in several places in the parish⁶⁵ and in the early 1880s a gravel pit was open west of Syreford. From the late 19th century quarrying resumed intermittently at several places near Syreford⁶⁶ and after the Second World War concrete blocks were made at a gravel pit east of the

river Coln.⁶⁷ In the later 20th century the quarry west of Syreford was worked primarily for road stone and, having been closed in the 1970s, it was reopened in 1998.⁶⁸

Among the craftsmen resident in Whittington was a smith who died in 1548;⁶⁹ several blacksmiths lived there in the later 17th century⁷⁰ and a forge was recorded in the parish in 1672.⁷¹ A mercer kept a shop in Whittington in the mid 17th century⁷² and a woollen draper resided there a few years later.⁷³ A malthouse and a butcher's shop were recorded in 1714 and 1742 respectively.⁷⁴ A shoemaker was resident in 1699⁷⁵ and a carpenter in 1743.⁷⁶ The last two trades were also practised in Whittington in the 1820s and 1830s.⁷⁷ A postman, a labourer who was also a carter, and a road labourer were among residents in 1851.⁷⁸ A bakery established in the village by 1833⁷⁹ was run with a grocery next door to it in the late 19th century. A second grocer's shop opened in the parish the early 20th century. After the First World War few trades other than those of carpenter, baker, and shopkeeper were recorded and for a few years the shopkeepers included a tobacconist.⁸⁰ The bakery closed in 1938 and the shop next to it, the last in the parish, in the 1960s.⁸¹

A small press using old hand-printing techniques was installed in a cottage in the grounds of Whittington Court in 1971.⁸² Known as the Whittington Press and specialising in limited editions of books and pamphlets, it acquired an international reputation. Small enterprises concerned with business training and development and electronic communication were established at Whalley Farm in the 1990s and employed people from outside the parish in 1998.

In 1608 the lord of the manor had at least five servants at Whittington⁸³ and in the mid 18th century and later several Whittington parishioners were employed in the house and grounds at Sandywell Park, some of them while the house was an asylum.⁸⁴ A surgeon lived in Whittington in 1684⁸⁵ and William Simon, a Master in Chancery, lived in Whittington for some years before his death in 1784.⁸⁶

⁵³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226–57, 473.

⁵⁴ *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 257.

⁵⁵ G.D.R., V 5/338t 2; *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 3/3.

⁵⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/PA 10.

⁵⁷ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 273.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1, baptism 22 Mar. 1698/9; D 444/T 73.

⁵⁹ *V.C.H. Warws.* iii. 226–7.

⁶⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1, baptism 11 Oct. 1700; G.D.R. wills 1733/61; 1779/34; 1804/160.

⁶¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 73.

⁶² A. J. Price, 'Chelt. Stone' (Frocester, 1999), *passim*; *Glos. Colln.* RX 338.1.

⁶³ Price, 'Chelt. Stone', 15, 18–19.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 23, 28.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/SU 2/1; D 1388, Lawrence fam., est. papers 1840–76.

⁶⁶ O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXVII. SE. (1883–1923 edns.); SP 02 SW. (1954 edn.); *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, pp. 18, 301.

⁶⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/1, min. 1 Nov. 1946; inf. from Mr. G. J. Green, of Northleach.

⁶⁸ Price, 'Chelt. Stone', 28; inf. from Mrs. White.

⁶⁹ Hockaday Abs. cccxcvi.

⁷⁰ G.D.R., wills 1661/41; V 1/267.

⁷¹ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

⁷² G.D.R. wills 1649/79; 1661/113.

⁷³ Below, char.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 81, T 73.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* P 364/IN 1/1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* D 444/T 73.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* P 364/IN 1/3.

⁷⁸ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/3.

⁸⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.); Berry, *Whittington*, 13–14.

⁸¹ Inf. from Mr. D. Pinchin, of Whittington.

⁸² *Cotswold Life*, Dec. 1982, 45–7.

⁸³ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 273.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 73, deed 20 Sept. 1743; L 17; P 364/IN 1/3; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 297; *Glos. and Avon Life* (Sept. 1982), 36–7; Berry, *Whittington*, *passim*.

⁸⁵ G.D.R., V 5/338t 3.

⁸⁶ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 297; cf. Whittington Ct. MSS., box 3, undated letter (Dallaway to Simon), and letters 20 Dec. 1779, 13 May 1780.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. The lord of Whittington acknowledged the lord of the hundred's ownership of frankpledge jurisdiction in Whittington in 1305 or 1306.⁸⁷ No records of manorial government are known to survive. In 1600 Whittington's constable, a woman, was presented for neglecting her duties and letting vagrants leave Whittington unpunished.⁸⁸

Whittington had two churchwardens in the 1540s⁸⁹ and until at least the 1680s, after which there was only one churchwarden. In the 19th century there was occasionally a second warden.⁹⁰ In the mid 18th century two members of the Arkell family discharged the duties of churchwarden and overseer of the poor in alternate years and in rotation one with the other. The surviving churchwardens' and overseers' accounts begin in 1725. Poor relief took the usual forms with occasional payments to nurses and midwives and help to parishioners admitted to the Gloucester infirmary. Payments to doctors became more frequent in the early 19th century. At least twice in the later 18th century the parish exacted a lump sum from a man to maintain an illegitimate child. In the mid 1740s the overseer paid for repairs to the parish pound and stocks; in the later 18th century there was a lock-up at Syreford. In 1725, when two people received regular help, the overseer spent just under £7. The rise in his annual expenditure in the mid 18th century was gradual, save in the late 1760s when, during a smallpox outbreak, it increased dramatically to over £100.⁹¹ The cost of relief in 1776 was £62 and it rose to £165 in 1803, when 36 people were permanently on the parish,⁹² and to £389 in 1813, when slightly fewer people received help on a regular basis but the cost was one of the highest in the hundred. In the next few years annual expenditure on the poor fell slightly⁹³ and in the late 1820s and the early 1830s it was usually under £150, in 1834 falling to £86.⁹⁴ In 1836 Whittington became part of the Northleach poor-law union⁹⁵ and in 1895 part of Northleach rural district.⁹⁶ In 1974 it was included in Cotswold district.

CHURCH. Whittington church, which dates from the late 11th or the 12th century, was in the gift of Richard de Croupes in 1269.⁹⁷ The living, which was a rectory,⁹⁸ was united with Sevenhampton, Charlton Abbots, and Hawling in 1975.⁹⁹ From 1996 Whittington was one of eight parishes served by a priest-in-charge living in Shipton Oliffe village.¹

Apart from a period in the 19th century the advowson of Whittington church descended with the manor.² In 1414, during the minority of Richard le Despenser, the patronage was exercised by Joan Beauchamp, John Greyndour, and Thomas Walwyn; Joan, Lady Bergavenny,³ was the mother-in-law of Richard's sister and eventual heir Isabel.⁴ In 1799, following Mary Tracy's death,⁵ the bishop collated to the living by reason of lapse and in 1802 Charles Hanbury Tracy and his wife, as trustees of the disputed Tracy estates, filled the next vacancy.⁶ The patronage, exercised in 1811 by the Timbrell sisters,⁷ passed with the manor to W. L. Lawrence⁸ but it belonged in 1846 to Richard Janion Neville and later to Henry Wright.⁹ C. W. Lawrence was patron at the next vacancies, in 1866 and 1868,¹⁰ and advowson and manor were reunited under him in 1889.¹¹ On the creation of the united benefice in 1975 Stephanie Evans-Lawrence as owner of the Whittington advowson became one of four joint patrons.¹² That right belonged to Jennifer Stringer in 1998.¹³

Although the glebe was said in 1584 to contain a little over 47 a., in 1625 its area was given as c. 92 a.¹⁴ and in the 19th century it was 99 a.¹⁵ It was sold to C. W. Lawrence in 1916.¹⁶ All tithes in the parish belonged to the rector and provided the bulk of his income in 1535.¹⁷ In the late 16th century Syreford mill paid 2 quarters of barley a year for tithes¹⁸ and in the early 18th century land at Whalley belonging to William Walker was said to pay 4s. a year.¹⁹ In 1793 the tithes from William Peachey's estate were commuted for a modus of £22 4s. 8d.²⁰ and from 1840 rent charges totalling £283 10s. were payable for all the rector's other tithes.²¹ The rectory, which was among the poorest benefices

⁸⁷ *Ciren. Cart.* i, pp. 224–5.

⁸⁸ B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, f. 559v.

⁸⁹ Hockaday Abs. xxix, 1543 subsidy, f. 26; xxxi, 1548 visit. f. 47.

⁹⁰ Ibid. xliii, 1566 visit. f. 3; G.D.R., V 1/267; V 5/338t 1–5; Glos. R.O., P 364/CW 2/1; VE 2/1.

⁹¹ Glos. R.O., P 364/OV 2/1–2.

⁹² *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3.

⁹³ Ibid. 1818, 146–7.

⁹⁴ *Poor Law Returns* (1830–1) 66; (1835), 65.

⁹⁵ *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., DA 31/300/2.

⁹⁷ *Reg. Giffard*, 33.

⁹⁸ Hockaday Abs. viii, 1297; cccxcvi.

⁹⁹ G.D.R., V 7/1/69.

¹ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1998–9), 107–9.

² Above, manor; *Reg. Gineborough*, 172; Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Ghinucci, f. 14v.; Hockaday Abs. cccxcvi; P.R.O., C 142/297, no. 162.

³ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Peverell, f. 68v.

⁴ *Complete Peerage*, i, 24–7; iv, 282.

⁵ Glos. R.O., P 308/IN 1/3.

⁶ Hockaday Abs. cccxcvi, Whittington; cf. above, Dowdeswell, manors (Sandywell).

⁷ Hockaday Abs. cccxcvi, Whitminster.

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 182/III/162.

⁹ Ibid. Q/RUM 225, 230, 293.

¹⁰ G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 212.

¹¹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos* (1870 and later edns.).

¹² G.D.R., V 7/1/69.

¹³ *Dioc. of Glouc. Dir.* (1987–8), 109.

¹⁴ G.D.R., V 5/338t 1–2.

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 3/3; G.D.R., T 1/197.

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 444, acct. 1915–16 (C. W. Lawrence to Messrs. Carr Scott & Smith).

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 443.

¹⁸ G.D.R., V 5/338t 1.

¹⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 315; above, manor.

²⁰ Glos. R.O., P 290a/SD 1/1.

²¹ G.D.R., T 1/197.

in the diocese in 1291,²² was worth £10 17s. clear in 1535²³ and £70 in 1650.²⁴ In 1750 the valuation was only £74 clear²⁵ but in 1856 it was £285.²⁶

The rectory house was recorded together with a barn and other outbuildings from 1584.²⁷ In 1672 the rector was assessed on three hearths for tax²⁸ and in the early 18th century the front of the house comprised a range of one and a half storeys, over in part a high arched basement and including an entrance passage, and a shorter three-storeyed block; the rector John Welch apparently rebuilt the longer range on a reduced plan with three storeys and cellar c. 1726.²⁹ Repairs undertaken by F. D. Gilby on becoming rector in 1866 led to the collapse of gables and much rebuilding,³⁰ and in the late 19th century the house was two-storeyed with gabled attics and had a three-bayed main range and a south cross wing, all faced in ashlar.³¹ The main, east front, concealing the earlier house, has large mullioned windows of the mid 19th century and the principal rooms of the south wing are lit from the east by a canted bay rising two storeys. The bay may have been inserted by Gilby but some alterations were made by A. C. Lawrence, his successor in 1868; Lawrence divided up the room on the first floor of the south wing and inserted a new window there, and he added a study in a single-storeyed extension (dated 1889) on the north-east next to a porch or lobby that was a servants' room as well as a visitors' waiting room.³² Alterations in the late 20th century, when ownership of the house changed hands several times, included the conversion of the former study and waiting room as a kitchen.³³ West of the house stands a stable and coach house block dating from the mid 19th century.

Walter of Cheltenham, rector of Ampney St. Mary, was also rector of Whittington from 1269³⁴ and retained both churches in 1297.³⁵ In 1298 he became rector of Sapperton³⁶ and in 1306, following his death, Whittington rectory was granted *in commendam* to a priest for six months³⁷ after which it was conferred on John Hill. Hill, who a few months later was licensed

to study for three years for his ordination,³⁸ continued his studies after 1310³⁹ and in 1315 he obtained permission to serve one of the king's escheators for a year.⁴⁰ An allegation of simony and other suspicions attended presentations to the living in 1356 and 1357 and a new rector was not instituted until the previous incumbent's resignation on the grounds of disability and weakness was formally recorded.⁴¹ Ralph Tittley, rector 1546–54, was non-resident and had a living in Shropshire;⁴² in 1551 his curate at Whittington was unable to repeat the Ten Commandments perfectly and was ignorant of the authorship of the Lord's Prayer.⁴³ James Ingram, rector from 1629, was also rector of Cowley from 1639; he obtained a doctorate in divinity in 1643 and remained in place at Whittington until his death in 1670.⁴⁴

In the early years of his incumbency Thomas Hacket (1678–1718) appointed a succession of curates⁴⁵ and in 1688 he obtained the Crown's permission to be chaplain at Park Hall, in Castle Bromwich (Warws.), to his patron's mother-in-law.⁴⁶ The next rector Anthony Rogers was from a Dowdeswell family and, although he had served Whittington as curate from 1713,⁴⁷ he employed his own curate⁴⁸ and resigned the living in 1723.⁴⁹ Charles Rich, rector 1731–79,⁵⁰ was from another Dowdeswell family⁵¹ and, having also acquired a living in Berkshire in 1731,⁵² employed a curate at Whittington until 1752.⁵³ In the early 19th century Charles Coxwell, related by marriage to the Rogers family of Dowdeswell, was curate⁵⁴ to two successive rectors. Their successor William Hicks⁵⁵ (1811–66) served in person before moving to Cokerley, where he was rector from 1816.⁵⁶ Anthony Cocks Lawrence (1868–1904)⁵⁷ acquired the living by the gift of his brother⁵⁸ and played an active part in parish life.⁵⁹ Lawrence's successors also lived in the rectory but from 1970 the parish was served by a non-resident clergyman.⁶⁰ In 1998 there was a weekly Sunday service in the church.⁶¹

Whittington church, which in the Middle Ages was sometimes described as a chapel,⁶² was

²² *Trans. B.G.A.S.* ciii. 10, 15 n.

²³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 443.

²⁴ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

²⁵ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 52.

²⁶ *Ibid.* vol. 384, f. 212.

²⁷ *Ibid.* V 5/338t 1–2.

²⁸ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 9d.

²⁹ Hockaday Abs. ccxcvi.

³⁰ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 4/3.

³¹ Photog. of E. front in *ibid.* D 2593/2/526.

³² *Ibid.* P 364/IN 4/3; D 2593/2/526.

³³ Inf. from the owners, Mr. and Mrs. T. Owen.

³⁴ *Reg. Giffard*, 33.

³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1301, 265.

³⁶ *Reg. Giffard*, 42.

³⁷ *Reg. Ginsborough*, 152.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 29, 172.

³⁹ *Reg. Reynolds*, 87, 90.

⁴⁰ Worc. Episc. Reg., Reg. Maidstone, f. 29.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Reg. Brian, i, ff. 19v., 21, 23.

⁴² *Ibid.* Reg. Ghinucci, f. 14v.; Hockaday Abs. ccxcvi; Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/1.

⁴³ *E.H.R.* xix. 104.

⁴⁴ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/1; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, ii.

787; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 198.

⁴⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccxcvi; Glos. R.O., P 285/IN 1/1, burial entries 1681–99; G.D.R., V 1/267.

⁴⁶ G.D.R. vol. 248, ff. 27v.–28; G.E.C. *Baronetage*, iii. 18–19.

⁴⁷ Hockaday Abs. ccxcvi; *Alum. Oxon.* 1500–1714, iii. 1272.

⁴⁸ G.D.R., V 1/267.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 2.

⁵¹ *Alum. Oxon.* 1715–1886, iii. 1191.

⁵² Hockaday Abs. ccxcvi, Whittington.

⁵³ G.D.R., V 1/267.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*; *Visit. Glos.* 1682–3, 146.

⁵⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccxcvi.

⁵⁶ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/3, 6; IN 4/3; *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 182.

⁵⁷ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/6.

⁵⁸ G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 212; Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1898), i. 86.

⁵⁹ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 4/3; D 2593/2/240.

⁶⁰ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906 and later edns.); *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1969), 46–7, 69; (1973), 46–7, 67.

⁶¹ Inf. from Mr. J. L. Stringer, of Whittington Ct.

⁶² Hockaday Abs. viii, 1297; *Reg. Cobham*, 230.

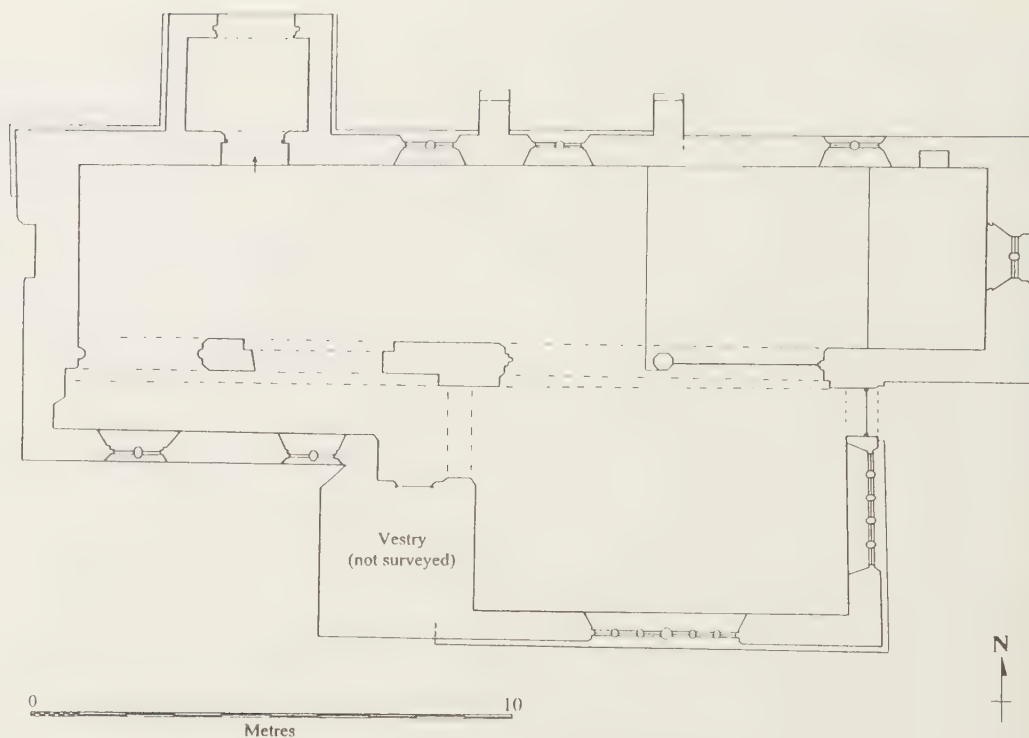


FIG. 18. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S CHURCH, WHITTINGTON

called St. Michael's in 1750⁶³ but its dedication was later uncertain⁶⁴ and was given as *ST. BARTHOLOMEW* in 1922.⁶⁵ The church has a chancel with south chapel, a nave with narrow south aisle, north porch, and wooden east bellcot, and a vestry in the angle of the chapel and aisle. The chancel and nave, which are undivided and very long and narrow, were built in the late 11th or the 12th century. The eastern arch of the two-bayed nave arcade has two plain orders and may be of the same period, and a blocked round-headed opening in the aisle's west wall may be the remains of a window also of that period. The aisle, which has no doorway, was originally wider. In the later 19th century the head of a 12th-century arch with chevron decoration, perhaps from a doorway, and part of a small early 13th-century lancet were used in the construction of the west wall of the vestry. The chancel east window has two lights and dates from the 14th century and the western arch of the nave arcade rests on male and female head corbels of the 15th century. At the west end of the nave an early 16th-century doorway with foliated spandrels was blocked after the adjacent manor house was extended to within a metre or so of it.⁶⁶ Most of the windows in the main part of the church have plain arched lights and may be even later in date than the west doorway. An

18th-century window above the doorway lit a gallery, removed at a restoration of the church in 1872.⁶⁷

The chapel, which before the restoration was divided from the chancel and east end of the nave by a wall containing two square-headed openings of unequal width,⁶⁸ was built by the Cottons and was used by them as a mortuary chapel by 1612.⁶⁹ It has large south and east windows of six and four lights respectively and an east doorway, all of the late 16th or early 17th century. By the later 18th century the chapel seated the lord of the manor's household from Sandywell Park, near by in Dowdeswell.⁷⁰ A blocked window high up on the west wall may once have lit a gallery.

The restoration of 1872, towards which many local gentry and clergy subscribed,⁷¹ was to designs by F. S. Waller & Son. The wall dividing the chapel from the chancel and nave was replaced by an arcade of two bays, a rood screen between the chancel and nave was removed, the chancel floor was raised, the west gallery was taken down, and open benches were installed in place of box pews. At the same time all the roofs save those of the porch and chapel were replaced, two external buttresses were built against the nave north wall, and the south vestry was added.⁷²

⁶³ G.D.R. vol. 381a, f. 52.

⁶⁴ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1870), 672; (1894), 344; *Whittington Church Guide* (1951); copy in Glos. R.O., PA 364/2.

⁶⁵ G.D.R., T 1/197.

⁶⁶ *Glos. Ch. Notes*, 97.

⁶⁷ Glos. R.O., D 2593/2/240.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; painting of E. end of ch. before restoration (at

Whittington ch. in 1998).

⁶⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 315; P.R.O., PROB 11/119 (P.C.C. 37 Fenner), ff. 300–301; PROB 11/151 (P.C.C. 51 Skynner), ff. 423v.–426.

⁷⁰ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 297.

⁷¹ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/2.

⁷² *Ibid.* D 2593/2/240.

The font of c. 1200 is plain and sturdy with an octagonal bowl and stem. Of the other fittings, the wooden pulpit and the choir stalls date from 1936.⁷³ In the chancel carved 17th-century wooden fragments have been reused as a pair of cupboard doors set into 18th-century panelling said to have been made from pews from Sevenhampton church.⁷⁴

Three effigies kept in the chapel since 1936⁷⁵ date from the late 13th century and the early 14th.⁷⁶ Two of the monuments, representing knights bearing the arms of the de Croupes family,⁷⁷ are larger than life-size and were moved in 1872 to the south aisle from the openings leading into the chapel.⁷⁸ The third effigy, of a female, was perhaps that recorded in a niche on the north wall in the early 18th century.⁷⁹ It was at the west end of the aisle in the later 18th century,⁸⁰ a tombchest fragment displaying the de Croupes arms next to it was reset under the window on the chancel south wall in 1894.⁸¹ The chancel floor contains the remains of brass memorials to Richard Cotton (d. 1555), his wife Margaret (d. 1559), and two children.⁸² Thomas Tracy (d. 1770) of Sandywell, the lord of the manor, is commemorated by the principal wall monument in the chapel. Many wall monuments were moved in 1872, those in the chancel to the rector James Ingram (d. 1670) and his family being placed on the west wall where the doorway had once been. A monument to Giles Watkins (d. 1691), a former curate, was left in place outside on the nave north wall.⁸³ The glass in the chancel east window was made in 1901 in memory of Queen Victoria.⁸⁴ That in the chancel south window was designed the following year to incorporate a medieval figure of St. Peter said to have come from Burford (Oxon.).⁸⁵ The single bell housed in the bellcot in the early 18th century⁸⁶ was presumably that replaced in 1856;⁸⁷ the new bell had apparently been cast the previous year.⁸⁸ A set of plate given by Mary Tracy in 1783 comprised a chalice, two patens, and a flagon;⁸⁹ following its theft from the church in 1985 copies of the original pieces were made.⁹⁰

The churchyard contains near the chancel the base and shaft of a 14th-century stone cross and a group of five tombchests, the earliest dating

from the mid 17th century. Among the graves are those of a few of the residents of Sandywell Park while it was an asylum in the mid 19th century. The parish registers begin in 1539 but there are some gaps in entries.⁹¹

NONCONFORMITY. Wesleyan Methodists from Winchcombe registered a house in Whittington in 1812⁹² but their mission was evidently abandoned soon afterwards.⁹³ In 1841 a cottage rented for use as a place of worship was registered by a Baptist from Charlton Kings.⁹⁴ In the mid 1860s Wesleyan Methodists of the Cheltenham circuit established a meeting in Whittington but from 1867 they centred their mission in the area on Andoversford.⁹⁵

EDUCATION. In 1818 Whittington had a Sunday school for 40 children.⁹⁶ It remained open in 1825,⁹⁷ when the parish clerk was a teacher,⁹⁸ but £1,000 left by the lady of the manor Rebecca Lightbourne (d. 1823) to establish a Sunday school there⁹⁹ was, as a result of litigation over her will, not paid to the charity's trustees until 1829.¹ The trustees used the bequest and the accrued interest to found a day school as well as a Sunday school for the parishes in which Mrs. Lightbourne's estates had lain. The schools opened in 1830 in a house in Whittington village and taught boys and girls in separate rooms, one on each floor, the rest of the building being accommodation for the teachers, a married couple. On weekdays the pupils came principally from Whittington, Dowdeswell, and Sevenhampton and most were educated free of charge. A few were from outlying parts of other nearby parishes. On Sundays the Sevenhampton children attended a school held in their own parish with financial support from the charity.² In 1833 the Whittington schools taught 68 children on weekdays and 39 children on Sundays;³ in 1847 the numbers were 48 and 72 respectively.⁴ In 1840, after a decline in the number of fee-paying pupils in the day school, the annual fee had been reduced from £1 10s. to 12s.⁵

In 1860 W. L. Lawrence, the surviving trustee and the owner of the school, conveyed

⁷³ G.D.R., F 1/1/1936/1.

⁷⁴ *Whittington Church Guide* (1951), p. 5.

⁷⁵ G.D.R., F 1/1/1936/1.

⁷⁶ Roper, *Glos. Effigies*, 394–9.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xxviii. 222.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/240.

⁷⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 815.

⁸⁰ Rudder, *Glos.* 516; cf. *Archaeologia*, ii. 296.

⁸¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/2.

⁸² Davis, *Glos. Brasses*, 163–5: the legend below the surviving brasses gives the years of death as 1556 and 1560; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1.

⁸³ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 297; *Glos. R.O.*, D 2593/2/240.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* EL 565: cal. of Whittington Ct. MSS., corres. of the Revd. A. C. Lawrence 1901–2; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* v. 196; xlvii. 337.

⁸⁶ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 323, f. 233v.; Atkyns, *Glos.* 815.

⁸⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/CW 2/1.

⁸⁸ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 649.

⁸⁹ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 225–6.

⁹⁰ Inf. from Mr. Stringer and from Mrs. J. Boyd, of Whittington.

⁹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/IN 1/1–6.

⁹² Hockaday Abs. cccxcvi; cf. F. C. Adey, *Cotswold Methodist Heritage* (1979) (copy in *Glos. R.O.*, NC 70), 12–13, 18–19, 28–35.

⁹³ Cf. G.D.R. vol. 383, no. cccxii.

⁹⁴ Hockaday Abs. cccxcvi; cf. *ibid.* cccxiv, 1841.

⁹⁵ G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Methodism in Chelt. and District* (1912), 70, 78.

⁹⁶ *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 316.

⁹⁷ G.D.R. vol. 383, no. cccxii.

⁹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/L 17.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* D 182/III/162.

¹ *Ibid.* P 364/CH 5; *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 127.

² *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/CH 1.

³ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, 331.

⁴ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846–7, *Glos.* 18–19.

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 364/CH 1.

the building to new trustees, who were local clergy, and formed a committee to run the schools as church schools.⁶ The schools' income, from Rebecca Lightbourne's charity, was supplemented from 1861 by the rent of a stable adjoining the school building. The day school received a government grant from 1873.⁷ By that time it taught very few children from outside Whittington and in 1872 the average attendance was 30.⁸ In the later 1860s a porch and a bellcot were added during improvements to the school and later the house was remodelled with the upper floor as the schoolroom, reached by an external staircase. In 1883 a new schoolroom paid for by voluntary contributions was built in the garden to the west;⁹ the schoolroom it replaced remained in use as a classroom and as a meeting place.¹⁰ The day school continued to be supported by the Lawrence family¹¹ and as Whittington Lightbourne Charity school it had an average attendance of 40 in 1904,¹² 50 in 1910, and 40 in 1922.¹³ It closed in 1929 and the children were transferred to the school opened at Andoversford the previous year.¹⁴ Under a Scheme of 1930 the income from Rebecca Lightbourne's charity was used to pay the incumbents of Whittington and several nearby parishes £2 a year each for Sunday schools and to make other payments in support of education. The Scheme was amended in 1990¹⁵ but the charity was in abeyance in 1998.¹⁶ At that time the building in which the charity schools had opened in 1830

was two dwellings and the schoolroom of 1883 was Whittington village hall.

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. By will proved 1674 Ralph Thayer, a Whittington woollen draper, left £30 for the distribution of clothing, including shoes and stockings, to the poor of the parish at Christmas and Easter.¹⁷ Distribution of the charity, which had an income of £1 10s., was halted from 1739. On its resumption in 1757 the principal was augmented to £40 with part of the unspent income and was entrusted to lord of the manor, Thomas Tracy, who gave the overseer of the poor £2 a year for distribution at Easter.¹⁸ The principal, apparently retained by Mary Tracy after her husband's death,¹⁹ was later held by the rector, who distributed the charity in the 1820s.²⁰ The rector Walter Thomas (d. 1799) by will left £50 to be distributed with the Thayer charity,²¹ but the legacy was apparently used to pay his former housekeeper £2 10s. a year until 1819 when his executor maintained that the principal had been exhausted by those payments. The Charity Commissioners later took steps to secure Thomas's bequest.²² In 1922 the object of the two charities, which had become uncertain, was confirmed as the provision of clothing and not merely gifts of money²³ but under a Scheme of 1969 their income was to be distributed either in gifts in kind or in grants of money.²⁴ The charities had evidently ceased by 1998.²⁵

WITHINGTON

WITHINGTON, a large rural parish 10.5 km. south-east of Cheltenham, included the village of Withington with hamlets at Foxcote, Hilcot, Little Colesbourne, Cassey Compton, and Owdeswell which were mostly reduced in size in the late Middle Ages. The parish covered 5,830 a. (2,359 ha.) in 1881,²⁶ its boundaries being in part those perambulated in a late Anglo-Saxon survey of the bishop of Worcester's Withington estate.²⁷

From a ford at Andoversford on the Gloucester to Stow-on-the-Wold road the east boundary of the parish descended the river Coln, called in the late Anglo-Saxon period 'Tilnoth', as far as a valley then called 'Waeles

cumbe'. Leaving the river, it climbed over a ridge to join the Compton Abdale stream, called Dene brook in Anglo-Saxon times and in 1647,²⁸ and descended that stream to rejoin the Coln at Cassey Compton. The south boundary traversed a ridge, where the landmarks in late Anglo-Saxon times included roads called 'cnicetes ferweye', probably the White way leading from Cirencester towards Compton Abdale and thought to have been a minor Roman route serving local villas,²⁹ and the 'old stone way', probably a ridgeway that ran from the White way northwards through Withington parish.³⁰ The 'head of Possecumbe', a landmark in the ancient perambulation beyond the latter road,

⁶ P.R.O., ED 7/35/364.

⁷ Glos. R.O., P 364/CH 5.

⁸ P.R.O., ED 7/35/364.

⁹ Glos. R.O., P 364/CH 1, CH 5; D 2593/2/177.

¹⁰ Ibid. P 364/IN 4/4; F. Berry, *Whittington: Memories of a Cotswold Village* (Andoversford, 1982: copy in Glos. Colln. 40881), 10.

¹¹ Glos. R.O., P 364/CH 5, IN 3/5.

¹² *Public Elem. Schs.* 1906, 191.

¹³ *Bd. of Educ., List 21, 1911* (H.M.S.O.), 169; 1922, 108.

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., S 364/1; above, Dowdeswell, educ.

¹⁵ Glos. R.O., P 76/CH 4/1; Char. Com. Reg. 311605.

¹⁶ Inf. from Mr. R. G. Brown, char. correspondent.

¹⁷ P.R.O., PROB 11/344 (P.C.C. 40 Bunce), ff. 314-15.

¹⁸ Glos. R.O., P 364/OV 2/1.

¹⁹ Ibid. IN 1/2, mem. 1799 about Walter Thomas's char.

²⁰ *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 126.

²¹ Glos. R.O., P 364/IN 1/2, mem. 1799.

²² *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 126-7.

²³ Glos. R.O., P 364/VE 2/1.

²⁴ Ibid. D 3469/5/171.

²⁵ Not registered in Char. Com. Reg.

²⁶ *Census*, 1881. This account was written in 1997-9.

²⁷ For the text, Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 262-71.

²⁸ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rot. 33.

²⁹ I. D. Margary, *Rom. Roads in Britain* (1973), 145-6.

³⁰ Below, this section.

evidently referred to the top of the coomb³¹ which descends to Woodbridge on the river Coln; the name survives for a house called Postcombe just within Chedworth parish. The boundary descends into the Churn valley to Colesbourne ford, by the junction of the river Churn and its tributary Hilcot brook, and in the ancient perambulation was said to follow the 'Churn' to 'mere-combe' (boundary valley). The later parish boundary between Withington and Colesbourne followed Hilcot brook northwards and then turned west along a valley called Markham or Merecombe, leading to the suggestion that Hilcot brook was regarded as the headwater of the Churn in late Anglo-Saxon times;³² but a large part of Colesbourne also belonged then to the see of Worcester³³ and it is possible that the perambulation followed the Churn through Colesbourne and that the 'boundary valley' mentioned in the perambulation was that between Colesbourne and Coberley parishes, later called Chescombe. On the west side of the area of Withington known as Hilcot the boundary is marked in part by a rough field path, presumably that described in the perambulation as 'the muddy way leading to Nataleahes ash'; that name survived as Neatley on the Coberley side of the boundary and, possibly, as Needlehole on the Withington side.³⁴ To the north the ancient perambulation included Dowdeswell as part of the bishop's manor, but the later parish boundary between Withington and Dowdeswell ran from Needlehole along wooded coombs and then across high downland called Cold Comfort to meet the Gloucester to Oxford road west of a junction called Kilkenny. From Kilkenny the boundary followed the Gloucester-Stow road back to Andoversford.

Dowdeswell became a manor and parish in its own right in the early Middle Ages, but land called Rossley, comprising c. 102 a. on the southern slope of the valley of the river Chelt, remained a detached part of Withington parish within Dowdeswell.³⁵ Rossley was absorbed by Dowdeswell parish in 1883,³⁶ and in 1956 Withington also lost 189 a., lying between the Gloucester-Stow and Gloucester-Oxford roads and including Owdeswell farm, to a new civil parish of Andoversford.³⁷ Rossley for several centuries formed part of the Dowdeswell manor estate and is treated in this volume with Dowdeswell parish. The Dowdeswell history also includes some buildings on the south edge

of Andoversford hamlet just within the old Withington parish boundary.

The principal feature of the landscape of Withington and the seat of most of its settlement is a broad valley running from north to south. Down its east side the river Coln follows a meandering course and on its western slopes a series of springs rise and flow to join the Coln. The long ridge on the west side of the valley, incorporating Foxcote hill, Withington hill, where the parish reaches its highest point (289 m.), and Shill hill, presumably provided the last part of the parish's name in the early Middle Ages, when it is usually recorded in forms such as 'Widindun' or 'Wythyndon'.³⁸ Another prominent ridge rises to c. 230 m. on the east side of the valley. West of the main ridge, Hilcot brook, flowing southwards to join the river Churn at Colesbourne, forms a narrower valley with a series of wooded side valleys. The floor of the main valley is partly on the Upper Lias clay and the Midford Sand, but in the parish as a whole the overlying Inferior Oolite predominates, with fuller's earth and the Great Oolite capping parts of the higher ground.³⁹

Until parliamentary inclosure of Withington parish, which was begun in 1813 and confirmed by an award of 1819,⁴⁰ the main valley and parts of the hills on either side were cultivated as open fields, including separate groups of fields for Owdeswell, Foxcote, and the two parts of Withington village which lie respectively west and east of the river Coln.⁴¹ Much of the land of the later parish had evidently been taken into cultivation by c. 700 A.D. when 20 *cassati* (a land measure apparently the equivalent of the hide) were given to a monastery founded at Withington,⁴² but the winning of new agricultural land continued in the early Middle Ages. Seven assarts were mentioned in a survey of Withington manor in 1299, the most recent being presumably one made during the lordship of William de Blois, bishop of Worcester 1218-36, and distinguished as 'new'.⁴³ Most of those assarts were evidently on the high ground in the south-west part of the parish.⁴⁴ Large parts of the central ridge of Foxcote and Withington hills remained common downland, pasturing sheep and growing furze, until the parliamentary inclosure but downland on the west side of the ridge was inclosed by the owner of Hilcot manor in the early 17th century.⁴⁵ A line of tall pylons carrying an electricity grid cable was a prominent feature

³¹ Glos. R.O., D 1878, deeds of Woodlands est. 1799-1830.

³² Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 266.

³³ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 185.

³⁴ G.D.R., T 1/58; *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 153, 189.

³⁵ For par. boundaries before they were altered in 1883 and 1956, Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXVII. SE., SW. (1883 edn.).

³⁶ *Census*, 1891.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 1961.

³⁸ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, p. 35; *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.; *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), i. 186. The par. is recorded as 'Withington (Wythyndon) on the Wold' on two occasions in the 14th cent. but that usage did not

become established: *Reg. Sede Vacante*, 38; *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, 443.

³⁹ Geol. Surv. Map 1", solid, sheet 44 (1856 edn., revised to 1879).

⁴⁰ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁴¹ Below, econ. hist.

⁴² Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, p. 32. In an influential article, *Roman and Saxon Withington* (1955, Leicester Univ. Coll. Dept. of Eng. Local Hist. occasional papers, no. 8), Finberg argued from inferential evidence that there was continuity between the estate of Withington's Roman villa and that of its Anglo-Saxon monastery.

⁴³ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355-7.

⁴⁴ Below, this section.

⁴⁵ Below, econ. hist.

of the high ground of the parish from c. 1970, when it replaced a line of smaller pylons put up in 1943.⁴⁶

A belt of woodland called Withington woods lay on the south boundary of the parish, forming with the adjoining Chedworth woods one of the few large tracts of ancient woodland in the central Cotswolds. Withington manor had a wood measuring 1 league by ½ league in 1086,⁴⁷ and the great wood of its lord, the bishop of Worcester, was mentioned in 1299.⁴⁸ In the 15th century, when sales of timber were a regular and significant item of the profits of the manor,⁴⁹ the manor bailiff was also the woodward and took windfallen trees as part of his fee.⁵⁰ In the mid 17th century and until inclosure Withington woods were usually leased with the manor farm, and were managed as coppice. By custom the lessee had the right to inclose at any time 7 out of a total of 17 coppices into which the woods were divided and keep them inclosed for a period of seven years, the remainder being left open as commons for the inhabitants of the upper end (the west part) of Withington village. The woods were said to comprise c. 212 a. in 1647,⁵¹ when a larger 'woodland acre' was probably used in the measurement,⁵² and in 1819 they covered 473 a.⁵³

About 1840 lessees under the manor grubbed up c. 80 a. on the west side of Withington woods for cultivation.⁵⁴ Most of the remainder was felled to provide timber for wartime use in the First World War, but during the Second World War the woods were replanted with a mixture of conifer and hardwoods, using the labour of prisoners-of-war.⁵⁵ The eastern end of the woods was sold before 1923 to the owners of the Stowell Park estate and, with adjoining woodland in Withington which had long formed part of the estate's Cassey Compton farm, became a preserve of pheasants. In the main part, which remained with Withington manor farm in the possession of R. J. Gunther in the mid 20th century, fallow deer were introduced and deer stalking was organized in the 1960s. Sportsmen were also then attracted to Withington by trout fishing in the river Coln and in a small lake which Gunther made between the Coln and his house, Halewell Close.⁵⁶

Another tract of ancient woodland called

Ayles wood or Hale wood occupied the north-west part of Hilcot and an adjoining part of Dowdeswell parish. By the mid 16th century ownership of Ayles wood was divided among five estates, which suggests that it was formerly common woodland, inclosed by an agreement between local freeholders. A part later known as Hilcot wood, lying south of Needlehole Lane (leading east from Needlehole farmhouse), was in three divisions belonging respectively to Winchcombe abbey's Hilcot estate,⁵⁷ the Colesbourne manor of the Vampage family and its successors,⁵⁸ and an estate of Bruern abbey (Oxon.) in Colesbourne and Little Colesbourne;⁵⁹ a part between Needlehole Lane and the boundary with Dowdeswell belonged to the Upper Dowdeswell estate,⁶⁰ and a part within Dowdeswell parish belonged to Dowdeswell manor.⁶¹ From 1617 all three parts of the later Hilcot wood, then said to total 75 a.,⁶² but having an actual area in 1819 of 166 a.,⁶³ belonged to the owners of Hilcot manor; the wood became divorced from the manor in 1694 but returned to it in the early 19th century as part of a large estate in the west of the parish acquired by the Elwes family of Colesbourne.⁶⁴ The section of Ayles wood belonging to Upper Dowdeswell manor, said to cover c. 60 a. in 1649, was partly cleared by the mid 18th century to form Needlehole farm⁶⁵ and more of it was cleared after 1819, when the north part of Hilcot wood was also cleared for cultivation.⁶⁶

As the value of agricultural land declined in the later 19th century the process was reversed and by 1883 several new plantations had been made in the west part of the parish, some of them enlarging existing small coppices on the east side of the valley of Hilcot brook.⁶⁷ Between 1895 and 1915 more extensive planting, with a range of species including many conifers, was carried out by the arboriculturalist Henry John Elwes; he enlarged Hilcot wood to the east and from 1901 included farmland and existing woods east of Hilcot brook near Little Colesbourne in a large experimental plantation called Centenary wood.⁶⁸ In 1908 the Hilcot part of his estate was said to produce only timber and rabbits, its agricultural land being then held on a sporting lease.⁶⁹ By 1905 the parish as a whole had 996 a. of woodland.⁷⁰ A further large plantation was

⁴⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, p. 76; M. Stourton, *Mill Inn and Withington Village* (priv. print. 1983), 40.

⁴⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁴⁸ *Red Bk. of Wor.* 354.

⁴⁹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/175, nos. 92484–5; 191, no. 92625(ii).

⁵⁰ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 132v.–133; Reg. Alcock, ff. 164v.–165.

⁵¹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rott. 13, 31; 174, no. 92466, ct. 1 Apr. 1653; 151, no. 47948, pre-sentments 1703.

⁵² Cf. C. E. Hart, *Royal Forest* (1966), 321.

⁵³ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162.

⁵⁴ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47975, letter 22 Nov. 1842; cf. O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXV. NW., SE. (1883 edn.).

⁵⁵ W.I. hist. of Withington (1957, TS. in *Glos. Colln.*), 4; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXV. 11 (1922 edn.).

⁵⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/3590, sale ptics.; letter 5 Mar. 1927; D 2299/5018; SL 567.

⁵⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), pp. 501, 508; cf. below, manors.

⁵⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 79, agreement 1586; deed 1617; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 186.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 287; *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 79, abs. of title (deeds 1558, 1617); cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 187; below, manors.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 375; cf. above, Dowdeswell, manors.

⁶¹ Above, Dowdeswell, intro.

⁶² *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 79, deed 1617; T 19, deed 1627.

⁶³ *Ibid.* Q/RI 162.

⁶⁴ Below, manors.

⁶⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7, deeds 1649, 1763.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Q/RI 162; cf. O.S. Map 6", *Glos.* XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Inf. from Mr. H. W. G. Elwes, of Colesbourne Pk.; cf. *J.C.H. Glos.* vii. 183, 185.

⁶⁹ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 28 Nov., 12 Dec. 1908.

⁷⁰ Acreage Returns, 1905.

made for the Colesbourne estate at Little Colesbourne farm in the 1930s, and the estate managed its woodlands in Hilcot and Little Colesbourne in 1998 as part of a commercial timber enterprise.⁷¹

Withington parish was fairly populous in 1299 when a total of 56 tenants was recorded on Withington manor⁷² at a time when Foxcote, Owdeswell, Hilcot, Little Colesbourne, and Little Compton, within the parish but outside the manor, all probably had hamlets. In 1327 30 of the wealthier inhabitants were assessed for tax, 16 under Withington and 14 under the outlying hamlets.⁷³ The figure of only *c.* 30 communicants recorded in 1551⁷⁴ seems unlikely, particularly in view of the 35 households reported in 1563,⁷⁵ but the latter figure alone reflects the late-medieval decline in population that is also indicated by the settlement history. In 1603 120 communicants were recorded⁷⁶ and in 1650 87 families.⁷⁷ The population was said to be *c.* 320 people living in 73 houses *c.* 1710⁷⁸ and over 500 inhabitants *c.* 1775.⁷⁹ In 1801 572 inhabitants living in 124 houses were enumerated. The population rose to 818 by 1841 but then fell away to 583 by 1891. In the early 20th century it fluctuated at around 500 and by 1961 had dropped to 458, partly a result of the removal of dwellings at Andoversford from the parish in 1956. In 1991 the population of Withington was 486.⁸⁰

The main routes through Withington parish bypassed at some distance its principal settlement, and the two which remained significant in the days of coaching and motor traffic cross the parish's extreme northern end. The main road from Gloucester to Oxford and London enters the parish at the place called Kilkenny and leaves it at a crossing of the river Coln at Frogmill, and the Gloucester–Stow road, forming part of the original north boundary of the parish, branches from the Oxford road at Kilkenny and crosses the Coln further north at Andoversford. Before the development of coach traffic there was a third crossing 500 m. downstream of Frogmill at a place called Fulford (east of the small farmhouse of that name). In 1600 the Withington parishioners, with those of the adjoining parishes — Dowdeswell in the case of Andoversford and Shipton Solers in the cases of Frogmill and Fulford — were indicted to repair the three crossings. Fulford, then described as

being on the Gloucester–Burford road, was evidently used as an alternative to Frogmill,⁸¹ though whether travellers reached it by a route across the parish from the Gloucester road near Cold Comfort or turned south from that road on a track that led from west of Frogmill to Fulford farmhouse is not clear. In 1764 the ford was marked on a map⁸² as part of a route from Shipton to Cirencester, which could be reached by way of an old road across the parish called Fulford way, mentioned below. A bridge mentioned at Fulford in 1596 and 1747⁸³ was probably only for foot or horse traffic, for the map of 1764 suggests that there, and at the two crossings further north, vehicles still used fords. The road across the Coln at Fulford went out of use before the end of the 18th century, but in 1819 a narrow strip of waste called Fulford green marked its course between the ford and the farmhouse.⁸⁴ No road was visible there in 1998, though the ford was still evident.

Before inclosure *c.* 1815 the principal route running from south to north through Withington left the White way on Chedworth Downs⁸⁵ and entered the parish at a place called Bearstaple (or Barfords Stable) green near Postcombe farmhouse;⁸⁶ there, as mentioned above, it seems to have been recorded in a late Anglo-Saxon perambulation of Withington.⁸⁷ It ran through Withington woods, passed east of Staple Farm, and followed the central ridge to form a crossroads with the Gloucester–Oxford road near Cold Comfort. Northwards from the point where it crossed the Withington–Hilcot road it was used by the Withington villagers to go to Cheltenham and Gloucester and was called the Cheltenham market way in 1636⁸⁸ and the plough way to Gloucester in 1768.⁸⁹ It was recommended as part of a route between Lechlade and Cheltenham *c.* 1710,⁹⁰ and in 1785 it was described at Bearstaple green as the Cirencester–Cheltenham road,⁹¹ though it was evidently only one of several alternative routes then in use between those two towns. In 1998 it survived in Withington woods partly as a green lane and partly a hollow way, but on Withington and Foxcote hills it was only a field path, following a continuous field boundary. South of Shill hill a road, called Fulford way in 1680, branched from the Cheltenham road and ran north-eastwards by way of a farmhouse and former hamlet called Thorndale;⁹² at Fulford farmhouse

⁷¹ Inf. from Mr. Elwes.

⁷² *Red Bk. of Worcs.* 355–64.

⁷³ *Glos. Subsidy Roll, 1327*, 11, where it is clear from the names included that the list headed 'Owdeswell' covered all or most of the hamlets.

⁷⁴ *E.H.R.* xix, 104.

⁷⁵ Bodl. MS. Rawl. C. 790, f. 21v.

⁷⁶ *Eccl. Misc.* 76.

⁷⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii, 92.

⁷⁸ Atkyns, *Glos.* 846.

⁷⁹ Rudder, *Glos.* 840.

⁸⁰ *Census, 1801–1991*.

⁸¹ B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, f. 557; cf. above, Shipton, intro.

⁸² *Glos. R.O.*, D 1930.

⁸³ B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, f. 499v.; *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47948.

⁸⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162.

⁸⁵ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii, 163; the original pattern of roads on the downs was disrupted when Chedworth airfield was built in the Second World War: *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/6, p. 163; 100/8, pp. 21, 210–11, 407–8.

⁸⁶ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rot. 34; 151, no. 47971, petition 1785; cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, plan with deed of Woodlands fm. 1861.

⁸⁷ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 264.

⁸⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 79, depositions in Hilcot Middle hill dispute.

⁸⁹ Colesbourne Pk. MSS. (in possession of Mr. H. W. G. Elwes), deeds of Greenstee and Whitewall 1748–1813, deeds 1748, 1768.

⁹⁰ Bodl. MS. Top. Glouc. c. 2, f. 96.

⁹¹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47971.

⁹² *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 1 (lands in North and Upcote fields).

it forked, one branch connecting with the ford over the Coln mentioned above and the other leading by way of Owdeswell to Andoversford.

Lesser roads included an old road connecting Withington village to Foxcote by way of Upcote Farm and Thorndale,⁹³ and a road from the east part of Withington village to Chedworth crossing the Coln at Woodbridge, where there was a ford with a bridge beside it in the 1650s.⁹⁴ In the west part of the parish there was very little local traffic. On a lane leading west from Hilcot to Upper Coberley it was difficult to name more than a handful of regular users in 1908 when the landowner H. J. Elwes attempted to get Northleach rural district to repair it,⁹⁵ and on the road down the Hilcot valley and on that running east from Hilcot towards Withington village fords across the brook were replaced by small bridges only in the late 20th century.⁹⁶

The Gloucester–Oxford road was a turnpike from 1751 until 1870⁹⁷ and the Gloucester–Stow road was a turnpike from 1755 until 1877.⁹⁸ A new stretch of road branching from the latter at a place called Garricks Head to join the former roughly halfway between Kilkenny and Frogmill was made as part of a new Cheltenham to Oxford turnpike in 1786,⁹⁹ and c. 1815 at the Withington inclosure a new straight road was built northwards up the valley from Withington village to connect with the junction on the Gloucester–Oxford road.¹ The creation of that new south–north route rendered the old Cheltenham road along the ridge and Fulford way redundant other than for very local use.

The Midland and South Western Junction railway, built through the parish from Cirencester to Andoversford, was opened in 1891 with a small station for Withington just north of the village.² The line was closed in 1961.³

A Roman villa was discovered in the parish in 1811 and excavated by Samuel Lysons. The site, south of Withington village, by a road to Chedworth near a spring called Wall well, had traditionally been known as the Old Town.⁴ The surviving documentary record of Withington begins with a monastery founded there in the late 7th or early 8th century.⁵

Withington village has two distinct parts which are divided by the river Coln. The part west of the Coln, including the church and manor house and presumably the site of the Anglo-Saxon monastery, was known as ‘the upper end’. The part east of the river, on the road to Compton Abdale, was called either ‘the lower end’⁶ or by a name that appears from the early 16th century in a variety of forms, possible modernizations being Brockwell End, Brookwell End, Brookhall End, Brockhole End, or Broadwell End;⁷ the first is used in this account. The two parts of the village were distinct also in their agricultural organization, having separate field systems and commoning rights,⁸ though they were part of the same manor and subject to the same manor court. It has been suggested that the agricultural unit of Brockwell End derived from a manor called Compton, which was in the same ownership as Withington manor by 962 A.D. and which, it is surmised, may have included all the land of the parish lying east of the Coln.⁹ The estate called Little (later Cassey) Compton that derived from the Anglo-Saxon manor¹⁰ had, however, no obvious physical or tenurial connexion with Brockwell End, being based on a house 1.5 km. distant on the far side of a steep hill and having much of its land on the other bank of the Coln, between the river and the Chedworth boundary.¹¹ A more likely explanation is perhaps that Brockwell End was a post-Conquest extension of the village, made in connexion with the formation of a new group of open fields in the part of the parish east of the Coln. The name Brockwell End went out of use during the 19th century but the distinction between the upper and lower ends of the village was still recognized in the 20th.¹²

The upper end of the village, which c. 1710 had 28 houses compared to 26 in Brockwell End,¹³ was a fairly compact settlement. At its centre various local roads define a rectangular enclosure formerly called Stocks Hay, which may represent an early green around which the Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement formed. By 1813, however, and apparently for many years previously, Stocks Hay was inclosed and

⁹³ G.D.R., V5/347t 1 (land in North field); *Glos. R.O.*, D 182/III/190, deed 1814 (citing mortgage 1806).

⁹⁴ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/174, no. 92466, cts. 9 Oct. 1652, 11 Oct. 1655.

⁹⁵ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 28 Nov., 12 Dec. 1908.

⁹⁶ O.S. Map 1/25,000, SO 91 (1950 edn.); Stourton, *Mill Inn and Withington*, 40, 42.

⁹⁷ Crickley Hill to Campsfield Road Act, 24 Geo. II, c. 28; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1869, 32 & 33 Vic. c. 90.

⁹⁸ *Glos. and Warws. Road Act*, 28 Geo. II, c. 47; Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1871, 34 & 35 Vic. c. 115.

⁹⁹ Above, Dowdeswell, intro.

¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162: the award (1819) sets out its route in detail, whereas the other roads are to follow their ‘usual track’, and (in para. following roads section) refers to it as the ‘newly made carriage road’. Margary, *Rom. Roads in Britain* (1973), 146, unaware of the provisions of the award, suggested it was a Roman route. That suggestion was revived in R.C.H.M. *Glos.* i, pp. xiv–xvi, which assumed that drawings made in 1815 for the O.S. 1” map pre-dated the inclosure; the roads were, however, set out soon after

the commissioners’ first meeting in 1813 (cf. below, econ. hist.).

² *Kelly’s Dir. Glos.* (1897), 360; O. S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXV. 7 (1902 edn.).

³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/MI 6, par. mag. Oct. 1961.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, xviii. 118–21.

⁵ Below, manors.

⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 79, arbitration in Hilcot Middle hill dispute, 1636; *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47948, presentments 1703, 1720.

⁷ e.g. *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/178, no. 92510, ct. 1530; 19, no. 43766, cts. 1545, 1550; 151, no. 47948, presentments 1706; 151, no. 47949, presentments 1760; 151, no. 47952, presentments 1796; G.D.R., V 5/347t 1; *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; Atkyns, *Glos.* 846.

⁸ Below, econ. hist.

⁹ Finberg, *Roman and Saxon Withington*, 16–17.

¹⁰ Below, manors.

¹¹ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162.

¹² *Ibid.* P 374/IN 4/6, p. 19; *Glos. and Avon Life*, June 1975, 37.

¹³ Atkyns, *Glos.* 846.

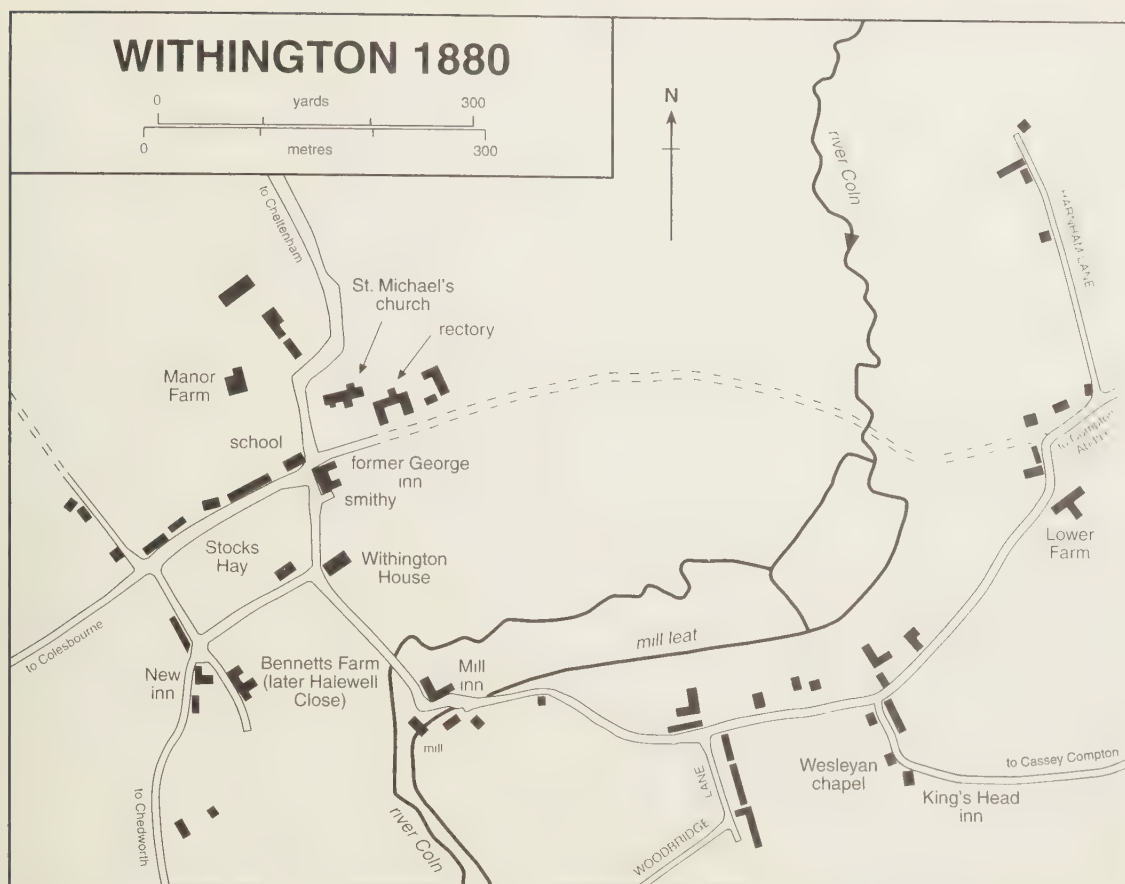


FIG. 19

belonged to two tenant holdings of Withington manor¹⁴ and only a small patch of green existed at its north-west corner. That corner was the focal point of the upper end of the village: on the north is the church and churchyard, on the east is a range of building which once housed the George inn¹⁵ and, in the 19th century, the smithy,¹⁶ and on the west stood the church house, recorded from 1610 when it was used as an alehouse.¹⁷ The church house was apparently a building dating from the 16th century in the 1850s, when it was demolished and replaced by the village school.¹⁸

Four substantial dwellings and their grounds form, with the church and churchyard, the basis of the upper end of the village. To the north are the manor house (called Withington Manor in 1998) and its farm buildings, to the north-east is the former rectory house, to the east of Stocks Hay is a house called Withington House in the 19th century, Withington Manor in the early 20th,¹⁹ and the Court or Withington Court from

c. 1945,²⁰ and to the south is a house called from the 1920s Halewell Close.

Withington Court was a modest-sized copyhold farmhouse in the 17th century. In 1753, however, its tenant Richard Rogers²¹ (d. 1757), a lawyer and a member of a prominent landowning family at Dowdeswell,²² extended it with a new range facing southwards to the river Coln, on which side he or his successors landscaped the grounds.²³ A later tenant was (Sir) John Guise (d. 1794) of Highnam, who may have used it for a time as a residence, though he had an undertenant there in 1774.²⁴ The older, north part of the house is a mid 17th-century rubble-built farmhouse of three rooms with a through passage and a staircase north of the east stack. There are chamfered beams on the ground floor and the roof is 17th-century. Large mullioned and transomed windows, uncovered during restoration in the 1980s,²⁵ show that the 17th-century house faced south; the windows were blocked when a new south range was added in

¹⁴ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162 (nos. 276–7).

¹⁵ Below, this section (inns).

¹⁶ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/34, no. 43798, p. 84; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 7 (1884 edn.).

¹⁷ P.R.O., STAC 8/193/2.

¹⁸ Glos. R.O., P 374/SC 1; W.I. hist. of Withington, sketch at pp. 24–5.

¹⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 7 (1884, 1902 edns.).

²⁰ Copy of deed 21 Mar. 1947, in possession of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Carr.

²¹ Date on bldg.; Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/53, no. 44038, pp. 171–2.

²² Glos. R.O., D 269a/F 12; cf. *ibid.* F 19, pedigree of Rogers fam.

²³ Cf. Glos. R.O., A 374/1; Plate 11.

²⁴ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777); Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/197, no. 325122, pp. 133–4; Glos. R.O., D 326/E 4; cf. Rudder, *Glos.* 839, who evidently assumed it was the man. ho.

²⁵ Inf. from Mrs. Carr.

1753. The new two-storeyed range, raised on a half-storey with a cellar, has a five-bayed, stuccoed classical façade; the pedimented Roman Doric doorcase is of stone. The details outside and within are plain but of good quality. Two rooms on each floor flank a central staircase hall with an oak treadcase, having three twisted balusters to each tread, a ramped and swept handrail and dado, and a closed string with carved tread ends. Three contemporary chimneypieces survive. Alterations to the house in the 19th and 20th centuries mainly affected the older part, where the west gable wall was almost entirely rebuilt and some chimneypieces inserted. The stables and coach house, standing north of the house, appear to be contemporary with the new south range.

At Halewell Close the size and quality of a surviving late-medieval range has led to the suggestion that it was built for the lord of the manor, the bishop of Worcester; if such was the case, it probably dates from after 1476 when the bishop reserved the use of the manor house for his visits.²⁶ By 1637 it was probably part of a leasehold farm held from the manor by Edmund Lawrence and his daughter Hannah.²⁷ That farm passed, by his marriage to Hannah, to a Gloucester physician Robert Fielding²⁸ (d. 1709), who left it to his eldest son Charles.²⁹ From the Fieldings it passed to the Robertson family in the later 18th century,³⁰ and in 1819, including the later Halewell Close house, it was held by Isabella Nicholls and Henry Brooke.³¹ Later the house became known as Bennetts Farm after mid 19th-century sublessees.³² In 1926 it was sold with a large part of the manor estate to R. J. Gunther,³³ who enlarged it as his own residence between 1926 and 1928³⁴ and renamed it Halewell Close after a nearby spring.³⁵

Much of the external appearance of Halewell Close is due to the remodelling in the 1920s by Gunther, who overrode his architect Leslie Mansfield on many points of design. The builder was J. E. M. Cummings of Withington.³⁶ The house is stone-built, of two and three storeys, and comprises three ranges round a court, partly closed on the north by a detached block. The west range is the remains of a high-status, late-medieval house; now of four bays, its north end appears to have been truncated, and it is not known whether the range stood alone or else formed part of a larger house with a separate hall range. What survives dates from the late 15th or early 16th century and comprises a great chamber above a lower hall or chamber, each of

four bays. The upper room has a roof of three trusses with arch-braced collars which carry king posts; there are double purlins and two tiers of windbraces. A frieze of painted boards with a Latin biblical quotation, which in 1926 was found attached to the central truss, probably once formed part of a central partition; Gunther used it to make the front of a musician's gallery at the south end of the chamber. A stone staircase at the north-east corner of the wing, of which only the head and foot survived, was restored by Gunther. Along the west side are original windows, of one and two lights with arched heads, and a central four-centred headed doorway, which may have been the original entrance. The lower room is fitted with linenfold panelling with brattishing, brought by Gunther from a house in Cornwall.³⁷ The south wing was added or rebuilt in the 17th century. It was much altered by Gunther, who added a short south-west wing and a large L-plan service and bedroom wing, which doubled the house in size and gave it a U plan. He also built a detached studio block on the north side of the courtyard and stables further north. Some alterations made in the late 20th century included the insertion of an east staircase and the conversion of the studio to dwellings.

The smaller houses of the upper end of the village are mainly of the 19th century and include a row of 1½-storeyed cottages on the north-west side of Stocks Hay. There was another group of houses on the Chedworth road near the southern corner of Stocks Hay,³⁸ some of which were removed in the late 19th century and some in the 1920s during the enlargement of Halewell Close and the laying out of its grounds.³⁹ They included a fairly large house just west of Halewell Close belonging to a farm formerly called Freemans farm.⁴⁰ By 1867 the farmhouse was also a public house called the New Inn⁴¹ and it remained open under that sign until a few years before the house was demolished in 1927.⁴² Stocks Hay was filled in the late 20th century by a group of detached houses and their gardens.

The former village mill and the Mill inn standing by a bridge over the Coln form a separate group of buildings between the two parts of the village. The part formerly called Brockwell End is a long straggling settlement on the Compton Abdale road. Its principal dwellings were four or five copyhold farmhouses.⁴³ Two dating from the 17th century survive on the north side of the street, one of which, called Ballingers Farmhouse

²⁶ Below, manors.

²⁷ Wores. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rott. 11-12.

²⁸ Ibid. 54, no. 44040, ff. 55v.-56; cf. Glos. R.O., P 374/IN 1/1.

²⁹ P.R.O., PROB 11/510 (P.C.C. 191 Lane), f. 116 and v.; Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 307.

³⁰ Wores. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47949, cts. 1753, 1762; no. 47951, ct. 1783; 152, no. 47978.

³¹ Ibid. 197, no. 325122, pp. 149-50.

³² Ibid. 152, no. 47975, letter 16 Oct. 1842; Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1, 1830; W.I. hist. of Withington, plan at front.

³³ Above, this section.

³⁴ *Archit. Jnl.* 9 Jan. 1929, 85.

³⁵ Cf. Wores. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/197, no. 325122, pp. 149-50.

³⁶ *Archit. Jnl.* 9 Jan. 1929, 85-93.

³⁷ Inf. from the owner, Mrs. E. Carey-Wilson.

³⁸ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 7 (1884 edn.).

³⁹ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 7 (1902 edn.); W.I. hist. of Withington, 41, 77.

⁴⁰ Below, econ. hist.

⁴¹ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 261, f. 14; D 1740/P 15; *Licensed Houses in Glos.* 1891, 164-5.

⁴² W.I. hist. of Withington, 77.

⁴³ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

in 1998, was the home of a branch of the Lawrence family for much of the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴⁴ Otherwise the older houses are mainly mid 19th-century cottages, including short rows on two side lanes which lead southwards, Woodbridge Lane (formerly Compasses Lane and Post Office Lane)⁴⁵ and King's Head Lane leading towards Cassey Compton. Harnham Lane leading northwards from the east end of the village has a small group of late 18th- and early 19th-century cottages at its far end. Several cottages in Brockwell End were demolished in the late 19th century and the early 20th,⁴⁶ but its east end was enlarged by new building in the mid and late 20th century. The Northleach rural district built a pair of houses near the junction with Harnham Lane in 1943,⁴⁷ to be followed in 1947 by six Swedish-style wooden houses (only two of which survived in 1998) south of the main street.⁴⁸ Another 16 council houses were added in the same area of the village in the early 1950s.⁴⁹ In the 1960s and 1970s private houses were built on Harnham Lane and south of the main street, where they replaced the buildings of a farmhouse called Lower Farm.⁵⁰

Withington parish had several hamlets in the early Middle Ages. From the 14th century depopulation removed some of the smaller ones, which probably each comprised no more than four or five dwellings, and reduced others to single farmsteads, leaving Foxcote as the only hamlet. Some isolated dwellings, mainly cottages, were built in the 17th and 18th centuries and some new farmsteads after inclosure in the early 19th.

At the south-east corner of the parish Little Compton manor, later represented by the house and estate called Cassey Compton, had four tenants in 1086.⁵¹ Their dwellings were possibly situated on the spur of land, enclosed by a meander of the river Coln, where the White way descends to its crossing of the river just below Cassey Compton house. On part of that land, to the west of the road, the foundations of four or five dwellings were evident in 1999 and a scatter of medieval pottery was found, unearthed by recent tree planting operations.⁵² On the stretch of the Coln near by, to the north-west, a mill belonging to the Cassey Compton estate was worked until the late 18th century.⁵³ The small hamlet was apparently deserted early in the Middle Ages, and in later centuries, apart from

the mill, the big house was the only dwelling at Compton within Withington parish.

Foxcote was established before 1086 at the north end of the parish in a low valley formed by a tributary stream of the Coln.⁵⁴ Foxcote had 15 or more inhabitants in 1381,⁵⁵ and c. 1710 it comprised 13 houses.⁵⁶ The manor house, Foxcote Manor,⁵⁷ and its grounds occupy the south side of the valley and the rest of the hamlet the north side, with most of the houses based on a lane running eastwards across the hillside from the road linking Foxcote to the Gloucester road at Kilkenny. A small farmhouse at the east end, called Home Farm in 1998, belonged during the 17th and 18th centuries to a yeoman family called Longford, which enfranchised its farm, a copyhold of Shipton Solers manor, in 1702.⁵⁸ The farmhouse dates from the 17th century and is probably that which Nicholas Longford (d. 1648) is recorded as having built.⁵⁹ Foxcote House at the west end of the lane was rebuilt by a branch of the Rogers family in the early 19th century⁶⁰ with a symmetrical south front of five bays of sash windows. In 1871 its owners also owned 10 of the cottages in Foxcote,⁶¹ which are 19th-century labourers' cottages in short terraces. A track following the stream at the bottom of the valley was widened to form a new lane in the 1930s, and in the 1950s a small group of houses was built at its east end by the owner of the Foxcote Manor estate.⁶²

By the end of the 12th century there was a small hamlet called Owdeswell in the north-east corner of the parish,⁶³ near Andoversford. It was perhaps more populous then than it was in 1381, when it had the status of a separate township but only four people in two households were assessed for the poll tax.⁶⁴ In later centuries the hamlet comprised only Owdeswell Farm.

Another early medieval hamlet called Thorndean was situated near the centre of the main valley by the head of a coomb formed by one of the small tributary springs of the Coln. The place was called Thorndell in 1680⁶⁵ and Thorndale became the usual form in the 19th century.⁶⁶ Six customary tenants of Withington manor were surnamed 'of Thorndean' in 1299,⁶⁷ but the hamlet was later largely deserted. There was still at least one house there in 1507⁶⁸ and a toft (the site of a vanished house) was mentioned in 1528.⁶⁹ At the time of the inclosure c. 1815 a single cottage stood at the head of the coomb on

⁴⁴ Ibid.; Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/197, no. 325122, pp. 137–8; 54, no. 44040, f. 66v.; 151, no. 4749, presentments 1760.

⁴⁵ Glos. R.O., P 374/MI 6, par. mag. Jan. 1955.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Jan., Feb., Apr. 1955.

⁴⁷ Ibid. DA 31/100/6, pp. 266, 279.

⁴⁸ Ibid. pp. 419, 435; 100/7, pp. 12, 82.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 100/8, pp. 301, 396, 409.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 115/3, pp. 456, 469, 682, 757.

⁵¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁵² Interpretation of site by Prof. C. Dyer, of Birmingham Univ. (1999).

⁵³ Below, econ. hist.

⁵⁴ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁵⁵ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313.

⁵⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* 846.

⁵⁷ Below, manors.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., D 245/1/26; D 303/T 12; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI

162, where ownership by Mary Reece, heir of Cath. Longford, confirms the identification.

⁵⁹ P.R.O., C 3/452/50; G.D.R. Withington peculiar wills, no. 50.

⁶⁰ Glos. R.O., D 240.

⁶¹ Ibid. D 1388/SL 5, no. 52.

⁶² Inf. from Mr. J. W. Stevens, of Foxcote.

⁶³ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 367.

⁶⁴ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313.

⁶⁵ G.D.R., V 5/3471 1.

⁶⁶ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.); the name Thorndean was still used on O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

⁶⁷ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 357, 359–60.

⁶⁸ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92498.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 177, no. 92509; cf. *ibid.* 19, no. 43766, ct. 16 Oct. 1545.

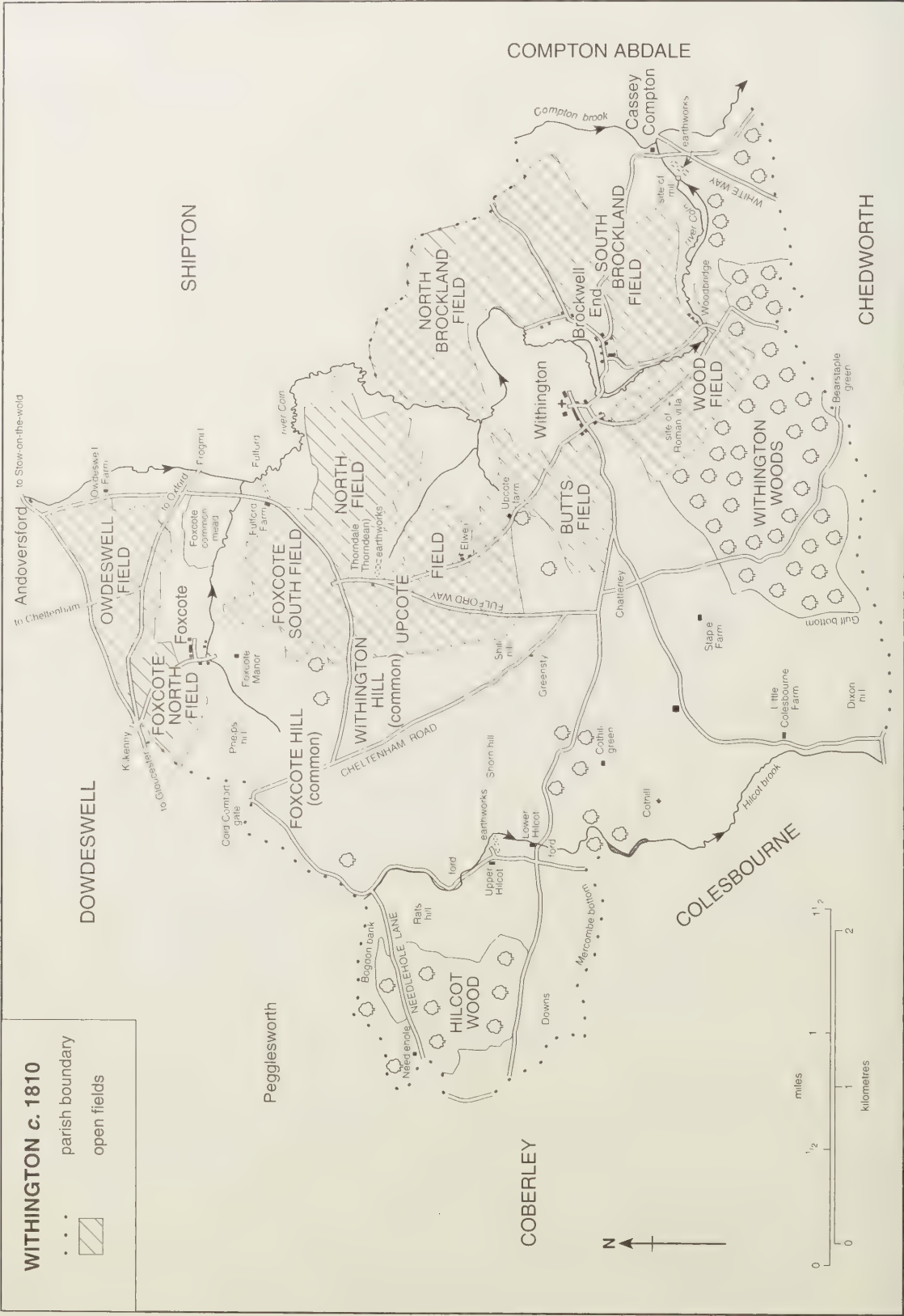


FIG. 20

the old road called Fulford way and it then became the centre of a new farm, Thorndale farm, created for the glebe.⁷⁰ South-east of it, near the head of the spring, earthworks indicate the sites of several dwellings.⁷¹

Upcote Farm occupies a similar site at the head of a spring on the old road from Withington village to Thorndean and Foxcote. It was the centre of a freehold estate in the early Middle Ages⁷² and possibly had more than one dwelling in 1288 when it was referred to as a vill.⁷³ Later, however, there was only the one farmstead.⁷⁴

Hilcot, in the narrow western valley of the parish, was established by 1086 and formerly comprised a small hamlet.⁷⁵ It was listed for tax as a separate township in 1381 but by then was uninhabited.⁷⁶ Some at least of its dwellings were near Upper Hilcot Farm, which stands on the west side of the lane leading down the valley. In a field on the opposite side of the lane is a well-defined group of earthworks, bounded on the east by a steep bank falling to Hilcot brook and on the north by a track leading to a ford over the brook: the sites of six or seven houses are visible beside a former hollow way down to the ford (replaced by the track), and to the south are the foundations of a long, narrow building, probably a sheephouse built in the late medieval or early modern period after the hamlet was depopulated.⁷⁷

The owner of Hilcot manor, Winchcombe abbey, probably had a farmhouse or farm buildings at the site of Upper Hilcot Farm in the early 16th century.⁷⁸ In 1698 the farmhouse was the only dwelling recorded on the manor, apart from a cottage on land called the Downs near the west boundary of the parish. Following a partition of the manor in 1698 a second farmhouse, Lower Hilcot, was built in the valley further south, where the road to Withington village forded Hilcot brook.⁷⁹ By the late 17th century there was also a dwelling in a remote position at Needlehole in the north-west corner of Hilcot. It was an alehouse in 1680⁸⁰ and it later became a small farmhouse on the Upper Dowdeswell estate⁸¹ after adjoining land, part of the former Ayles wood, was cleared.⁸² It was rebuilt as a private dwelling in the late 20th century. About 1750 the owner of the part of Ayles wood that

became known as Hilcot wood built a cottage for his woodward at its south-west corner, near the Upper Coberley road,⁸³ and during the 19th century and the early 20th the Hilcot area had, apart from the two farmhouses and Needlehole, several isolated cottages, two of which were occupied in 1908 by gamekeepers.⁸⁴

At Little Colesbourne in the south-west corner of the parish, opposite Colesbourne, another small manor had been established by 1086.⁸⁵ In the modern period it comprised a single farmstead at Little Colesbourne Farm beside the Withington–Colesbourne road. The medieval settlement was evidently larger, for Little Colesbourne had a chapel by the early 13th century and its own open fields.⁸⁶ Earthworks by the road c. 200 m. south of Little Colesbourne Farm, where a house called Chapel Close was built in 1892, indicate the site of another farmstead or farmsteads.⁸⁷

The high land in the south part of the parish between Withington village and Hilcot brook had a number of early dwellings, some of them evidently established in connexion with assarting during the 12th and 13th centuries. Staple Farm, a farmstead south of the Withington–Colesbourne road, probably existed by 1299 as the centre of an estate formed partly of assarts.⁸⁸ On Chatterley hill, by the junction of the Hilcot and Colesbourne roads,⁸⁹ a toft and a yardland belonged to Withington manor in 1507⁹⁰ and may have represented the yardland tenancy in possession of Robert de Chaddeley in 1299.⁹¹ Two other tenants in 1299, one of whom had assart land, took their names from Greensty,⁹² an area at the south end of Shill hill at the junction of the old Cheltenham road and Fulford way; the place name, meaning a 'green lane',⁹³ presumably refers to one of those roads. Two tofts were recorded at Greensty in the early modern period, belonging respectively to Upcote farm⁹⁴ and to a leasehold of Withington manor called Freemans farm, which was based in Withington village and was an amalgam of a number of former customary holdings.⁹⁵ The only building later found recorded at Greensty was a barn beside the old Cheltenham road. It was converted to a dwelling in 1748,⁹⁶ and later (possibly because it became part of the Colesbourne glebe⁹⁷) it was known as

⁷⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 4.

⁷¹ *TS. description and plan* by Prof. Dyer (1994).

⁷² Below, manors.

⁷³ *Reg. Giffard*, 348.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7; Colesbourne Pk. MSS., Upcote fm. deeds 1722–43. The sites of three other houses belonged to the fm. in 1687 but two at least were in other parts of the par.: cf. below, this section.

⁷⁵ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165, where the name appears as 'Willecote'.

⁷⁶ *Poll Taxes*, ed. Fenwick, i. 288, 313.

⁷⁷ Interpretation of site by Prof. Dyer (1999).

⁷⁸ Below, manors.

⁷⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 181/III/T 39; cf. below, manors.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/SO 1, f. 205v.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* D 269a/T 7, deed 1763; D 1388/SL 5, no. 3; Q/RI 162.

⁸² Cf. above, this section.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 8; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 162.

⁸⁴ O.S. Map 6", *Glos. XXXV. NW.* (1883 edn.); *Wilts.*

and *Glos. Standard*, 28 Nov. 1908.

⁸⁵ Below, manors.

⁸⁶ Below, econ. hist.; church.

⁸⁷ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cvii. 223–8; the site was formerly identified as that of the chap.: e.g. O.S. Map 1/25,000, SP 01 (1957 edn.).

⁸⁸ Below, manors.

⁸⁹ For Chatterley, Greensty, and Cothill, see field names in *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162.

⁹⁰ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92498.

⁹¹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 356.

⁹² *Ibid.* 356, 361, where the name appears as 'Grevesty'.

⁹³ Cf. *P.N. Glos.* (E.P.N.S.), iv. 174.

⁹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 269a/T 7; cf. Colesbourne Pk. MSS., Upcote fm. deeds 1722–43.

⁹⁵ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92509; 20, no. 43768; 54, no. 44040, f. 54v.

⁹⁶ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., deeds of Greenstee and Whitewall 1748–1813.

⁹⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; *G.D.R.*, V 5/87t 6.

Jerusalem:⁹⁸ it had been demolished by 1998. A toft called Sharpenhull, which with its yardland was also absorbed into Freemans farm before 1528,⁹⁹ was possibly in the area later called Shornhill on the west side of Withington hill. Three tenants surnamed Uphill in 1299, one holding an assart, may have been other dwellers on the high land above and to the west of Withington village.¹

In the same part of the parish, land between the Hilcot and Colesbourne roads called Cothill in 1819 was evidently the area earlier known as Cotwell, once also the site of dwellings. The heir of William of Cotwell held assart land from Withington manor in 1299,² and in 1507 the lord of the manor had in hand two tofts and two yardlands called Cotwell.³ One toft and its land formed part of Freemans farm by 1528⁴ and a reversionary grant of another was made in 1550.⁵ In addition, the site of a house called Cotwell belonged to Upcote farm in 1687.⁶ Those early tenant farmhouses may have stood around Cothill green, just south of the Hilcot road, where there is a well at the head of a short coomb leading down to Hilcot brook. There was a single cottage at Cothill green in 1819,⁷ and the small stone building, probably dating from the 18th century, survived in 1999, then uninhabited and becoming derelict. A new house built at Cotwell in 1644 on land belonging to Hilcot manor⁸ was presumably one that in 1819 stood in a more southerly part of Cothill adjoining land later planted as Barncombe wood;⁹ it became a farmhouse on the Colesbourne estate in the 19th century but was demolished early in the 20th.¹⁰

At Elwell, on the old Withington–Foxcote road north-west of Upcote Farm, a mason called Anthony Stallard built a cottage in 1751, and by 1806 there was a group of five cottages there.¹¹ Several buildings remained in 1883¹² as part of the Colesbourne estate's Upcote farm, but in 1998 Elwell comprised only a pair of cottages built by the owner J. H. Elwes in 1885.¹³ Elwes built a pair of cottages for Staple farm on the Colesbourne road north of its farmhouse in 1860,¹⁴ and another pair was built at the same period further east near a barn called Hill barn.

The barn had been converted as a dwelling by 1998.

A small farmhouse called Fulford Farm, standing on the old road to Andoversford at its junction with the abandoned road from the Fulford ford,¹⁵ was recorded from 1712¹⁶ but was completely rebuilt in the late 20th century.

Farmsteads established following the inclosure of c. 1815 included Pegglesworth Hill (or Foxcote Hill) Farm, on the north-west part of the central ridge. It was built for a large allotment sold to meet the expenses of the inclosure to J. F. Croome, the tenant and later owner of the adjoining Pegglesworth estate in Dowdeswell.¹⁷ Farm buildings, including a large barn, had been put up by 1824¹⁸ and there was a pair of farm cottages there in 1869.¹⁹ In 1998 the cottages formed a single dwelling called Foxcote Hill House. Shornhill Farm, on the west side of the central ridge, was built c. 1830 on part of the rector's large glebe estate. On another part of the glebe at Ravenswell, on the steep ridge above and to the north-east of Withington village, a large barn and other buildings were put up before 1835.²⁰ One end of the barn was later converted to a farmhouse and the rest of the barn was taken into the house in the mid 1950s.²¹ At Northfield, south of Fulford Farm, another of the glebe farms was given a small farmhouse and buildings in 1889,²² and a new house was built there in 1929 to the designs of Norman Jewson.²³

Before 1507 a new inn was built in Withington village on the orders of the lord of the manor, the bishop of Worcester,²⁴ and an inn with a sign was recorded at Withington in 1528.²⁵ Both references are likely to be to the inn called the George in a range of buildings just south of the churchyard (comprising in 1998 Corner House and Forge Cottage).²⁶ The sign was given as the St. George in 1676,²⁷ which suggests a pre-Reformation origin, and architectural remains are consistent with the reference in 1507. The George was the village's principal (possibly the only) inn in the late 17th century,²⁸ and it remained open as such for much of 18th century, when it formed part of a copyhold under the manor based on the house later called

⁹⁸ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824); O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁹⁹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92509.

¹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 357, 359, 361.

² *Ibid.* 355.

³ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92498.

⁴ *Ibid.* 177, no. 92509; 20, no. 43768.

⁵ *Ibid.* 19, no. 43766.

⁶ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7; cf. Colesbourne Pk. MSS., Upcote fm. deeds 1722–43.

⁷ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162 (nos. 515, 518–20); cf. O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.).

⁸ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 17.

⁹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 162 (no. 527).

¹⁰ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., rental of Colesbourne est. 1861; inf. from Mr. H. W. G. Elwes, of Colesbourne.

¹¹ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., deed 26 Oct. 1751; abs. of title to cotts. at Elwell 1860; cf. Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

¹² O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NW. (1883 edn.).

¹³ Cat. of Colesbourne Pk. MSS. (1997, TS.), p. 24; date and inits. on bldg.

¹⁴ Date and inits. on bldg.

¹⁵ Above, this section.

¹⁶ G.D.R. Withington peculiar wills, no. 15.

¹⁷ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; cf. above, Dowdeswell, manors.

¹⁸ Bryant, *Map of Glos.* (1824); O.S. Map 1", sheet 44 (1828 edn.).

¹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 1388/SL 5, no. 20.

²⁰ G.D.R., V 5/347t 4.

²¹ W.I. hist. of Withington, caption to photog. of Ravenswell.

²² Glos. R.O., P 374/IN 3/17; cf. O.S. Map 6", Glos. XXXV. NE. (1883 edn.).

²³ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 743.

²⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92498 (s.vv. 'rent of assize' and 'allowed rent').

²⁵ *Ibid.* 177, no. 92509.

²⁶ Location of the George is confirmed by *ibid.* 34, no. 43798, p. 84; cf. *ibid.* 36, no. 43800b, enfranchisement of copyhold 16 Dec. 1897.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 21, no. 43772.

²⁸ Hist. MSS. Com. 29, 13th Rep. II, *Portland*, ii, p. 296; cf. B.L. Harl. MS. 4716, f. 7.

Withington Court.²⁹ It closed soon after 1791 because the rector Benjamin Grisdale prevented a renewal of its licence,³⁰ and when the property was sold by the lords of the manor in 1897 it carried a covenant barring its use as a public house.³¹ The Corner House incorporates at its south end one bay of what was probably a two-bayed, late-medieval open hall; its roof, which has an arch-braced central truss and two tiers of windbraces, is similar to that at Halewell Close. Now floored, the hall may have remained open until the 19th century when a tall mullioned and transomed window and a chimney stack were built on the west front. Some thick walling may be medieval, but otherwise the north end of the house, including what was presumably a north bay of the hall, has been rebuilt. The parlour, forming the north-west corner of the building has a 17th-century ceiling. Forge Cottage, the south end of the range of buildings, was the village smithy in the 19th century; it was rebuilt before 1851 when the whole range was in four occupations.³²

The New Inn, at the south-west of the upper part of the village, is mentioned above. The Mill inn beside the Coln, between the two parts of the village, had opened by 1856 and was long in the same management as the village mill on the opposite side of the road.³³ The inn, which occupies a range of buildings of two periods, both probably within the 18th century, was extended to the rear c. 1960.³⁴ In the lower end of the village, by the lane to Cassey Compton, a small public house called the King's Head opened before 1883,³⁵ and by 1891, and until 1924, there was another called the Compasses on the east side of Woodbridge Lane.³⁶ The Mill and the King's Head remained open in 1998. Inns that served traffic on the main roads at the north end of the parish, at Kilkenny, Garricks Head, and Andoversford, stood just within Withington parish but are included above with the history of Dowdeswell.³⁷

A former army hut was re-erected beside the railway line between the two parts of Withington village in 1921 to serve as a reading room and clubroom³⁸ and a new village hall was built on the same site before 1908. A tall maypole, surmounted by a weather vane, stood at the road junction south-west of the churchyard by the 1840s. The pole was renewed several times in the 20th century³⁹ and survived until the 1970s.⁴⁰

The village had football and cricket clubs in the 1950s,⁴¹ and a new playing field at the east end of the village, beyond Harnham Lane, was opened in 1967.⁴² Land in the north-east part of the parish near Frogmill was given to Shipton parish before 1959 for a playing field by the owner of Fulford farm, E. F. Fieldhouse of Shipton Solers, and a later owner of the farm laid out a golf course between the playing field and the Withington–Cheltenham road in the mid 1990s.⁴³

Visitors to Withington included the topographical writer Thomas Baskerville, who found welcome accommodation at the George inn after he and his companions lost their way on the wolds in 1682,⁴⁴ and William Cobbett, whose depiction in 1826 of the village as an example of rural decay and depopulation exaggerated the size of the parish church and misinterpreted other features.⁴⁵

MANORS AND OTHER ESTATES. At a date between 674 and 704 A.D. a monastery was founded at Withington by Ethelred, king of Mercia, and Oshere, under-king of the Hwicce, who gave 20 *cassati* of land there to Dunne and her daughter Bucge. Dunne bequeathed her rights as abbess of the monastery to her granddaughter Hrothwaru, who was confirmed in possession in 736 or 737, with reversion on her death to the see of Worcester. In 774 Milred, bishop of Worcester, gave the monastery to Abbess Aethelburg for life, with reversion to his church.⁴⁶ The monastery is not recorded later and Withington remained a possession of the bishops of Worcester, the estate including in the late Anglo-Saxon period the whole of the later parish together with Dowdeswell.⁴⁷ In 1086 the bishop's manor of Withington comprised estates held in demesne at Withington and Little Compton and tenanted sub-manors at Foxcote, Little Colesbourne with Hilcot, Dowdeswell with Pegglesworth, Notgrove, and Cold Aston.⁴⁸ The bishops of Worcester remained owners of the manor of *WITHINGTON* until the forfeiture of episcopal estates in the Civil War. In 1648 the manor was sold to John Howe of Cassey Compton, already lessee of the manor farm;⁴⁹ he remained lord in 1657⁵⁰ and presumably until the bishop recovered his estates at the Restoration. Withington then remained in the

of Withington, 43–4.

²⁹ *Glos. and Avon Life*, June 1975, 37.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/MI 6, par. mags. June 1951; July 1957.

³¹ *Ibid.* Sept. 1967.

³² Inf. from Mr. M. Evans, of Fulford Fm.; *W.I. hist. of Shipton Oliffe* (1959, TS. in *Glos. Colln.*), 9.

³³ *Hist. MSS. Com.* 29, 13th Rep. II, *Portland*, ii, p. 296; B.L. Harl. MS. 4716, f. 7.

³⁴ Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (Everyman edn. 1957), 130–1.

³⁵ Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, pp. 32, 35; 38; Finberg, *Roman and Saxon Withington*, 6–8.

³⁶ Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, 262–71.

³⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v–165.

³⁸ *Wores. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rott. 5–6; 197, no. 325122, p. 158.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 174, no. 92466.

²⁹ *Wores. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47948, presentations 1703; 197, no. 325122, pp. 133–4; *Glos. R.O.*, D 326/E 4.

³⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1, mem. 27 June 1828.

³¹ *Wores. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/36, no. 43800b.

³² *Ibid.* 34, no. 43798, p. 84.

³³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

³⁴ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 742.

³⁵ O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXV.* 7 (1884 edn.).

³⁶ *Ibid.* (1902 edn.); *Licensed Houses in Glos. 1891*, 164–5; *W.I. hist. of Withington*, 2.

³⁷ Above, Dowdeswell, intro.

³⁸ *W.I. hist. of Withington*, 79; cf. O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXV.* 7 (1922 edn.).

³⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, A 374/1 (where it is evidently the structure rising above the trees near the church in a sketch of c. 1840); O.S. Map 1/2,500, *Glos. XXXV.* 7 (1884 edn.); *W.I. hist.*

bishops' possession until 1860 when it passed with their other estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁵¹

The manor house and demesne farm of Withington were leased under the bishop of Worcester by 1466,⁵² and in 1510 an 80-year lease was granted to Thomas Bush, a Northleach wool merchant, whose son Thomas had assigned it to another party by the 1540s.⁵³ In the early 17th century the manor farm was held by Ralph Cotton, who had five servants at Withington in 1608. By 1636⁵⁴ it was held by John Howe, and in 1662 the bishop granted a new lease for three lives to John's second son John Grubham Howe. The younger John sold his lease in 1682 to Thomas Smith, who also bought the lease of Withington woods, which had been held from the bishop by members of the Rich family. Thomas's son Humphrey Smith (d. 1718) of Kidlington (Oxon.)⁵⁵ succeeded him as lessee,⁵⁶ and a new lease was granted in 1727 to Humphrey's son Thomas Smith, whose son and heir, also Thomas, sold it in 1764 to his brother William Smith⁵⁷ (fl. 1784).⁵⁸ Elizabeth Smith of Headington Hill, near Oxford, renewed the lease in 1796,⁵⁹ and George Knapp was the lessee c. 1803⁶⁰ and Henry Knapp in 1819 and 1840.⁶¹ The manor farm remained on lease for lives in 1855, when including the woods it comprised 774 a.,⁶² but by 1865 it had reverted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁶³

In 1866 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners used the manor farm, another farm, and Withington woods, apparently the whole of the estate not then held from them by copyhold or leasehold for lives, as a part of the re-endowment estate of the dean and chapter of Gloucester cathedral. The dean and chapter returned that land to the Commissioners in exchange for other property in 1892.⁶⁴ Having enfranchised the copyhold land of the manor,⁶⁵ the Commissioners sold the manorial rights, the woods, the two farms, and a third farm, based on the house later called Halewell Close, in 1926 to Reginald Julius Gunther.⁶⁶ At Gunther's death in 1967 his estate was divided, the manor farm with the woods passing to his

niece Mary, the wife of Anthony Noel, earl of Gainsborough.⁶⁷ Lady Gainsborough's son, the Hon. Gerard Noel, sold the farm, a total of c. 800 a. including the woods, in 1997.⁶⁸

In the Middle Ages the bishops of Worcester frequently stayed on their manor of Withington during journeys through their large diocese. About 1182 one group of tenants owed additional labour services to meet the needs of the household when the bishop was in residence,⁶⁹ and in 1288 a freehold estate at Upcote owed the service of carrying writs within the diocese.⁷⁰ Godfrey Giffard, bishop 1268–1302, was a regular visitor⁷¹ and in 1271 had licence from the Crown, possibly not acted upon, to crenellate his house at Withington.⁷² A lease of the manor house and the demesne farm in 1476 reserved the use of the house for visits by the bishop, at which time the tenant was required to move into the gatehouse; the tenant also had to provide hospitality for the steward and other officers coming to hold the manor court at Michaelmas,⁷³ an obligation which by the late 17th century had been commuted for an annual payment of 40s.⁷⁴ Under the lessees of the early modern period the house and farm were sublet.⁷⁵ R. J. Gunther took up residence at the manor house when he bought the estate in 1926 but within a few years moved to Halewell Close, which he had much enlarged. By 1931⁷⁶ the manor house was occupied by W. S. Morrison, M.P. for the Cirencester and Tewkesbury constituency and Speaker of the House of Commons from 1951 to 1959; Morrison, later Vct. Dunrossil, lived there until his appointment as governor-general of Australia in 1960.⁷⁷

The manor house, called Manor Farm in the late 19th century⁷⁸ and Withington Manor in 1998, occupies with its farm buildings a large site at north end of the upper part of Withington village; in the Middle Ages it may have comprised a complex of buildings, as the reference to the gatehouse in 1476 suggests. The earliest part of the surviving house is an L-shaped mid 17th-century building, partly ashlar faced, with twin gables on both the east and south façades. By 1883⁷⁹ the angle of the L-shaped house had

⁵¹ Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act, 23 & 24 Vic. c. 124; Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/36, no. 43800b, sale 16 Dec. 1897.

⁵² Worcs. Episc. Reg., Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 206v.

⁵³ P.R.O., STAC 3/2/22.

⁵⁴ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 79, depositions in Hilcot Middle hill dispute, 1636; Smith, *Men and Armour*, 271.

⁵⁵ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/54, no. 44040, ff. 54v.–56; 197, no. 325122, p. 145; for the Howes, below, this section (Cassey Compton), and for the Smiths, *V.C.H. Oxon.* xii. 189, 477.

⁵⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* 845.

⁵⁷ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47977.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 151, no. 47971, letter 1784.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 197, no. 325122, pp. 145–6.

⁶⁰ Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 292.

⁶¹ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; D 2440, deeds of Great Witcombe, Withington, etc. 1557–1854, mortgage 1854.

⁶² Ibid. SL 317.

⁶³ Ibid. D 936/E 14, ff. 72–82, 93–5; cf. *ibid.* D 1740/P 15.

⁶⁴ Kirby, *Cat. of Glouc. Dioc. Rec.* ii, p. xiv; Glos. R.O.,

D 936/E 261. The Commissioners retained the manorial rights: Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/36, no. 43800b, surrender of copyhold 10 June 1875; sale 16 Dec. 1897.

⁶⁵ Below, econ. hist.

⁶⁶ Inf. from Church of Eng. Rec. Centre, Bermondsey, London; Dr. Wm. Hunter Richards contracted to buy the estate but was replaced as purchaser by Gunther.

⁶⁷ Inf. from Mrs. E. Carey-Wilson, of Halewell Close, Withington; Debrett, *Peerage* (1962), 869.

⁶⁸ Inf. from the new owners (who preferred not to be named).

⁶⁹ *Red Bk. of Worcs.* 367.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 364–5.

⁷¹ *Reg. Giffard, passim.*

⁷² *Cal. Pat.* 1266–72, 580.

⁷³ Worcs. Episc. Reg., Reg. Carpenter, ii, f. 86 and v.

⁷⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/54, no. 44040, f. 55v.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 197, no. 325122, pp. 145–6.

⁷⁶ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927), 391; (1931), 375; above, intro.

⁷⁷ Inscr. in ch.; *Who Was Who*, 1961–70, 329–30.

⁷⁸ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 7 (1884 edn.).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

been filled in, making a rectangular plan and wings had been built to the north-east and north-west. The entrance was on the east. In 1927 the house, which then had two- and three-light mullioned windows with hoodmoulds, was extensively remodelled by R. J. Gunther.⁸⁰ The projecting wings were demolished and a new range, as tall as the rest of the house, was built along the north side, adding an extra 18th-century style bay to the east façade and concealing the low range built in the angle of the L. A service wing was added to the new range. The external details, including the string courses and most of the six-light windows, date from that remodelling, as do many of the internal features. On the north-west of the house is a square, cross-gabled dovecot, probably of the 17th or early 18th century. A small new farmhouse for the tenant of the manor farm was built to the north-east of the house by Gunther in 1935.⁸¹

An estate of 1 *mansa* at Compton was leased from the see of Worcester in 962 A.D. and until 989 or later⁸² and, comprising 1 ploughland in demesne, a mill, and tenant land, was retained in hand by the bishop in 1086.⁸³ From it evidently derived the estate of *LITTLE COMPTON*, usually called from the late 16th century *CASSEY COMPTON*. John de Mucegros, who died c. 1275, held 1 ploughland at Little Compton from the bishop for a chief rent of 1 mark,⁸⁴ which the owners still owed to Withington manor in the early 20th century.⁸⁵ John's widow Cecily held the estate for some years.⁸⁶ Descendants of the Mucegros family, the Ferrers family of Chartley (Staffs.), still drew rents from Little Compton in the early 15th century,⁸⁷ but the estate had passed by 1299 to John Russell.⁸⁸ In 1436 Walter Percival and Blanche, the former wife of Nicholas Cassey, granted the estate to John Cassey.⁸⁹ It presumably then remained in the ownership of the Casseys of Wightfield, in Deerhurst parish,⁹⁰ John Cassey holding it in 1497⁹¹ and William Cassey at his death in 1509. William's son Leonard⁹² died a minor in 1513 and Compton passed to Leonard's brother Robert, who came of age c. 1528.⁹³ Robert (d. 1547) settled it on his

wife Elizabeth, who was succeeded by their son Henry⁹⁴ (d. 1595). Henry's son Thomas succeeded⁹⁵ and in 1610 he and his family levied a fine of an estate at Cassey Compton and Compton Abdale to Thomas Rich. Rich, later of North Cerney,⁹⁶ had probably taken up residence at Cassey Compton in 1608 and was certainly living there in 1614.⁹⁷ He was dealing with the estate in 1623,⁹⁸ but by 1636 it belonged to John Howe,⁹⁹ perhaps as a result of his marriage to Rich's daughter Bridget.¹

John Howe was M.P. for Gloucestershire 1654–5 and 1656–8 and was created a baronet in 1660.² He died in 1670³ and was succeeded at Cassey Compton by his second son John Grubham Howe (d. by 1682),⁴ who was M.P. for the county in 1659 and 1661–79.⁵ The latter's widow Lady Annabella Howe owned Cassey Compton in 1684,⁶ but it passed before 1701 to Richard Howe,⁷ her husband's nephew, who succeeded to the family baronetcy in 1703. Sir Richard (d. 1730) left Cassey Compton with other estates to his wife Mary (d. 1735), with reversion to his kinsman John Howe,⁸ later 1st Lord Chedworth, a grandson of John Grubham Howe. From 1735 it descended with the Stowell Park estate⁹ and formed part of a large tenant farm which included land in Compton Abdale;¹⁰ the acreage in Withington parish in 1819 was 309.¹¹ In 1923 the earl of Eldon sold Cassey Compton house with 909 a. of land and woods in Withington and adjoining parishes to the agriculturalist Professor (Sir) William Somerville,¹² and in 1927 Somerville sold it to Samuel Vestey,¹³ thus re-uniting it with Stowell Park. In 1998 the house was tenanted by a sculptor and painter, Mr. Jonathan Poole, while the land round about was farmed by the estate.

Cassey Compton house stands in a secluded valley near the south-east corner of Withington where the river Coln is joined by the Compton brook. The Cassey family had a mansion there in 1601,¹⁴ and the Howes lived there in the 17th and early 18th centuries, John Grubham Howe being assessed on 18 hearths in 1672.¹⁵ The house was extensively remodelled on a U plan

⁸⁰ Stourton, *Mill Inn and Withington*, 36–7.

⁸¹ W.I. hist. of Withington, 8.

⁸² Finberg, *Early Charters of W. Midlands*, 55, 61–3.

⁸³ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii, p. 80.

⁸⁵ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, nos. 47967–8; 152, no. 47974; Glos. R.O., D 2299/5018.

⁸⁶ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 451; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* v. 107.

⁸⁷ P.R.O., C 138/2, no. 26; C 139/75, no. 33.

⁸⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1435–41, 100–1.

⁹⁰ Cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* viii. 40.

⁹¹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92495.

⁹² P.R.O., C 142/26, no. 81.

⁹³ *Ibid.* C 142/50, no. 89.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* C 142/84, no. 77; B.L. Add. Ch. 72638.

⁹⁵ P.R.O., C 142/246, no. 106; B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, ff. 495v–496.

⁹⁶ P.R.O., CP 25/2/297/8 Jas. I Mich. no. 20; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 153, 162, where he is wrongly called Sir Thomas.

⁹⁷ P.R.O., STAC 8/193/2; Glos. R.O., D 1878, Chedworth deeds 1598–1620, lease 1614.

⁹⁸ P.R.O., CP 25/2/299/21 Jas. I Mich. no. 40.

⁹⁹ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 79.

¹ *Visit. Glos.* 1682–3, 142–3.

² Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Glos.* 57; for the Howes, Burke, *Ext. & Dorm. Baronetcies*, 271, where, however, John Howe, 1st Ld. Chedworth, is confused with his father, John Grubham Howe (d. 1722).

³ Glos. R.O., P 374/IN 1/2.

⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/21, no. 43773.

⁵ Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Glos.* 58.

⁶ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/54, no. 44040, f. 58; Glos. R.O., P 374/OV 2/2.

⁷ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47968.

⁸ P.R.O., PROB 11/638 (P.C.C. 191 Auber), ff. 358–361v.; for Mary's death, Glos. R.O., D 1878, abs. of title of Thos. Penrice.

⁹ Above, Stowell, manor.

¹⁰ Glos. R.O., D 1878, succession duty acct. of earl of Eldon 1854; D 1388/SL 3, no. 5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Q/R1 162.

¹² *Ibid.* D 2299/5018; *D.N.B.* 1931–40.

¹³ Glos. R.O., D 2299/3590.

¹⁴ B.L. Harl. MS. 4131, f. 566v.

¹⁵ P.R.O., E 179/247/14, rot. 10.

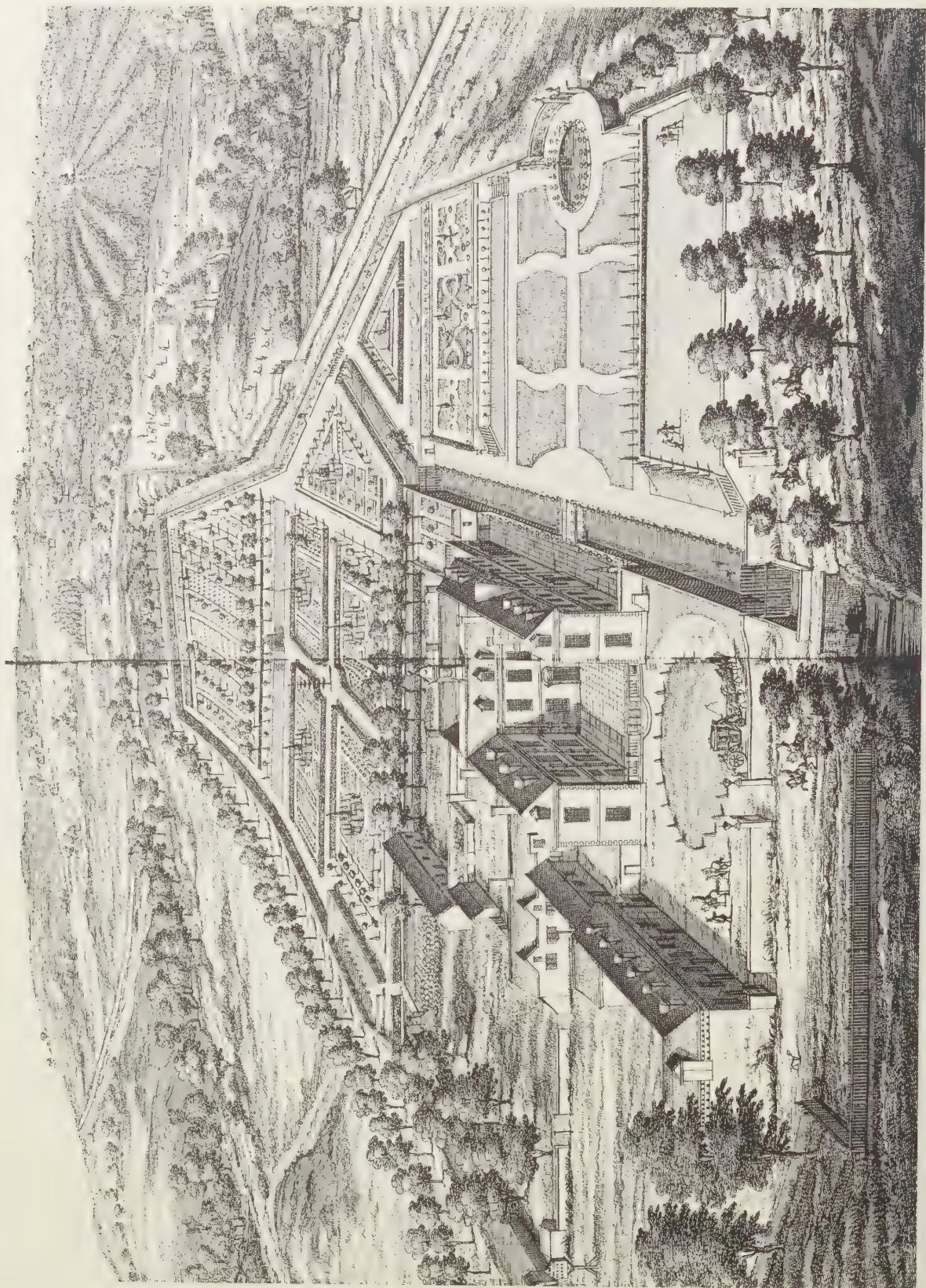


FIG. 21. CASSEY COMPTON FROM THE WEST, C. 1710, WITH (AT TOP RIGHT) THE DEER PARK AND STAR WOOD IN COMPTON ABDALE

by (Sir) Richard Howe *c.* 1700 and a large part of the house and outbuildings survive as drawn by Kip a few years later,¹⁶ although the house was reduced in size when it became a farmhouse after 1730. A fragment of a three-storeyed, early 17th-century house with hollow-chamfered mullioned windows was incorporated in the rebuilt house as service rooms at the north-east angle of the central block¹⁷ and was extended northwards as a low range of one and a half storeys. The central block and north wing have their original mullioned and transomed windows but only two of their original dormers and one north stack. On the first floor of the north wing three rooms have contemporary cornices and angled walls where corner fireplaces must have fitted, and that wing retains its tiebeam and collar-truss roof. The matching south wing was demolished before 1819,¹⁸ and it was perhaps at the same time that the central block, shown by Kip as double pile with a central cupola, was reduced to a single pile with windows re-used where the east range formerly abutted. The interior of the house was much altered during the 19th and 20th centuries: new entrances were made into the central block and north wing, the original central doorway was blocked, the staircase was removed and a new staircase made at the inner angle of the central block and north wing, and the ground-floor arrangement of rooms was replanned. A low stable or lodgings block running south had its mullioned and transomed windows half blocked and internal partitions removed, perhaps in the 19th century to convert it for agricultural use; in 1998 it was used as an art gallery.

Of the formal garden that existed in the early 18th century the main survival is the canalized Coln, with coped walls and a small bridge across, running close to the site of the vanished south wing. Gatepiers with urn finials survive in the wall on the south side, though the wall there has been altered, but a similar set of piers in the west wall, aligned with the main entrance of the house, has been removed. In a field beyond Compton brook to the north-east, within Compton Abdale parish, traces could be seen in 1998 of part of the garden, showing it to have been much smaller in scale than suggested by Kip's view. A large deer park belonging to the owners in the early 18th century occupied the hillside in Compton Abdale to the east of the house.¹⁹

In 1086 three hides at *FOXCOTE* were held

from the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor by Morinus.²⁰ In the late 12th century Roger de Mynors held an intermediate lordship between the bishop and a tenant-in-demesne, and Roger's grandson Henry de Mynors²¹ granted his rights before 1214 to the Knights Templar.²² In 1219 the Templars sought warranty from Henry's three daughters and heirs after being distrained for suit to the bishop's court at Withington.²³ In the late 13th century the tenant-in-demesne held the manor as 3 hides and ½ knight's fee under the successive overlordships of the Templars, the heirs of the Mynors family, and the bishop of Worcester.²⁴ In 1530 Foxcote manor was thought to be held directly from the bishop,²⁵ though a small rent was owed from it to the Templars' former preceptory of Temple Guiting in 1535.²⁶ The Templars evidently also acquired land at Foxcote in demesne, for in 1329 some was attached to Temple Guiting, which received a rent of 4s. from a tenant at Foxcote in 1535.²⁷

Bertrand Crochun held Foxcote manor in the late 12th century,²⁸ and Adam Crochun (or Crocum) in 1214 and 1220.²⁹ William Crosson (presumably a form of the same surname) held it in 1285 and 1303,³⁰ and John Crosson in 1346.³¹ By 1507 the manor had been acquired by the college of Westbury-on-Trym,³² possibly by grant of John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, who bought an adjoining estate in Dowdeswell in the 1460s to include as part of his re-endowment of the college.³³ In 1544 the Crown sold Foxcote with the college's other lands to Sir Ralph Sadler,³⁴ who sold it in 1549 to Robert Lawrence.³⁵ It apparently belonged soon afterwards to Thomas Upcote, whose widow married Richard Lawrence, the manor becoming divided between the widow and Thomas's son Walter.³⁶ Richard Lawrence, however, acquired an unrestricted title and at his death in 1576 left ⅓ of Foxcote manor to his widow Margaret (apparently his second wife), the residue passing to his son Richard, then a minor.³⁷ Richard later succeeded to the whole and died in 1617, having settled it on his wife Elizabeth, with remainders to members of the family of his sister Anne Hilton;³⁸ Richard Hilton had lands at Foxcote in 1647, but the largest estate in the hamlet was then owned by the heirs of John Lygon.³⁹ In 1652 John Heath and his wife Elizabeth were dealing with Foxcote manor,⁴⁰ and in 1660 John settled it,

¹⁶ Atkyns, *Glos.* 367, and plate at pp. 366–7, reproduced opposite, Fig. 21.

¹⁷ A beam with initials 'W M' and date 1618, inserted in a 19th-century E. extension, may be from another site.

¹⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/R1 162.

¹⁹ Atkyns, *Glos.*, plate at pp. 366–7; for the park, above, Compton Abdale, intro.

²⁰ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

²¹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 439; cf. *V.C.H. Glos.* x. 85.

²² *Cur. Reg. R.* vii. 252.

²³ *Ibid.* viii. 75, 159–60; *P.R.O.*, JUST 1/271, rot. 5d.

²⁴ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239; cf. *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355, 451.

²⁵ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/178, no. 92510.

²⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 432.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 244; *Cal. Pat.* 1327–30, 488.

²⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 439.

²⁹ *Cur. Reg. R.* vii. 252; *P.R.O.*, JUST 1/271, rot. 5d.

³⁰ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239, 246.

³¹ *Ibid.* 279.

³² *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, iii, p. 236.

³³ *V.C.H. Glos.* ii. 108; above, Dowdeswell, manors (Upper Dowdeswell).

³⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), pp. 175–6.

³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1548–9, 228.

³⁶ *P.R.O.*, E 134/11 Jas. I East./30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*; *ibid.* C 142/177, no. 92.

³⁸ *Ibid.* C 142/365, no. 151.

³⁹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rott. 27–8.

⁴⁰ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/2/553/1651–2 Hil. no. 1.

from after his death, on Elizabeth's sister Katherine and her husband Fleetwood Dormer.⁴¹ Dormer, who was later knighted, retained the manor in 1684.⁴²

About 1710 a Mr. Rook was said to be lord of Foxcote,⁴³ and in 1717 John Wright the younger of Kelvedon (Essex) owned a life interest in the manor.⁴⁴ In 1771 the manor belonged to Sarah Jordan, who married Edward Ansell⁴⁵ (d. by 1784) and later William Marshall (fl. 1807). Sarah left the manor, with a farm based on the house called Foxcote Manor, to her nieces Ann, Sarah, and Maria Ansell,⁴⁶ and those three, of whom Ann married a Mr. Sylvester (d. by 1830) and Maria married John Festus Fegan, were the owners in 1819 and 1830.⁴⁷ At a partition of Foxcote Manor farm in 1868 the bulk of it was assigned to Thomas Hodges Graham and a small part, 1/10 of the farm, to representatives of the Fegan family.⁴⁸ In 1907 the farm with 248 a. was offered for sale by Arthur Preston,⁴⁹ and in 1911 Gideon Spearman was the owner.⁵⁰ In 1919 Foxcote Manor farm was acquired by Mrs. Emma Abell,⁵¹ whose son Victor farmed it in the 1920s and 1930s. Mrs. Abell was succeeded before 1939 by her eldest son George⁵² (d. 1946), and George's eldest son, Sir George Abell, owned Foxcote in 1954 though his second son Sir Anthony Abell lived there then and during the 1960s.⁵³ The Abells, who had added glebe land, bought from the rector in 1921,⁵⁴ and Thorndale farm (former glebe), bought c. 1932, sold the Foxcote estate in 1973 to the Hon. M. W. Vestey, brother of Lord Vestey of Stowell Park. Mr. Vestey further enlarged the estate by acquiring two other farms at Foxcote and parts of Withington Manor farm, and in 1998 he owned c. 404.5 ha. (c. 1,000 a.) in the parish.⁵⁵

Foxcote Manor, which was much extended in the 20th century, retains at its centre a rubble-built, five-bayed house of c. 1700. It has two storeys with mullioned and transomed windows and dormered attics in a hipped roof. Its plan, single pile with a short north-west wing, was determined by an earlier house, the outer walls and stacks of which are incorporated in the three northern bays. Flanking gabled wings in an early 17th-century style were later added, that on the north by the Abells c. 1920 and that on the south by Mr. Vestey in 1973, and other additions

included a north bay window (1989), a south loggia (1991), and the visually significant classical porch (1997–8). After c. 1980, when farming operations on the estate were centred on Thorndale Farm, an 18th-century barn was converted to a billiard room and squash court, using windows from a demolished service wing at Stowell Park, and the cattle yard was made into a stable court. Work carried out from the late 1970s onwards incorporated several fields to the south and south-east of the house in landscaped grounds.⁵⁶

In 1086 two hides in Colesbourne and 'Willecote', evidently Little Colesbourne and Hilcot at the western edge of the parish, were held from the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor by Anschitel.⁵⁷ Later, apparently c. 1200, Philip of Colesbourne held two hides at those places,⁵⁸ and a man of the same name claimed the advowson of the chapel at Little Colesbourne in 1227.⁵⁹ By 1209, however, the two parts of the estate had passed into separate ownerships, the hide at *LITTLE COLESBOURNE* being held by Joseph Marsh.⁶⁰ By 1285 Bruern abbey (Oxon.) held that estate under the intermediate lordship of John Marsh of Ampney, who owed the bishop knight service and a rent of 10s. in respect of it.⁶¹ Bruern retained Little Colesbourne until the Dissolution, and in 1543 the Crown sold it to Edmund Harman, who sold it in 1544 to the tenant Thomas Preedon.⁶² Thomas Bridges died in possession of Little Colesbourne shortly before 1647,⁶³ and the Revd. Thomas Bridges owned it in 1662.⁶⁴ Charles Fettiplace was the owner in 1701⁶⁵ and Josiah Roberts by 1706;⁶⁶ the same or another Josiah Roberts owned it in 1743.⁶⁷ In 1794 the house called Little Colesbourne Farm and 344 a. belonged to John Roberts of Chalford,⁶⁸ and Adam Oldham owned that estate, a compact enclosed farm, in 1819.⁶⁹ Before 1830 Little Colesbourne was added to the adjoining Colesbourne estate of the Elwes family,⁷⁰ which retained it in 1998 when much of the land was under plantations and the farmhouse was occupied by the estate gamekeeper.⁷¹

Little Colesbourne Farm comprises a two-storeyed range of the later 17th century with end stacks serving two ground-floor rooms; the larger room is distinguished by a four-light

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 151/T 12.

⁴² *Ibid.* P 374/OV 2/2.

⁴³ Atkyns, *Glos.* 846.

⁴⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RNc 1, pp. 23–5.

⁴⁵ *P.R.O.*, CP 25/2/1315/12 Geo. III Mich. no. 174; Rudder, *Glos.* 839.

⁴⁶ Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i, 293.

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162; D 2766/8/1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* D 240.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* SL 424.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* D 2428/2/180.

⁵¹ For the Abells, Burke, *Land. Gent.* (1937), i, 1.

⁵² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1927 and later edns.).

⁵³ *Kelly's Handbook to the Titled, Landed, and Official Classes* (1953), 114; (1967), 114; *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/115/3, pp. 170, 202.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2428/2/180.

⁵⁵ Inf. from Mr. J. W. Stevens, of Foxcote (head gar-

dener at Foxcote Man.).

⁵⁶ Inf. from Mr. Stevens.

⁵⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 165.

⁵⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 440.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1225–32, 158.

⁶⁰ *Bk. of Fees*, i, 38–9.

⁶¹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355; cf. *Feud. Aids*, ii, 239.

⁶² *P.R.O.*, SC 6/Hen. VIII/2924, m. 3; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xviii (2), p. 241; xix (2), p. 321.

⁶³ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rot. 30.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 151, no. 47967.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* no. 47968.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* no. 47967.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* no. 47968.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 3/1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Q/RI 162.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* Q/REI 1, 1830.

⁷¹ Inf. from Mr. Elwes.

mullioned and transomed window. The house was much altered in the 19th century when a new roof was put on, the through-passages were partitioned, and a small service wing added.⁷²

In 1209 1 hide at *HILCOT*, formerly in the same ownership as Little Colesbourne, was held from Withington manor by William Marsh.⁷³ In 1285 it was held by knight service by another William Marsh,⁷⁴ who died *c.* 1302 and was succeeded by his son Walter.⁷⁵ Thomas de la Mare held Hilcot in 1346.⁷⁶ At the Dissolution Winchcombe abbey owned an estate which comprised lands called Hilcot, Mereplots, and Cotwell with part of Ayles wood; that estate was not termed a manor until the late 17th century. William Berners bought it from the Crown in 1546 and sold it a few days later to the lessee William Lawrence,⁷⁷ who was succeeded before 1552 by his son Edmund. By 1589 the estate had passed to Richard Lawrence, who sold it in 1598 to John Carter. Carter sold it in 1601 to Robert Rogers⁷⁸ (d. 1628) of Sandywell, in Dowdeswell, with which it descended to his son William and granddaughter Elizabeth, who married first Sir Walter Raleigh and second Paul Dodwell⁷⁹ (d. 1691).⁸⁰ Under an agreement of 1694⁸¹ Dodwell's heirs retained the woodland belonging to the estate, which as a result was again in the same ownership as Sandywell in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.⁸² The farmland, a total of 535 a., was divided in 1698 between the two daughters of Sir Walter and Elizabeth, Elizabeth, the wife of Sir John Elwes, and Anne, the wife of William Knight.⁸³

The Elweses' share of Hilcot, which included the manor house (later called Upper Hilcot Farm) and the manorial rights, belonged to a Major Elwes in 1750⁸⁴ and to John Dodington Forth, of King's Sutton (Northants.), in 1796,⁸⁵ passing before 1804 to a Mr. Clarke.⁸⁶ The Knights' share, for which a new farmhouse called Lower Hilcot was provided, had been acquired by *c.* 1770 by Henry Howe, Lord Chedworth,⁸⁷ passing with his other estates in the area to his nephew John (d. 1804).⁸⁸ Both Hilcot farms were bought *c.* 1810 by John Elwes⁸⁹ (d. 1817), owner of the Colesbourne estate, whose son Henry owned a total of 1,067 a. in Withington parish in 1820, including

also Upcote farm and land held as copyhold from Withington manor.⁹⁰ Staple farm, Little Colesbourne,⁹¹ and, before 1830, Hilcot wood⁹² were also added to the Colesbourne estate. Although a large part of Withington remained in the possession of the Elweses' Colesbourne estate in 1908, some farmland was sold in the 1950s,⁹³ including Upper Hilcot Farm and 261 a. which were bought by Mr. T. C. Owen in 1952. Mr. Owen sold the farm in 1976 to Capt. R. D. Kennedy,⁹⁴ who bought Lower Hilcot from the Colesbourne estate *c.* 1980. Capt. Kennedy later sold the house at Lower Hilcot and retained Upper Hilcot Farm with 202.5 ha. (500 a.) in 1998.⁹⁵

The manor house of Hilcot, at Upper Hilcot Farm, was described in the early 17th century as the ancient messuage called Hilcot grange,⁹⁶ indicating that the site was occupied during Winchcombe abbey's ownership. The old part of Upper Hilcot Farm is a 16th-century, rectangular, timber-framed range with a close-studded ground floor, a box-framed upper storey, and attics; it has a tiled roof and the south end of the house is rendered. It was originally on a through-passages plan with a rear stack, but little survives internally of the original plan and fittings. The roof retains two arch-braced trusses and some windbraces of a fairly deep section. Alterations made after 1952 included the removal of the fireplace on the ground floor to make room for a new bathroom, and the house was much enlarged by Capt. Kennedy in two stages, in 1976 and *c.* 1990,⁹⁷ adding a rear extension with a three-ridged roof, gables, and mock timber-framing.

Lower Hilcot Farm, which stands further downstream where the road to Withington village crosses Hilcot brook, was built soon after the partition of the Hilcot estate in 1698. Built on an unusually compact plan, it is of coursed rubble with two storeys and attics, the two rooms on each floor flanking a staircase in dog-leg flights within a rectangular well, lit by a tall window. The ground- and first-floor rooms to the south of the stair have tall stone chimney-pieces with four-centred headed openings, those on the first floor filling the angles of the rooms. In the 19th century a small service addition with a large stack was made on the north-west, and

⁷² A quatrefoil with inset lion's head, found on the site and set in the gable end of a renovated outbuilding in the 1930s, and a piece of decorative stonework, found later and built into a garden wall, have been connected with the medieval chapel recorded at Little Colesbourne (Glos. R.O., P 94/IN 4/3; inf. from Mr. Elwes) but are post-medieval in date.

⁷³ *Bk. of Fees*, i. 38–9.

⁷⁴ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355; *Feud. Aids*, ii. 239.

⁷⁵ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 506–7.

⁷⁶ *Feud. Aids*, ii. 279.

⁷⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), pp. 501, 508; Hockaday Abs. cccciv, 1544.

⁷⁸ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 79.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* T 17, T 19; above, Dowdeswell, manors.

⁸⁰ Glos. R.O., P 285/IN 1/1.

⁸¹ Whittington Ct. MSS. (in possession of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Stringer), box 1, deed 19 Oct. 1694.

⁸² Glos. R.O., D 444/T 76, T 92; P 374/IN 3/6; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 162.

⁸³ *Ibid.* D 181/III/T 39.

⁸⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47977, rate 1750.

⁸⁵ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., lease 1796.

⁸⁶ Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1, 1801, 1804; Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 293.

⁸⁷ Rudder, *Glos.* 839.

⁸⁸ Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 293; cf. above, Stowell, manor.

⁸⁹ Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1, 1805, 1811.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* photocopy 262; Q/RI 162.

⁹¹ Above and below, this section.

⁹² Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1, 1830.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 186; inf. from Mr. H.W.G. Elwes, of Colesbourne Pk.

⁹⁴ Inf. from Mr. Owen (in 1998 est. manager, Stowell Pk. est.).

⁹⁵ Inf. from Capt. Kennedy.

⁹⁶ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 79, plea in dispute over Hilcot tithe wood.

⁹⁷ Inf. from Capt. Kennedy.

it was linked to a converted outbuilding in the late 20th century.

The small manor of *OWDESWELL* in the north-east corner of the parish was recorded from 1299 when it was owned by Studley priory (Warws.). Assessed at 1½ hides, it was held from the bishop of Worcester by performing suit for him at the county court and responding to summons and distrains in hundred courts.⁹⁸ The priory had been given some or all of its land in Owdeswell by Peter of Ashridge and Jordan, his brother, and in 1330 John, son of John of Owdeswell, quitclaimed his right in the land of their gift to the priory.⁹⁹ Studley held Owdeswell until the Dissolution,¹ and the Crown sold it in 1543 to two dealers in monastic lands,² who transferred it almost immediately to Henry Heydon of Watford (Herts.).³ Heydon owned it at his death in 1559 when he was succeeded by his son Francis,⁴ who sold the manor in 1569 to Thomas Phelps and his son Thomas. The younger Thomas Phelps mortgaged Owdeswell in 1617 to Robert Lawrence of Sevenhampton, who later became owner.⁵ Robert died in 1644 when his heir was William Lawrence⁶ of Little Shurdington, in Badgeworth, who owned Owdeswell at his death in 1682. William devised Owdeswell to his nephew William Lawrence (d. 1697),⁷ and it belonged to a Mr. Lawrence of Badgeworth c. 1710⁸ and to Robert Lawrence in 1779.⁹ William Lawrence of Little Shurdington owned it in 1787,¹⁰ and in 1819, following the inclosure of the parish, his estate comprised the house called Owdeswell Manor and 158 a.¹¹ He died in 1820 or 1821, when his heir was his son William Edward Lawrence, then a minor, and his trustees and W. E. Lawrence sold Owdeswell in 1837 to Fulwar Craven of Brockhampton, in Sevenhampton.¹² Owdeswell then descended with Brockhampton, but at the sale of Brockhampton in 1900¹³ it was retained out of consideration for a long-standing tenant, who still held the farm under a trustee for the Colquitt-Craven family in 1935.¹⁴ By 1941 the farm belonged to C. Payne,¹⁵ and in 1998 Owdeswell, comprising Owdeswell Manor and 72.5 ha. (180 a.), was owned and farmed by Mr. and Mrs. J. F. G. Richardson.

Owdeswell Manor is a two-storeyed, lobby-entry house of the mid 17th century on an L

plan, with mullioned windows on the main west front. In the 18th century the south elevation of the south wing was refaced in ashlar, and a new block was added in the angle of the two older ranges, making the house rectangular. In the 20th century sash windows were replaced with mullioned and transomed windows, and new mullioned windows were added on the west front. A barn adjoining appears to date from the early 18th century and has 19th-century additions.

STAPLE FARM, adjoining Withington woods near the south end of the parish, was established before the late 13th century, partly from assarts. William de Stabulo held ½ hide from the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor c. 1285,¹⁶ and in 1299 John de Stabulo had an estate which comprised 1 yardland, 2 pieces of assart land, one of them deriving from a grant made by Bishop William de Blois between 1218 and 1236, and a house granted by his successor Walter Cantilupe before 1266.¹⁷ Richard atte Stable, a free tenant under the bishop in 1349,¹⁸ presumably had the same estate. The farm was apparently included in lands in Withington owned in 1436 by John Vampage,¹⁹ passing to his successors, the owners of Colesbourne manor.²⁰ The heirs of Robert Vampage were free tenants of Withington manor in 1520²¹ and his widow Eleanor, who married John Guise, held 8 yardlands at her death c. 1545; her estate then owed a rent of 10s. to Withington manor²² which was still paid by the owners of Staple farm in 1789.²³ Eleanor's son John Vampage held an estate described as the manor of Withington at his death in 1548,²⁴ and in 1602 John's nephew Edmund Harewell sold that estate, styled the manor of Withington 'alias Staples', with Colesbourne manor to William Higgs (d. 1612).²⁵

By 1647 Staple farm belonged to Edmund Lawrence,²⁶ who settled it, together with a leasehold estate, on the marriage of his daughter Hannah to Dr. Robert Fielding in 1655.²⁷ It passed, apparently in Robert's lifetime, to a younger son Edward Fielding, who died before 1716 when his widow Mary and brother Charles conveyed it to Caleb Baily of Berwick Bassett (Wilts.).²⁸ Baily retained it in 1748,²⁹ and it passed soon afterwards to William Hillier (d.

⁹⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 356.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 62; *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, 139.

¹ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/3734, m. 36v.

² *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 78.

³ P.R.O., CP 40/1120, Carte rot. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* C 142/122, no. 68.

⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 78.

⁶ *Ibid.* F 1; P 285/IN 1/1, burials 1644.

⁷ G.D.R. wills 1683/173; *Diary of Wm. Lawrence*, ed. G. E. Aylmer (1961), p. xvii.

⁸ Atkyns, *Glos.* 846.

⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2025 (box 111), lease 1 Nov. 1779.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* D 1388, Craven fam., Owdeswell deeds 1787-1842.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Q/R1 162.

¹² *Ibid.* D 1388, Craven fam., Owdeswell deeds 1787-1842.

¹³ *Ibid.* P 374/IN 3/15; D 1388/SL 8, no. 81; Q/RUm 145, 293; cf. above, Sevenhampton, manors.

¹⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2299/5523.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* DA 31/100/6, p. 168.

¹⁶ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 451.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 355.

¹⁸ P.R.O., E 368/124, m. 257d.

¹⁹ *Cat. Anct. D.* i, C 1747.

²⁰ *V.C.H. Glos.* vii. 186.

²¹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/177, no. 92504.

²² *Ibid.* 178, no. 92516.

²³ *Ibid.* 152, no. 47978.

²⁴ P.R.O., C 142/86, no. 91.

²⁵ *Ibid.* C 142/336, no. 45; *Glos. R.O.*, D 1878, Chedworth deeds 1609-17, marr. settlem. 1613.

²⁶ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/56, no. 44069a, rot. 29.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 174, no. 92466; cf. above, intro. (Halewell Close).

²⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 182/V/2.

²⁹ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., deeds of Greenstee and Whitewall 1748-1813.

1750), a Cirencester woolstapler, who left it to his son William.³⁰ William died in 1768, having settled Staple farm on his wife Susanna, with remainder to his brother Richard,³¹ presumably the Richard Hillier, a bankrupt, whose assignee held the farm in 1778.³² A member of the Hillier family still owned it in 1789.³³ The farm was presumably among estates that John Elwes of Colesbourne acquired, for his second son John Meggot Elwes owned it comprising 197 a. in 1819.³⁴ By 1830 it belonged to John Elwes's eldest son Henry Elwes,³⁵ and it remained part of the family's Colesbourne estate in 1908 when the land was in hand and the farmhouse leased separately.³⁶

Staple Farm is of two storeys and forms a T plan. The three-bayed south front, built of coursed rubble, is of the later 18th century, but the west end of the house includes some massive walling and a section of wall-plate, suggesting that part of a lower, older house was incorporated; remains of old walling surviving to the north of the present house in 1903 presumably represented other parts of the earlier farmhouse.³⁷ In the 20th century an outbuilding attached to the west end was restored as part of the house.

In 1299 Nicholas de Staveby held ½ hide at *UPCOTE*, near the centre of the parish, from the bishop of Worcester by knight service.³⁸ About 1450 that estate belonged to John Cassey, owner of Little Compton,³⁹ and his family retained it c. 1510, when it was described as a manor, comprising two houses and 300 a.⁴⁰ The owner in 1539 was Robert Cassey (d. 1547), who leased it to his brother-in-law William Reed.⁴¹ In 1548 custody of Upcote was granted to Reed during the minority of Robert's son and heir Henry.⁴² In or shortly before 1619 Peter Garnons and his wife Anna sold Upcote to John Seaman, chancellor of Gloucester diocese,⁴³ who at his death in 1623 left it to his younger son William Seaman⁴⁴ (fl. 1630).⁴⁵ By 1647 it belonged to Edward Rich, who also held a large leasehold farm in the same part of the parish under Withington manor.⁴⁶ Edward Rich died in 1681 but Thomas Rich, presumably Edward's eldest son who died in 1678,⁴⁷ owned Upcote

farm in 1662.⁴⁸ In 1687 it belonged to Edward's grandson Lionel, successor to his Upper Dowdeswell estate,⁴⁹ who sold it in 1722 to Richard Page, a Northleach mercer. Page's trustees sold Upcote in 1743 to Caleb Hillier, a Cirencester clothier and later a woolstapler.⁵⁰ Hillier (d. 1753) left it to his daughter Susanna,⁵¹ who was succeeded by her sister Sarah, the wife of the Revd. Joshua Parry (d. 1776). Sarah (d. 1786) was succeeded by her son Caleb Hillier Parry, a prominent Bath physician, who sold Upcote in 1794 to Joseph Pitt of Cirencester. Pitt sold it a few weeks later to John Elwes of Colesbourne,⁵² and the farm, which covered 227 a. in 1819 after the inclosure,⁵³ descended with the Colesbourne estate until 1952 when it was sold to the Revd. P. C. Moore.⁵⁴ It changed hands several times before c. 1970 when it was bought by Brian Montague-Fuller, who left it to his wife Sheila. She farmed Upcote with her second husband Mr. J. R. R. Platt in 1998, when it covered 137.5 ha. (340 a.).⁵⁵ The farmhouse was rebuilt in the early 19th century, probably c. 1830,⁵⁶ with a symmetrical, south-east main front of two storeys with a hipped roof.

ECONOMIC HISTORY. In 1086 the demesne of the bishop of Worcester's manor of Withington had 2 ploughteams and 6 *servi*.⁵⁷ About 1290 it comprised 15 a. of pasture, 47½ a. of meadow, and 363 a. of arable with 48 a. of newly-broken land; 2 ploughs and 18 oxen were then maintained to work the demesne arable, and in 1303 the manor employed a carter and 2 ploughmen.⁵⁸ The newly-broken land was part of a general extension of the cultivated land of the manor in the early Middle Ages. It may have been the same demesne arable that was described in 1299 as on the 'ridgeway', perhaps meaning that it adjoined the old Cheltenham road on the high land to the west of the village. A small group of the tenants owed customary ploughing works on the ridgeway land in 1299 and included four who held assarts,⁵⁹ which suggests that when new land was assarted for the demesne the labour-services to work it may have been assigned specifically to tenants who were

³⁰ P.R.O., PROB 11/782 (P.C.C. 297 Greenly), ff. 170v.-171v.

³¹ Ibid. PROB 11/941 (P.C.C. 282 Secker), ff. 12-15.

³² Glos. R.O., D 182/V/2.

³³ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47978.

³⁴ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; cf. TS. cat of Colesbourne Pk. MSS. (1997), p. 5.

³⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/REL 1, 1830.

³⁶ Inf. from Mr. Elwes.

³⁷ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., account of Staple fm. 1903; the date 1806 given there for the present ho. derives only from a graffito on S. front.

³⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 355.

³⁹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/193, no. 92627/10.

⁴⁰ Rob. Cassey, possibly not the (then infant) Rob. (d. 1547), bought an action as owner to recover deeds some time between 1505 and 1515: P.R.O., C 1/300, nos. 16-17; cf. above, this section.

⁴¹ P.R.O., C 142/84, no. 77.

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1547-8, 319.

⁴³ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/187, no. 92587; cf.

Kirby, *Cat. of Glouc. Dioc. Rec.* i. 135.

⁴⁴ P.R.O., C 142/401, no. 114.

⁴⁵ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/188, no. 92596.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 56, no. 44069a, rott. 9-10, 29.

⁴⁷ *Visit. Glos.* 1682-3, 143; cf. Glos. R.O., P 117/IN 1/1.

⁴⁸ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47967.

⁴⁹ Glos. R.O., D 269a/T 7; cf. above, Dowdeswell, manors.

⁵⁰ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., Upcote fm. deeds 1722-43.

⁵¹ P.R.O., PROB 11/805 (P.C.C. 292 Searle), ff. 26-28v.

⁵² Colesbourne Pk. MSS., Upcote fm. deeds 1750-97; and for J. and C. H. Parry, *D.N.B.*

⁵³ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁵⁴ Cat. of Colesbourne Pk. MSS. p. 25.

⁵⁵ Inf. from Mr. Platt.

⁵⁶ An outbuilding has the date 1834 with the initials of the owner Henry Elwes: inf. from Mr. Platt.

⁵⁷ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 164v.-165.

⁵⁸ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 365-6, 507; for the dating of surveys printed in the *Red Bk.*, C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society* (Camb. 1980), 3-4.

⁵⁹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 356-7.

assarting land for their own holdings at the same time. The demesne was capable c. 1290 of carrying a stock of 600 sheep, 12 cows and a bull, and 4 sows and a boar.⁶⁰ Its arable was still being cultivated for the bishop in 1389 when his stock at Withington included 11 oxen, together with 637 sheep, 3 horses, 3 cows, and 9 pigs. Sheep from some of the bishop's manors in more low-lying areas, such as Bredon and Kempsey (both Worcs.), were summered at Withington at that period,⁶¹ and in the early 15th century the demesne was used, with Bibury and Blockley (Worcs., later Glos.), mainly as pasture for the bishop's total flock of c. 2,500 animals. That flock was farmed out to Thomas Bleke, the lessee of the Withington and Bibury demesnes, in 1454 and sold outright to him in 1458.⁶² By 1466 the whole demesne at Withington was leased, with the manor house as its farmhouse and with pasture rights for a flock of 1,000 sheep.⁶³ By the beginning of the 17th century the lessee's allowance for sheep pasture was for 600 animals, further reduced to 480 in 1638.⁶⁴ The manorial demesne remained the principal farm of the south part of the parish and in 1796 comprised 341½ a. of arable and 124¼ a. of inclosed meadow and pasture.⁶⁵

Among a variety of small manors and freeholdings held from Withington manor in 1086, Compton, then in the bishop's hands, had 1 ploughteam in demesne with 2 *servi* and a tenantry comprising 2 *villani* and 2 *bordarii*. Four other estates held by radknights totalled 2 hides and 3 yardlands.⁶⁶ About 1170 the dependant estates of the manor included Little Compton, Foxcote, Little Colesbourne with Hilcot, Upcote, a 1½-hide freehold (possibly Owdeswell, listed with the same hidage in 1299), and two ½-hide freeholds (perhaps including Rossley).⁶⁷ Assarting had added a number of other freeholds by 1299, probably including land at the later Staple farm and at Cothill.⁶⁸

In 1086 the unfree tenants on the bishop's manor were 16 *villani* and 8 *bordarii* with 7 teams between them.⁶⁹ About 1182 the customary tenants included yardlanders, *cotmanni* (apparently holders of quite large tenements), and mondaymen,⁷⁰ and in 1299 there was a total of 53 customary tenants — 8 yardlanders, 16 half-yardlanders, 5 *enchelondi* (holding tenements of 16 a.), 17 mondaymen (whose tenements comprised 4 a., 2 a., or just a house), and 7 cottagers. The weekly services of the yardlander between November and June were four days' manual labour and three days' carrying service and in August and September four days'

reaping with 2 men and two days' binding sheaves. The services of the *enchelondi* were roughly equivalent to those of a half yardlander but one of them was a smith whose duties included shoeing horses and the upkeep of ploughs. The mondayman's one day a week could involve carrying produce between the bishop's manors, driving cattle, and carrying messages. The cottagers also owed one day a week. Most tenants owed bedrips in the harvest, and other dues included church-scot, a payment called wood silver, toll on brewing, and pannage.⁷¹

In the autumn of 1349, immediately following the great plague but probably a result also of the general slump in arable cultivation, only 16 customary tenants — 8 yardlanders, 3 *enchelondi* ('inchemen'), and 5 cottagers — remained on Withington manor.⁷² In 1507 27 former customary holdings were in the lord's hands but much of the land belonging to them was rented out, presumably among holders of the surviving customary tenements. The lapsed holdings then included 9 messuages, 3 cottages, and 8 tofts⁷³ and many of the dwellings evidently went out of use and were demolished. By the 16th century the customary tenancies were mostly amalgams. The two largest were a copyhold of the Freeman family (known in the 17th century as Freemans farm), which in 1528 comprised six former holdings, a total of 6 yardlands,⁷⁴ and a copyhold of a branch of the Lawrence family, which in 1545 comprised some five former holdings and which (by its old description) included 3 messuages, a cottage, Withington mill, 3½ yardlands, 8 a., and the land of an *enchelondus*.⁷⁵

In 1647 the tenants of the manor estate were 4 leaseholders for lives and 9 copyholders.⁷⁶ Both Freemans farm and the Lawrence family's holding had by then been converted to leasehold. The former, which was probably by then based on a house in the upper end of the village by the Chedworth road, had passed to the Rich family, and for much of the 18th century the Young family were the lessees, holding 320 a. in respect of it in 1753.⁷⁷ The Lawrence holding, which by 1647 was apparently based on the house in the same part of the village later called Halewell Close, passed in 1655 to the Fielding family;⁷⁸ in 1803 it comprised a house, c. 180 a. of farmland, and 8 cottages.⁷⁹ The other two leaseholds in 1647 were the large demesne farm and an alehouse at Andoversford. The principal copyhold in the upper end of the village was held in 1647 by Giles Driver, comprising by the old description 4 messuages and 4¼ yardlands;

⁶⁰ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 366.

⁶¹ Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 135–6.

⁶² *Ibid.* 149–51.

⁶³ *Worc. Episc. Reg.*, Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 206v.

⁶⁴ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47977.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 197, no. 325122, pp. 143–4.

⁶⁶ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 165.

⁶⁷ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 367.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 355; cf. above, intro.

⁶⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i, 164v.–165.

⁷⁰ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 367.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 357–64.

⁷² *P.R.O.*, E 368/124, m. 258.

⁷³ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92498.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 177, no. 92509.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 19, no. 43766.

⁷⁶ Para. based on *ibid.* 56, no. 44069a.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 151, no. 47968; 53, no. 44038, pp. 175–6; 197, no. 325122, pp. 147–8; G.D.R. wills 1718/20; 1773/46; for its farmho., *Glos. R.O.*, Q/RI 162 (Thos. Day's leasehold).

⁷⁸ Above, intro. (Halewell Close).

⁷⁹ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47973, letter 12 Sept. 1803.

based on the house later called Withington Court, it had 160 a. of open-field land in 1798.⁸⁰ The other main copyhold in the upper end was held for two centuries or more by the Burroughs family.⁸¹ The main copyholds of Brockwell End were one described as 3 messuages and 3 yardlands, having c. 80 a. of open-field land, held in the 17th century by another branch of the Lawrences, and one described as 2 messuages and 2½ yardlands which was held by Elizabeth Teale in 1647 when it included c. 120 a. in the open fields. The copyholds were granted for up to four lives, with widows having freebench and the heirs or executors of a tenant remaining in possession for the 'dead's year'.

The tenancies on Withington manor altered little between the mid 17th century and the early 19th. By the late 18th century, however, the pattern of farming units cut across that of the tenancies, for leaseholders and copyholders were often non-parishioners holding their land as an investment and subletting it at rack rent.⁸² The land of the Withington Court copyhold and that of the Halewell Close leasehold was then farmed by members of the Savory family,⁸³ while another large farm in 1794 incorporated glebe land of the rector, the Burroughs' copyhold, and the freehold Staple farm.⁸⁴

By the early 16th century only Foxcote among the sub-manors of the parish apparently had any tenants, Westbury college receiving £4 6s. 8d. rent from a demesne farm and £1 3s. 6d. from free and customary tenants in 1535.⁸⁵ In 1717 that manor's only tenants were two cottagers holding by leases for lives and it also received a small sum in quit rents.⁸⁶ There were also some independent freeholds at Foxcote, one deriving from the enfranchisement of a copyhold of Shipton Solers manor in 1702.⁸⁷ The other monastic estates in 1535 comprised only demesne farms. The most valuable was apparently Winchcombe abbey's at Hilcot, farmed at £8 a year;⁸⁸ the lease was renewed the following year for that rent plus a render in malt and cheeses.⁸⁹ Studley priory's Owdeswell and Bruern abbey's Little Colesbourne yielded only £2 and £1 7s. 4d. respectively in 1535.⁹⁰

In the south part of the parish the two parts of Withington village called the upper end and Brockwell End had separate field systems and pasture rights in lands lying respectively west and east of the Coln. Apart from the rector no owner had lands in both sets of fields.⁹¹

Intercommoning was not permitted between the two areas and in the early 18th century the manor court appointed separate sheep tellers for each.⁹²

In 1299 the arable on the manor demesne was described as being divided between a north and a south field, probably referring to the two pairs of fields in which the tenants of the upper end⁹³ carried on a two-course rotation of a corn crop and a fallow in the 18th century.⁹⁴ In the centre of the parish, together spanning the valley between Withington hill and the Coln, were Upcote field and North field; Butts field was west of the village by the Hilcot road and Wood field was to the south-west between the Coln and Withington woods.⁹⁵ Pasture for sheep was in the fields and in common downland on Withington hill. In 1548 the stint was 60 sheep to the yardland,⁹⁶ and at the beginning of the 17th century, at the same stint, the seven estates of upper end — the manor farm, the two other large leaseholds, two copyholds, and Upcote and Staple farms — had pasture for a total of 2,610 sheep. The numbers were reduced later by an inclosure from the fields, probably that carried out c. 1628 under which the rector took 30 a. from North field at Tuckwell (later Tithewell) near Fulford, and by a reduction in the stint made in 1638 to prevent over-grazing.⁹⁷

On part of Withington hill the old Cheltenham road traditionally distinguished an area on the east grazed by the flocks of Withington's upper end from an area on the west used by the Hilcot estate. About 1620 to enforce the distinction Robert Rogers, owner of Hilcot, made a bank and hedge on or near the road, but his claim to exclusive rights in the land west of the road was later disputed by the upper end tenants, led by the lessee of the manor farm, John Howe. Their suit against Robert's son William was lost in 1636 when arbitrators upheld the Hilcot claim, allowing the upper end flocks only a right of passage through the Hilcot land to water at Hilcot brook. Further south, on the part of the hill called Shornhill another pasture was common in alternate years in the 1630s, the tenants of Freemans farm having exclusive use every other year;⁹⁸ it was presumably that land that the lessee of the farm, Simon Young, was reported to have inclosed in 1703.⁹⁹

By 1813 only c. 100 a. of Withington hill, on a high plateau between the old Cheltenham road and the ridge overlooking Thorndale and Elwell,

⁸⁰ Ibid. 197, no. 325122, pp. 133-4.

⁸¹ Ibid. pp. 135-6; Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁸² Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/197, no. 325122, pp. 120-58.

⁸³ Ibid. pp. 149-50; 152, no. 47973, letter 13 Sept. 1803; Glos. R.O., D 326/E 4.

⁸⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47972, letter 20 Nov. 1794.

⁸⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 432.

⁸⁶ Glos. R.O., Q/RNc 1, pp. 23-5.

⁸⁷ Ibid. Q/RI 162; D 303/T 12, deed 1727/8.

⁸⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 458.

⁸⁹ P.R.O., SC 6/Hen. VIII/1240, rot. 106d.

⁹⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 202; iii. 86.

⁹¹ G.D.R., V 5/347t 1; Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47977, recital of order about sheep commons 1794.

⁹² Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/21, no. 43772, ct. 1672; 151, no. 47948, presentments 1703, 1720.

⁹³ *Red Bk. of Worcs.* 354; the suggestion in Finberg, *Withington*, 13, that the distinction being made was between the fields of the upper end and Brockwell End seems unlikely on geographical grounds and because the manor fm. later had no land in Brockwell End.

⁹⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47948, presentments 1703; no. 47949, presentments 1753.

⁹⁵ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162; for the open fields of the par. before inclosure, above, Fig. 20.

⁹⁶ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/19, no. 43766.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 152, no. 47977, recital of order about sheep commons 1794; for the rector's inclosure, ibid. 188, no. 92596.

⁹⁸ Glos. R.O., D 444/T 79.

⁹⁹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47948.

remained subject to rights of common,¹ which included an exclusive right claimed by the upper end tenants to cut furze; they had defended the right to furze vigorously against incursions by Brockwell End tenants in 1794.² The upper end tenants also had common in Withington woods, in those parts that lay outside seven coppices that the bishop's tenant was allowed to keep inclosed at any one time. In 1703 the stint in the woods was 6 cows and 3 horses to the yardland.³

The inhabitants of Brockwell End had two fields, North and South Brockwell End (or Brockland) fields, the former occupying the top of the ridge north-east of the village (where Ravenswell farm was later established) and the latter the hill between the village and Cassey Compton.⁴ In the early 18th century, when most of the land in the two Brockwell End fields belonged to copyholds under Withington manor, eight occupiers had pasture rights there for a total of *c.* 600 sheep.⁵ The principal estate in that part of the parish, Cassey Compton, had apparently long been inclosed, possibly as the result of the actions of a mid 15th-century owner, John Cassey, who *c.* 1450 was reported to be excluding the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor tenants from their common rights in a field called 'Compton field' and impounding their animals.⁶ A group of closes on the estate (one called Inn field) lying north of Cassey Compton house, and forming an indent into the corner of South Brockwell End field before its inclosure, may have been taken out of the field by the owners by agreement or by such arbitrary action. In the early 18th century Sir Richard Howe still had a right to put 22 sheep in the south field every other year, but if his estate then retained any open-field land in either of the Brockwell End fields it was inclosed before the parliamentary inclosure of *c.* 1815.⁷ About 1450 John Cassey was also said to exclude the Withington manor tenants from their rights after hay harvest in a group of meadows by the Coln, in one of which, Broadmead adjoining Cassey Compton house on the east, the tenants of Chedworth manor also claimed common;⁸ those rights too seem to have been extinguished long before the inclosure.

Three of the outlying hamlets, Foxcote, Owdeswell, and Little Colesbourne, had open fields. The two Foxcote fields, called Over and Nether (later north and south) fields, lay respectively north and south of that hamlet. In the early 17th century they were stinted for sheep pasture at 60 to the yardland,⁹ the same rate as in the Withington manor fields. Foxcote's south field, judging from its shape by the time of the parliamentary inclosure, was subjected to

fairly extensive private inclosures for the benefit of the Foxcote manor estate. East of the hamlet, south-west of the Gloucester–Oxford road, lay a common meadow called Foxcote mead,¹⁰ in which most of the landowners in Dowdeswell parish had meadowland¹¹ together with those of Withington. On Foxcote hill, the north part of the central ridge, the Foxcote inhabitants had a common pasture, covering over 200 a. in 1813. Owdeswell had two open fields, called North field and Upper field in 1680, occupying the north-east corner of the parish by the Gloucester–Oxford and Gloucester–Stow roads. Little Colesbourne had a north field and a south field in 1680 when all the land in them belonged to the rector or to the owner of Little Colesbourne manor.¹² In the 18th century the former leased his land to the latter, with the result that their respective strips had become difficult to distinguish by 1792; the two owners then agreed an inclosure, the rector taking a close of 17 a.¹³

No open fields are recorded in Hilcot. The downland on the west side of Withington hill was presumably common to its early-medieval tenants but Robert Rogers was apparently the sole occupier in the hamlet when he carried out the inclosure mentioned above. Land called the Downs in the south-west part of Hilcot, adjoining Coberley parish, was probably another area of former common land; by 1698 it too was held in severalty by the owners of Hilcot.¹⁴

The inclosure of Withington parish was carried out under an Act of 1813 and its provisions decided by 1815,¹⁵ though the award was not made until 1819. It caused a major reorganization of the farms of the Withington village and Foxcote areas of the parish. It inclosed the Withington upper end, Brockwell End, Foxcote, and Owdeswell open fields, Foxcote common mead, and Foxcote and Withington hills, extinguished the common rights in Withington woods, re-allotted many small ancient closes, and commuted the tithes. The rector of Withington received 1,030 a. for his glebe and tithes. The other main beneficiaries in the south part of the parish were lessees under the bishop of Worcester: Henry Knapp for the manor farm received 490 a., including most of Butts field and the greater part of Withington woods, Thomas Day for Freemans farm received 202 a., including part of Wood field and *c.* 100 a. of Withington woods, which his successors later felled and used for agriculture, and Henry Brooke and Isabella Nicholls for the farm based on the later Halewell Close received 122 a., including the bulk of Wood field. Nine copyholders under the bishop received allotments in

¹ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

² Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47972, letters 3 Nov., 3 Dec. 1794; 152, no. 47973, letters 9 Feb., 23 July 1807.

³ Ibid. 151, no. 47948; 174, no. 92466.

⁴ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁵ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47977, recital of order about sheep commons 1794.

⁶ Ibid. 193, no. 92627/10.

⁷ Ibid. 152, no. 47977, recital of order about sheep

commons 1794; Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

⁸ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/193, no. 92627/10.

⁹ P.R.O., E 134/11 Jas. I East./30.

¹⁰ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

¹¹ Ibid. D 2850.

¹² Ibid. Q/RI 162; G.D.R., V5/3471 1.

¹³ Glos. R.O., P 374/IN 3/1.

¹⁴ Ibid. D 181/III/T 39.

¹⁵ The glebe estate, the largest, had been allotted by Apr. 1815; Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/152, no. 47973.

the upper end and Brockwell End fields, including Henry Elwes of Colesbourne, who was awarded the bulk of Upcote field in respect of the farmland of the copyhold based on the later Withington Court, and the owner of the former Lawrence family copyhold at Brockwell End, who received 93 a., a large part of the Brockwell End south field. Elwes also received 84 a. in respect of his Upcote farm freehold. At Foxcote the Foxcote manor estate received 152 a., the Foxcote House estate 99 a., and the farm later called Home farm at the east side of the hamlet 67 a. The owner of Owdeswell received 95 a., the bulk of the two Owdeswell fields. A total of 512 a., mainly on Foxcote and Withington hills, was sold to pay the expenses of the inclosure.¹⁶

Following the inclosure the parish contained c. 15 farms, most of them of middling size for the Cotswold area. The Withington manor farm had 777 a. (including its part of Withington woods) and employed 14 labourers in 1851; it was then still a leasehold for lives and was managed by a farm bailiff for the bishop's lessee.¹⁷ By 1865 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had taken it in hand and leased the house and farmland for 14 years, and the following year they also granted a 15-year lease of the farm allotted to Thomas Day at inclosure, the farmhouse of which was soon afterwards licensed as the New Inn.¹⁸ The farm based on Halewell Close remained on lease for lives for some time longer;¹⁹ in 1851 the subtenant was William Bennett who also occupied other land, a total farm of 508 a., and employed 22 labourers.²⁰ The Ecclesiastical Commissioners had begun enfranchising the copyhold land on the manor estate by 1863, a process which continued until 1904 or later.²¹

The large rectory estate had been organized by 1835 into four farms: Tickwell farm had 252 a., farmed from buildings at Fulford and adjoining the rectory house, Ravenswell farm on the ridge north-east of the village had 240 a., Thorndale farm in the central part of the parish had 353 a., and Shornhill farm on the west side of Withington hill had 208 a.²² Most of the farmland belonging to the Elwes family's Colesbourne estate was formed into three farms, two of which were managed for the owner by farm bailiffs in 1851: Upcote and Little Colesbourne farms then had 350 a. each and Upper Hilcot farm had 300 a.²³ By 1861 the estate's Withington land had been reorganized into four tenanted farms, based on Upcote,

Little Colesbourne, Upper and Lower Hilcot, and Staple and Cothill. The rents of the farms then reflected the varying quality of the land and its suitability for arable, the Upcote farm with 267 a. paying £220 a year but the Hilcot farm with 372 a. paying only £207.²⁴ At Foxcote in 1851 the three main farms had 320 a., 246 a., and 140 a. respectively, and Owdeswell farm had 164 a. Cassey Compton farm, which in 1851 comprised 500 a. and employed 23 labourers, included much land in adjoining parishes.²⁵ There was also a number of smaller farms, some based in Brockwell End. The total number of agricultural occupiers returned for the parish in 1896 and 1926 was 27, including at the latter date nine with less than 20 a. The farms returned in 1926 employed a total of 46 full-time labourers and 16 other workers on a part-time or seasonal basis.²⁶

Turnips had been introduced to the parish on a limited scale by 1801, but wheat, barley, and oats were then the staples of the rotation in the open fields.²⁷ In the mid 19th century the parish was intensively farmed, most of the farms following a five-course rotation²⁸ with cereals, roots, and clover or grass leys. In 1866 2,805 a. was returned as under crops compared with only 825 a. of permanent grassland. Sheep remained a significant livestock enterprise, with 2,325 adult beasts and 787 lambs returned in 1866, as well as 364 cattle.²⁹ Oxen were still used on some of the farms in the 1860s.³⁰ The agricultural depression much reduced the amount of land cropped, 1,938 a. being returned in 1896,³¹ and rents fell drastically; the rector's income, drawn mainly from glebe, fell from £686 in 1856 to £288 in 1897.³² By the end of the 1870s the farms of the Colesbourne estate in the parish, apart from Upcote, had been taken in hand by the owner H. J. Elwes. He later took the Hilcot farm out of cultivation and let it for the sporting rights³³ and planted some land there and on his other farms with timber.³⁴ By 1926 there had been a further fall in the amount of land under crops, with 1,259 a. returned compared with 2,511 a. of permanent grassland, over a third of which was classed as rough grazing. Large sheep flocks remained, with 2,061 adult beasts returned and over 1,000 lambs; 617 cattle returned in 1926 were kept mainly for beef,³⁵ though some farms supplied the milk trade, which had benefited from the opening of stations at Withington and Andoversford. In the mid 1950s cereals and beef were the main enterprises on the farms of the parish, and two farms had

¹⁶ Glos. R.O., Q/RI 162.

¹⁷ P.R.O., HO 107/1969; cf. Glos. R.O., SL 317.

¹⁸ Glos. R.O., D 936/E 14, ff. 72–84; cf. *ibid.* D 936/E 261, ff. 12, 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* D 1740/P 15.

²⁰ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

²¹ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/35, no. 43800a; 36, no. 43800b.

²² G.D.R., V 5/347t 4.

²³ P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

²⁴ Colesbourne Pk. MSS., rental of est. 1861.

²⁵ P.R.O., HO 107/1969 (where Owdeswell appears under Shipton); for Cassey Compton, cf. Glos. R.O., D

1878, succession duty acct. of earl of Eldon 1854.

²⁶ P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2; MAF 68/3295/17.

²⁷ 1801 *Crop Returns Eng.* i, p. 180.

²⁸ G.D.R., V 6/110.

²⁹ P.R.O., MAF 68/25/23; MAF 68/26/12.

³⁰ W. I. hist. of Withington, 6.

³¹ P.R.O., MAF 68/1609/2.

³² G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 214; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 360.

³³ Inf. from Mrs. C. Elwes, of Colesbourne Pk. (taken from est. rentals 1870–91); *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 28 Nov., 12 Dec. 1908.

³⁴ Above, intro.

³⁵ P.R.O., MAF 68/3295/17.

dairy herds.³⁶ The land returned as under crops had recovered to 1,912 a. in 1956 and cattle, a total of 893 returned, had increased at the expense of sheep, returned at a total of 1,093. Among the cereals barley was dominant³⁷ and by 1967 accounted for as much as 1,366 a. of the 2,151 a. returned as under crops. In the 1960s the parish also had one or more large broiler chicken units, rearing in 1967 over 24,000 birds.³⁸

In the late 20th century the trend for estate owners to keep their land in hand caused the disappearance of several farms as separate units, though most of the farmhouses survived as residences. Between 1967³⁹ and 1986 the number of farms returned for the parish fell from 21 to 12, half of them at the latter date worked on a part-time basis. The farms returned in 1986 employed a total of only 12 full-time workers, but including the farmers and their wives, 3 salaried farm managers, and a large number of part-time or seasonal workers, a total of 75 people gained some part of their livelihood from the farms of the parish. One of the large farms then still specialized in dairying while another specialized in sheep raising. A total of 3,339 sheep and lambs was returned and 413 cattle. The arable was then mostly cropped with barley and wheat, in roughly equal proportions, but 48 ha. (119 a.) of oilseed rape was returned.⁴⁰

In 1998 much of the north part of Withington parish was managed from Thorndale Farm for the Hon. M. W. Vestey of Foxcote as a large sheep farm and laid mainly to grass, the remaining farmland of the Colesbourne estate in the west of the parish was managed from Colesbourne, principally as an arable enterprise, and the land formerly farmed from Cassey Compton was in hand for the Stowell Park estate. On Withington Manor farm the arable land had recently been converted to pasture and the whole farm was used for raising sheep and beef cattle on organic principles. There were some smaller family-run farms remaining but most had to some extent diversified from traditional husbandry: Owdeswell was concerned mainly with breeding horses, much of Fulford had been turned into a golf course, on Upcote a cross-country horse-riding course had been laid out around the field edges, and other, smaller enterprises included a mushroom farm near Garricks Head in the north of the parish and a

game farm, rearing pheasants, near Staple Farm in the south.⁴¹

There was a water mill on the bishop of Worcester's Withington manor by the end of the 12th century.⁴² Perhaps it was on the site of the later village mill, standing between the upper end of the village and Brockwell End and supplied by a long leat leaving the Coln near the east end of Brockwell End.⁴³ The village mill was included for many years in the large tenancy under the manor of a branch of the Lawrence family which passed to the Fieldings and their successors; in 1546 the tenant William Lawrence was himself the miller.⁴⁴ In the late 17th century and the 18th the mill was sublet under the Fieldings and Robertsons,⁴⁵ but it was leased directly from the manor after c. 1790.⁴⁶ By 1813 it was leased with the house on the opposite side of the road that later became the Mill inn,⁴⁷ and in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the same man was miller and publican.⁴⁸ The mill ceased working in the early 1930s. By 1957 it had been converted as two flats,⁴⁹ and between 1964 and 1980 it housed a restaurant. The building, which included mill and miller's house under the same roof, dates from the 17th century. In the early 1960s it was restored and enlarged by a new range at the north-west end, and in 1970 a gazebo was added to the south-west front.⁵⁰

A mill was recorded at Little Compton in 1086.⁵¹ It was perhaps at the site of a mill later belonging to the Cassey Compton estate on the Coln a short way above Cassey Compton house.⁵² John Cassey, the owner, was evidently working the mill on his own account in 1497: he was then described as a common miller and took a lease from the bishop of Worcester of the water of the Coln between Withington village and Compton.⁵³ The Cassey Compton mill was working in 1673⁵⁴ and in 1777,⁵⁵ but it was demolished before 1812.⁵⁶

In 1608 six tradesmen — three tailors, a smith, a carpenter, and a shoemaker — were listed at Withington,⁵⁷ and crafts of that nature continued to be represented in the parish in modest numbers.⁵⁸ The parish also had a few weavers in the 17th and 18th centuries,⁵⁹ and until the introduction of machinery to the cloth industry at the end of the 18th its women and disabled men were employed in spinning for clothiers.⁶⁰ In 1831 there were 29 families supported by trade compared to 113 supported by

³⁶ W.I. hist. of Withington, 8–9.

³⁷ P.R.O., MAF 68/4533/255/208.

³⁸ Ibid. MAF 68/5029/14/208.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid. MAF 68/6005/14/208.

⁴¹ Inf. from landowners and farmers.

⁴² *Red Bk. of Worc.* 354, 367.

⁴³ O.S. Map 1/2,500, Glos. XXXV. 1 (1884 edn.).

⁴⁴ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/19, no. 43766, cts. 16 Oct. 1545, 28 May 1546.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 54, no. 44040, f. 56; 197, no. 325122, pp. 149–50.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 152, no. 47973, letters 27 Aug., 12 Sept. 1803.

⁴⁷ Glos. R.O., Q/R1 162.

⁴⁸ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1856 and later edns.).

⁴⁹ W.I. hist. of Withington, 12.

⁵⁰ Stourton, *Mill Inn and Withington*, 29–33; for the bldg. before alteration, *ibid.* 12, 44.

⁵¹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 165.

⁵² Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁵³ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92495.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 190, no. 92615.

⁵⁵ Taylor, *Map of Glos.* (1777).

⁵⁶ Worcs. R.O., 009.1 (ba 2636)/151, no. 47953, pre-sentments 1817; Glos. R.O., D 1878, sale of Stowell est. 14 Jan. 1812.

⁵⁷ Smith, *Men and Armour*, 271–2.

⁵⁸ Glos. R.O., P 374/IN 1/3, 8.

⁵⁹ Ibid. IN 1/8, burials 1772, 1786; G.D.R., Withington peculiar wills, no. 10.

⁶⁰ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172–3, where the reference to clothiers suggests that the spinning was for the industry of the Stroud valleys; in 1826, however, it was thought to have been for the blanket makers of Witney (Oxon.); Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (Everyman edn. 1957), ii. 131.

agriculture,⁶¹ and in 1851 a total of 28 heads of households, including 4 masons living at Foxcote, followed trades.⁶² The trades listed in 1906 included a hurdle maker and a firewood dealer,⁶³ and in 1908 a clogmaker occupied Lower Hilcot Farm, employing four men and sending his products to Lancashire by rail.⁶⁴ The trades of hurdle maker, wheelwright, and smith survived in Withington village in 1957, when the village also had two small shops.⁶⁵ There were no shops in 1998, when, apart from two public houses and one working farm, its character was purely residential.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. Withington and the manors held from it were included in the hundred called 'Wacrescumbe' in 1086;⁶⁶ by 1221 they were within Bradley hundred⁶⁷ but formed a separate frankpledge jurisdiction, which was termed the 'liberty of Withington' in 1274,⁶⁸ a 'free hundred' in 1299,⁶⁹ and 'a hundred and liberty' in 1498.⁷⁰ In 1299 the bishop claimed return of writs, view of frankpledge, pleas of vee de naam, waif, and gallows at Withington, and claimed for his court suit from Foxcote, Hilcot, Owdeswell, Little Colesbourne, and Little Compton within the parish and from Dowdeswell, Cold Aston, and Notgrove outside it.⁷¹ The bishop's claim to return of writs was being challenged by the lord of Bradley hundred, Cirencester abbey, in 1315.⁷²

From the late 15th century, when the first records survive, the views of frankpledge were held twice a year together with sessions of the Withington court baron. Foxcote, Owdeswell, Little Colesbourne, Notgrove, and the two tithings of Cold Aston (Great and Little Aston) sent tithingmen, paid common fines, and owed the suit of their free tenants. There was also a tithingman and constable for Withington itself, the latter office being served in the mid 17th century by a rota of householders. Assaults, bloodshed, and strays were among items presented in the late 16th century; pleas of debt were prosecuted in the court in 1528 and 1588 but those seem to have been isolated instances. In the 1650s the court made orders about the management of the fields of Foxcote and Owdeswell but that presumably reflected new and wider claims made by the lord of the manor under the Commonwealth, John Howe; at other times its role as a court baron was confined only to Withington manor. Full court rolls or records

of presentments survive for the years 1497-8, 1520, 1528, 1530, 1538-9, 1544-55, 1574-5, and for most years from 1585 until 1858. For the late 19th century and the early 20th there are records of surrenders of copyholds made before a deputy steward acting for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁷³

The few parish records surviving for Withington include the accounts of its two churchwardens for the years 1636-79⁷⁴ and vestry minutes from 1861.⁷⁵ Two surveyors of the highways were elected in the Withington manor court in 1649,⁷⁶ and in 1617 the court was the venue for an agreement by householders to give security against subtenants becoming chargeable to the parish.⁷⁷ The church house in Withington village was used as the parish poor-house in the early 19th century,⁷⁸ and probably had had that function for many years: in 1658 a Withington boy whom the parish apprenticed was apparently living there, and in 1679 three chimneys were inserted in the building,⁷⁹ perhaps in the course of fitting up rooms for paupers. In the early 19th century Withington suffered severely from the burden of poor relief: in 1803, when the loss of employment for women and the infirm in spinning was mentioned as a contributory cause, 66 people received regular relief,⁸⁰ and in the years 1813-15 there were over 40 regular recipients. Annual totals of over £450 spent on relief were common at the period and in 1828 a peak of £678 was reached.⁸¹

Withington formed part of the Northleach poor-law union from 1836⁸² and the Northleach rural district from 1895;⁸³ it passed with that rural district to the new Cotswold district in 1974.

CHURCH. The recorded ecclesiastical history of Withington begins with the foundation of a monastery there between 674 and 704 A.D. The monastery continued, under the rule of abbesses, until some time after 774, when it passed to the see of Worcester.⁸⁴ It is probable that when the monastery lapsed the bishops of Worcester continued to maintain a church at Withington; in the 13th century the customary tenants on the bishop's manor of Withington owed the Anglo-Saxon due of church-scot, presumably once paid to support the priest,⁸⁵ and there was a priest on the manor in 1086, endowed with a half hide of land.⁸⁶

⁶¹ *Census*, 1831.

⁶² P.R.O., HO 107/1969.

⁶³ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1906), 365.

⁶⁴ *Wilts. and Glos. Standard*, 12 Dec. 1908.

⁶⁵ W.I. hist. of Withington, 5, 76.

⁶⁶ *Dom. Bk. (Rec. Com.)*, i. 164v.-165.

⁶⁷ *Pleas of the Crown for Glos.* ed. Maitland, pp. 45-6.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Hund. (Rec. Com.)*, i. 166.

⁶⁹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 347.

⁷⁰ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/176, no. 92495.

⁷¹ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 347, 354; the list also includes, for reasons that are obscure, Great Compton (presumably Compton Abdale) and 'Bradley'.

⁷² Dyer, *Lords and Peasants*, 75-6.

⁷³ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/19-36, 151, 174-192.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* VE 2/1.

⁷⁶ *Worcs. R.O.*, 009.1 (ba 2636)/174, no. 92466.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 187, no. 92585.

⁷⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/SC 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* P 374/CH 1, accts. of Osborne's char.; churchwardens' accts. 1679.

⁸⁰ *Poor Law Abstract*, 1804, 172-3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 1818, 146-7; *Poor Law Returns* (1830-1), 66; (1835), 65.

⁸² *Poor Law Com. 2nd Rep.* p. 523.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/1, p. 3.

⁸⁴ Above, manors.

⁸⁵ *Red Bk. of Worc.* 357.

⁸⁶ *Dom. Bk. (Rec. Com.)*, i. 165.

In the 13th century Withington was a rectory in the patronage of the bishop. It was among churches which Bishop Godfrey Giffard assigned as prebends to the college of Westbury-on-Trym in 1290, ordaining a vicarage at Withington, to which apparently he intended the prebendary to present. Giffard's scheme was, however, challenged by the prior and monks of his own cathedral church and in its eventual, modified form it did not include Withington as a prebend of the reorganized college. In 1290 Withington church had chapels at Little Colesbourne and Owdeswell within the parish and at Dowdeswell;⁸⁷ Dowdeswell secured separate parochial status, though its inhabitants continued to be buried at Withington until 1413 and its incumbent owed £2 a year to the rector in acknowledgement of the ancient connexion.⁸⁸ The rectory of Withington was made a united benefice with Compton Abdale in 1962 and Hazleton was added to the united benefice in 1975.⁸⁹

Because of its close connexion with the see of Worcester, Withington with its former chapelry of Dowdeswell assumed the status of a peculiar, which it retained after the formation of the diocese of Gloucester. The rector of Withington enjoyed exemption from archidiaconal visitations and held a court with jurisdiction over moral offences and probate of wills.⁹⁰ Wills proved in the peculiar court survive for 1624–1776 and act books for 1678–1752.⁹¹

The bishop of Worcester remained patron of the living until c. 1850 when that right was transferred to the bishop of Gloucester.⁹² The bishop of Worcester rarely exercised the patronage in person after the mid 16th century, usually granting away each turn. Incumbents were presented by the Crown on three occasions and in 1791 by Caroline Cornwallis, widow of the late archbishop of Canterbury, who had taken the right as his 'option' at the election of a new bishop of Worcester in 1781.⁹³

Withington rectory was endowed with a large glebe estate, which in 1613 was claimed to have manorial status and to possess court rolls dating back to Henry VII's reign.⁹⁴ In 1535 the rector owned 10 yardlands, including land in the two sets of fields adjoining Withington village and in those of Foxcote, Owdeswell, and Little Colesbourne. His successor retained that large holding of open-field land in 1680, together with a number of cottages and closes. The rector

owned all the tithes of the parish,⁹⁵ where of the various former monastic estates only Winchcombe abbey's part of Hilcot wood secured tithe-free status, confirmed to its owners after disputes with the rector in the early 17th century.⁹⁶ At the inclosure of the parish, completed in 1819, the rector retained 52 a. of inclosed glebe and was allotted 212 a. for his open-field land and common rights, 818 a. for tithes, and corn rent charges in respect of the tithes of estates, including Hilcot and Cassey Compton, which were already inclosed. The extensive post-inclosure glebe estate, extending across the centre of the parish,⁹⁷ was divided into four farms, Shornhill, Thorndale, Ravenswell, and one farmed from buildings at Fulford and adjoining the rectory;⁹⁸ in the late 19th century the last-mentioned farm was also provided with buildings at Northfield.⁹⁹ The main glebe farms were sold between 1919 and 1925,¹ leaving the rector with only 30 a., which he sold c. 1945.²

The rectory house, standing on the east side of the churchyard, was described in 1680 as of 11 bays with extensive farm buildings adjoining.³ Part of that house was incorporated as the west wing of a large U-plan rectory built by the rector John Hayward under a faculty acquired in 1743; in 1763 he stated that the work had cost him £1,500.⁴ One wing, evidently the eastern, was occupied as a separate dwelling by a tenant of the glebe in 1807 and was used as stables by 1835;⁵ a new farmhouse and buildings had been built to the east of the house by 1872⁶ and were demolished in the early 20th century.⁷ The rectory house was sold as a private house in 1971 and a new one was built north of it.⁸ There were later considerable alterations to the old rectory, but in the late 1990s the main south front still retained the formal, symmetrical appearance illustrated c. 1790.⁹ In the mid 19th century a footpath crossing the garden on that front was concealed from the house by the building of a sunken way, spanned by two small bridges.¹⁰

The old west wing of the former rectory is the remaining six bays of a rubble-built medieval house,¹¹ which once extended further north. In the late 13th century or early 14th it probably had an open hall and at least one end that was storeyed. What appears to have been the partition between the hall and storeyed south end survives and incorporates one cruck truss, which has collars joining the blades, straight-braces from blade to collar, and struts joining blades

⁸⁷ *Reg. Giffard*, 387; *V.C.H. Glos.* ii. 107.

⁸⁸ *Reg. Cobham*, 245; *Reg. Bransford*, p. 397.

⁸⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/MI 6, par. mags. Dec. 1961, Mar. 1962; *Glouc. Dioc. Year Bk.* (1970), 56; (1976), 70.

⁹⁰ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xl. 89–113.

⁹¹ *G.D.R.*, Withington peculiar wills; vols. 234a, 285c.

⁹² *Ibid.* vol. 385, p. 226.

⁹³ *Hockaday Abs.* ccccxiv, 1781, 1791.

⁹⁴ *P.R.O.*, E 134/11 Jas. I East./30.

⁹⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 444; *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 1.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 79, plea of Wm. Rogers v. Wm. Osborne; P 374/IN 3/6; cf. *ibid.* Q/RI 162.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* Q/RI 162.

⁹⁸ *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 4.

⁹⁹ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 3/17.

¹ *Ibid.* IN 3/21; D 2428/2/180; *G.D.R.*, V 6/111.

² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1935), 374; *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 3/23, 25.

³ *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 1.

⁴ *Hockaday Abs.* ccccxiv.

⁵ *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 3–4.

⁶ *Ibid.* V 6/110.

⁷ *O.S. Map* 1/2,500, *Glos.* XXXV. 7 (1922 edn.).

⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 3/29; DA 31/115/3, p. 849.

⁹ Engraving by Thos. Bonnor, intended for Bigland, *Glos.*, reproduced opposite, Fig. 22.

¹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 4/6, p. 13.

¹¹ The building history of the wing is largely based on a survey by K. A. Rodwell (1991): *N.M.R.* (Swindon), bldg. file 37480, and on dendrochronological analysis: *R.C.H.M.*, ancient monuments lab. rep. 38/98; summary in *Vernacular Archit.* xxx. 92.



FIG. 22. WITHINGTON RECTORY, C. 1790; HATCHMENT OVER DOOR IS APPARENTLY FOR THE DEATH OF JOHN HAYWARD, BUILDER OF THE HOUSE

and braces. About 1430 the building north of the partition was reconstructed to provide two heated storeys, which had a passage entered through an east doorway with a four-centred head and probably had two ground-floor rooms. The first floor was an upper hall or great chamber with an arched-braced roof,¹² which was of at least four bays (before the north end was truncated); the roof has moulded principal rafters and upper purlins and had three tiers of windbraces, but the lower two tiers of braces were destroyed, probably by the insertion of a ceiling in the 17th century. The room had two windows each side with three- and four-arched lights, but only one window, at the north-east, survived the 17th century when windows were replaced and added. Also in the 17th century a chimney stack and associated newel stair were built between the earlier and later bays and an attic was inserted into the former.

At the rebuilding in the 1740s John Hayward added a parapet and ashlar south front to the old wing, built a five-bayed central range of two storeys and basement, containing the principal rooms, and added an east wing to balance the west. The central range, one room deep with a north staircase projection, has a plain, classical

ashlar façade. Inside is a dogleg staircase of good quality, having two turned balusters to each tread, and there are some original doors. The east wing has a blank screen wall on the inner face, presumably because it was built to serve as a separate farmhouse,¹³ and retains 19th-century stable fittings. In 1852 a bay-windowed drawing room and service rooms were added to the north side of the central range to designs of David Brandon.¹⁴ After 1971 those additions were demolished, the west wing was stripped of most of its post-medieval accretions, and many fittings were inserted in the central range, including door architraves,¹⁵ a marble fireplace of the 1820s from Grange Park (Hants), and another fireplace said to be from Lady Mary Wortley Montague's house in London.¹⁶ Between 1997 and 1999 the old west wing was extensively restored in an attempt to recover its late-medieval form.

In 1291 Withington church and its three chapels were valued at £20.¹⁷ The living was worth £30 a year in 1535,¹⁸ £160 in 1650,¹⁹ and £300 in 1716.²⁰ In 1856 it was worth £686²¹ but the effect of the agricultural depression on the rents of the glebe reduced the value to £288 by 1897.²²

¹² Plate 25.

¹³ Cf. above, this section.

¹⁴ Verey and Brooks, *Glos.* i. 742; photogs. in possession of Mrs. D. Mellor, the owner.

¹⁵ Inf. from, and plans and photogs. in possession of, Mrs. Mellor.

¹⁶ *Archit. Hist.* xxvi. 35; Nat. Monuments Rec., bldg.

file 37480, sale partic. 1990.

¹⁷ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 224.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 444.

¹⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

²⁰ Hockaday Abs. ccxciv.

²¹ G.D.R. vol. 384, f. 214.

²² *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1897), 360.

In 1535 the rectory was held by John Lawrence,²³ from the prominent local family of yeomen and copyholders; he was found fairly satisfactory in his knowledge of doctrine in 1551.²⁴ He was succeeded at his death in 1568 by John Pedder, dean of Worcester, on whose death in 1571²⁵ the bishop of Worcester Nicholas Bullingham presented his brother John Bullingham. John Bullingham resigned on his consecration as bishop of Gloucester in 1581²⁶ and was succeeded by Thomas Knowles. In 1610 Knowles complained of suffering continual opposition, libel, and slander from leading parishioners, including Thomas Rich of Cassey Compton and two members of the Lawrence family; in one of a series of incidents his opponents had summoned the villagers to the churchyard by ringing the church bells and publicly ridiculed him. Thomas Rich, in his defence, claimed that the supposed libels were statements of Knowles's serious negligence of his cure, drawn up in an attempt to secure remedial action by the diocesan bishop and the patron, the bishop of Worcester. Rich said that he had urged the diversion of part of the rector's income to support a lecturer and had himself offered to find a suitable cleric for that post.²⁷

William Osborne, rector from 1615, was a canon of Salisbury and from 1617 vicar of Bampton (Oxon.); he resigned the rectory in 1634 but apparently resided in the village until his death in 1646. He was succeeded by his kinsman Gilbert Osborne, a prebendary of Gloucester cathedral, who served the living himself,²⁸ being classified as a preaching minister in 1650.²⁹ Gilbert Osborne (d. 1657)³⁰ was succeeded by John Gilman, who kept the living at the Restoration with the aid of testimonials to his orthodoxy and loyalty to the Crown³¹ and remained resident as rector until his death in 1716. Under his successor Richard Smallbrook, vicar of Lugwardine (Herefs.) and bishop of St. Davids from 1724, Withington was served by curates. Smallbrook resigned the living soon after his translation to the see of Lichfield and Coventry in 1731. His successor John Hayward, of a prominent clerical and landowning family of the county, was resident during his long incumbency until his death c. 1790.³² The Hon. George Gustavus Chetwynd Talbot, a son of Earl Talbot, was rector from 1834 until his death in 1896.³³ As the owner of over 1,000 a. of glebe, living in the substantial rectory house, and preoccupied with horses, carriage driving,

and other country pursuits, Talbot's role at Withington was akin to that of squire.³⁴

There was a chapel at Little Colesbourne in 1227 when Philip of Colesbourne successfully claimed the patronage against the rector of Withington, the bishop being ordered to admit a parson on Philip's presentation.³⁵ In the late 18th century the chapel was said, on what authority is not known, to have been endowed with tithes worth £20 a year.³⁶ No other record had been found of it as an independent benefice; in 1290 it was described as a chapel to Withington,³⁷ whose rector later owned glebe land in Little Colesbourne.³⁸

In 1290 there was also a chapel at Owdeswell.³⁹ In 1574, when its dedication was given as St. James, lands belonging to it, comprising a close by the Coln at Andoversford, 1½ yardland, and another close called Lamphey, were claimed by the Crown as lands concealed at the time of the Chantry Act and were leased to Richard Bridges. No building was then mentioned⁴⁰ but its site may have been on the close at Andoversford, where it perhaps had served travellers using the ford. Its site and lands were probably absorbed later into the Owdeswell manor estate, perhaps by 1615 when a deed of the manor house listed 'chapels' among the more usual appurtenances.⁴¹

A close called Haleshay and a yardland in Foxcote were said in 1574 to have been given for ringing a bell in Withington church called the 'booebell'. The Crown included them, with the Owdeswell chapel lands, in the lease in 1574 to Richard Bridges⁴² but may have later made a grant in fee to the Lawrence family, owners of Foxcote manor. In 1613 the lands were in dispute between Richard Lawrence of Foxcote and the rector Thomas Knowles, who claimed they had been in possession of his predecessors for many years.⁴³

The church of *ST. MICHAEL*, so called by the early 18th century⁴⁴ but called St. Mary in 1227,⁴⁵ comprises chancel with north organ chamber, central tower with transeptal south chapel, aisleless nave, and south porch. The building is basically of the 12th century, though its appearance is dominated by 15th-century additions.⁴⁶

From the 12th-century church survive the basic plan, the lower stage of the tower, including re-used west piers, the north and south doorways, the south one heavily decorated, and the chancel corbel table. In the 13th century the

²³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 444.

²⁴ *E.H.R.* xix. 104.

²⁵ Hockaday Abs. ccccxiv; *D.N.B.*

²⁶ Hockaday Abs. ccccxiv; cf. *Trans. B.G.A.S.* xci. 176.

²⁷ P.R.O., STAC 8/190/34; STAC 8/193/2.

²⁸ *Walker Revised*, ed. Matthews, 14, 175; *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 1/1.

²⁹ *Trans. B.G.A.S.* lxxxiii. 92.

³⁰ Mon. in church.

³¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1660-1, 112, 435.

³² Hockaday Abs. clxv; *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 1/2-3.

³³ Memorial plaque in church.

³⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 4/6 (an account of life at the rectory by Talbot's granddaughter).

³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1225-32, 158; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.),

ii. 195.

³⁶ Bigland, *Glos.* i. 409.

³⁷ *Reg. Giffard*, 387.

³⁸ *G.D.R.*, V 5/347t 1; the ruined chap. adjoining a fmho., mentioned by Rudge, *Hist. of Glos.* i. 293, was in Colesbourne par.

³⁹ *Reg. Giffard*, 387.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., E 309/Box 5/16 Eliz. I/12, no. 9; E 310/14/53, f. 20.

⁴¹ *Glos. R.O.*, D 444/T 78.

⁴² P.R.O., E 310/14/53, f. 20.

⁴³ *Ibid.* E 134/11 Jas. I East./30.

⁴⁴ Atkyns, *Glos.* 845.

⁴⁵ P.R.O., CP 25/1/73/7, no. 97.

⁴⁶ Plate 30.

chancel was lengthened, its corbel table being reset, a south porch was added, and the nave and tower were remodelled: lancets (later blocked) were inserted in the nave, at least two of the tower arches were rebuilt, and the tower was heightened. In the 14th century the south transeptal chapel, which has a large south window and contains a piscina, was added. In the 15th century the tall nave clerestory and the top stage of the tower, which has large and elaborate bell-openings, were added. Also inserted at that period were new east and west windows and a south nave window, which has a piscina and credence below.

In 1840 settlement on the north side of the tower, due partly to the recent replacement of a spiral stair, was remedied by building buttresses there.⁴⁷ In 1872 and 1873 the body of the church was restored to the designs of David Brandon and at the cost mainly of the rector the Hon. George Talbot. The work included the removal of a west gallery and plaster ceiling from the nave, reseating and refitting, the reroofing of the transeptal chapel, and the scraping down of the walls internally.⁴⁸ The chancel, to which the north organ chamber was added, was reconstructed using many of the old features, by Talbot to the designs of William Knight of Cheltenham; that work was planned in 1872 and has rainwater heads with that date (matching others on the body of the church) but apparently it was not carried out until 1877.⁴⁹ A further programme of restoration work, mainly on the roofs, was done between 1958 and 1964.⁵⁰

The south transeptal chapel became attached to the Cassey Compton estate,⁵¹ possibly appropriated to it by John Howe in the Commonwealth period when he was lord of Withington manor. In 1651 he put up a monument there to his wife Bridget (d. 1642): sculpted by Edward Marshall,⁵² it includes half-effigies of Howe and his wife and, in relief, the kneeling figures of their children, the whole in a style which is old-fashioned for the period. The monument was moved from the chapel⁵³ to the west end of the nave at the restoration in the 1870s. Three Lords Chedworth, who died in 1742, 1762, and 1781 respectively, were among the Howes buried at Withington,⁵⁴ presumably in the chapel, but if they had any memorials they were removed or destroyed at the restoration. The former Howe chapel was refurnished for use as a chapel in 1942 in memory of members of the Abell family of Foxcote.⁵⁵

The plain vase-shaped font apparently dates from the 17th century. In the chancel is the

effigy of a priest with a dog at his feet; it lay in the churchyard in the early 18th century and until c. 1930 and is very weathered.⁵⁶ In the south wall of the nave is a 14th-century tomb recess, much restored. A wall monument in a rustic style to the rector Gilbert Osborne (d. 1657) was moved to the west end of the nave at the restoration in the 1870s.

A new peal of six bells was cast for the church in 1738 and 1739 by Abel Rudhall of Gloucester, apparently at the cost of the rector John Hayward and John Howe (later Lord Chedworth).⁵⁷ The plate includes an Elizabethan paten cover, probably of 1571, a chalice of the same period, and a credence paten dated 1688; there is also a set of plate, comprising a chalice, two patens, and a tankard flagon, given in 1731 by Mary, widow of Sir Richard Howe.⁵⁸ A cross and candlesticks were given to the church in 1923 by Emma Abell of Foxcote Manor in gratitude for the safe return of her five sons from service in the First World War.⁵⁹ The parish registers survive from 1609.⁶⁰ Among the monuments in the churchyard are four late 18th-century or early 19th-century pedestal tombs, including one of the circular 'tea caddy' type, and some 18th-century carved headstones, reset as a row east of the chancel.

NONCONFORMITY. Cottages registered at Withington by dissenting groups from 1818 included that of John Perrin⁶¹ (d. 1863), who established the Methodist cause in the village. He began with open-air preaching before starting meetings and a Sunday school in his cottage. By 1822 Withington was a regular preaching place of ministers of the Cheltenham circuit and by 1831 its meeting had 11 members. In 1841 a chapel, called Ebenezer, was built on part of Perrin's garden in Brockwell End on the lane (later King's Head Lane) leading to Cassey Compton. The chapel was enlarged in 1848 after its membership had risen to 24,⁶² and on the Sunday of the ecclesiastical census in 1851 it had an attendance of 32 at the afternoon service and 80 in the evening.⁶³ After 1880 attendance fell but there was a revival in the 1890s when the Sunday school, which had lapsed, was re-established. The meeting declined again in the early 20th century⁶⁴ and the chapel was disused by 1932. It was converted to form two cottages c. 1936.⁶⁵

At Foxcote a chapel for Particular Baptists was built in 1830 at the entrance to the drive to Foxcote Manor, whose owners, Ann Sylvester,

⁴⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CW 3/2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* CW 3/4; inscr. on memorial window to Talbot in church.

⁴⁹ *Glouc. Jnl.* 3 Nov. 1877; *G.D.R.*, F 4/1.

⁵⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/MI 6, par. mag. Sept. 1964.

⁵¹ Atkyns, *Glos.* 845.

⁵² Signature on mon.

⁵³ Rudder, *Glos.* 840.

⁵⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 1/8.

⁵⁵ Inscr. in S. chap.

⁵⁶ Roper, *Glos. Effigies.* 399-400.

⁵⁷ *Glos. Ch. Bells*, 661-2.

⁵⁸ *Glos. Ch. Plate*, 230-1; *Trans. B.G.A.S.* cviii. 144-5.

⁵⁹ D. A. Fisher, *St. Michael's Church, Withington* (1932), 35.

⁶⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/IN 1/1-8.

⁶¹ Hockaday Abs. cccciv, 1818-19, 1823, 1836.

⁶² G. H. B. Judge, *Origin and Progress of Methodism in Cheltenham and District* (1912), 67-8; and for the chap., cf. *Glos. R.O.*, D 3418/2/22/3.

⁶³ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/6/13.

⁶⁴ Judge, *Methodism in Chelt. and District*, 69-70.

⁶⁵ *W.I. hist. of Withington*, 24; *Glos. R.O.*, DA 31/100/5, p. 310.

Sarah Ansell, and John and Maria Fegan, gave the site.⁶⁶ In 1851 the chapel had average Sunday attendances of 45 in the afternoon and 60 in the evening.⁶⁷ In 1901, presumably because of declining local support, the trustees agreed to hand the chapel over for a provisional period to the evangelical society of Cambray Baptist chapel in Cheltenham.⁶⁸ It remained in use under the auspices of the Cambray chapel until c. 1985 but in its last years there were only occasional services, attended by one or two villagers together with members from Cheltenham. In 1998 the building was being used as a store by the gamekeeper of the Foxcote Manor estate.⁶⁹

EDUCATION. Dr. Robert Fielding (d. 1709) left £20 to be used for teaching poor children of the parish to read⁷⁰ and his son Charles (d. 1737) made a similar bequest.⁷¹ Those two sums were administered with other funds of the Withington charities, and from 1720 £2 a year was paid to a master for teaching poor boys of the parish. In 1736 the charity trustees raised the salary to £10 and from that period clothes were provided for the children; 11 boys were clothed in 1741, and in 1763 20 boys were given blue coats and breeches. The charity funds also supplied writing materials, primers, bibles, and prayer books, and the master was required to bring the children to church on Sundays. He apparently held the school in the church house. In 1759 the parish decided to try to raise the master's salary by subscription, only using the charity funds to supplement it when necessary; in 1774 the charities were providing only £5 16s.⁷² but by 1818 they were again providing the whole £10. At the latter date the master took private scholars and a Sunday school was held in conjunction with the day school.⁷³

From 1774 the charity trustees also paid four women small annual salaries for teaching knitting and sewing and the principles of religion to young girls, those too young to spin. In 1823 there was just one schoolmistress, who was paid 2 guineas and also taught the girls to read.⁷⁴ In 1847 the master of the charity school, still paid £10 a year, taught 30 boys, and the mistress, then receiving 6 guineas a year, taught 20 girls; some additional expense in running the two schools was provided by subscriptions and payments by the children.⁷⁵

In 1856 the Withington charity schools were

replaced by a new National school, built on the site of the church house,⁷⁶ and from then the Withington charities helped to support it by a grant of £30 a year.⁷⁷ In 1857 the National school had an average attendance of 45 boys and 42 girls⁷⁸ and in 1885 60 children.⁷⁹ In 1886 following a decrease in the income from subscriptions the parish vestry, hoping to avert the imposition of a school board, authorized the charities to increase their contribution by up to £6 a year, and in 1894 it agreed to a voluntary rate to pay for repairs and alterations demanded by the Education Department.⁸⁰ In 1910, as the Withington C. of E. school, the school had an average attendance of 53, which by 1938 had fallen to 24.⁸¹ In 1997 the school had 46 children on its roll.⁸²

By 1820 the parish charities were also paying a mistress £5 a year to teach children at Foxcote.⁸³ In 1847 she taught 16 girls there, and subscriptions and payments gave her a total annual salary of £6 and met other expenses of the school.⁸⁴ In 1880 the school continued, in association with the Withington National school, but it was still taught by an uncertificated mistress in her cottage; it was attended by 16 infants.⁸⁵ The school was awarded a government grant in 1883, when the annual payment of £5 from the charity trustees ceased.⁸⁶ The Foxcote school's average attendance had risen to 30 by 1894⁸⁷ but it apparently closed soon afterwards.

The Wesleyan Methodists in Withington village ran a small day school for a few years from 1819.⁸⁸

CHARITIES FOR THE POOR. William Osborne (d. 1646), formerly rector of Withington,⁸⁹ left £100 for apprenticing poor children; it was used in 1648 to buy land in Charlton Kings which yielded a rent of £5. John Rich in 1677 left £100 for the same purpose; it was lent out at interest and half the principal was lost by the failure of a tradesman, but it was made up again from an accumulation of the funds. In 1690 the land in Charlton Kings was sold and the proceeds together with the principal of the Rich charity, a total of £221, were used to buy a copyhold estate in Arle, Cheltenham. That estate produced a rental of £8 15s. a year in 1694.⁹⁰

The rector John Gilman (d. 1716) gave £20 to the poor, which in 1726 was used with other

⁶⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2766/8/1; *O.S. Map 6"*, *Glos. XXXV. NW.* (1883 edn.).

⁶⁷ *P.R.O.*, HO 129/341/2/6/14.

⁶⁸ *Glos. R.O.*, D 2766/8/1.

⁶⁹ Inf from Mr. J. W. Stevens, of Foxcote.

⁷⁰ *P.R.O.*, PROB 11/510 (P.C.C. 191 Lane), f. 116 and v.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* PROB 11/687 (P.C.C. 9 Brodrepp), ff. 71v.-72.

⁷² *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1.

⁷³ *Ibid.*; *Educ. of Poor Digest*, 317.

⁷⁴ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1; *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 127.

⁷⁵ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, *Glos.* 18-19.

⁷⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/SC 1; *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 626.

⁷⁷ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1.

⁷⁸ *P.R.O.*, ED 7/35/383.

⁷⁹ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1885), 626.

⁸⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/VE 2/1.

⁸¹ *Bd. of Educ.*, *List 21*, 1911 (H.M.S.O.), 169; 1938, 24.

⁸² *Schools and Establishments Dir.* 1997-8 (co. educ. dept.), 37.

⁸³ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1; cf. *21st Rep. Com. Char.* 127.

⁸⁴ *Nat. Soc. Inquiry*, 1846-7, *Glos.* 18-19.

⁸⁵ *P.R.O.*, ED 7/37.

⁸⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/VE 2/1.

⁸⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Glos.* (1894), 946.

⁸⁸ Judge, *Methodism in Chelt. and District*, 68; *Educ. Inquiry Abstract*, 331.

⁸⁹ Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 307.

⁹⁰ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1.

charity funds to buy £200 stock. In 1780 the rector John Hayward gave £100 stock for bread to be distributed in March and September; the two doles were to be called Carswell bread and Guiting bread in memory of his wives who came from Carswell (Berks.) and Temple Guiting respectively.⁹¹ Further purchases of stock were made with accumulations of the parish charity funds in 1809, 1821, and 1835, the last with £200 given by a Mrs. Rogers of Foxcote to provide clothes for the poor. The last purchase brought the total holding of stock to £700, and the charities also received a rent of £29 a year from the land in Arle.⁹² Later another £100 was received, a legacy from John Smith (d. 1834) of Owdeswell to provide coal for the poor.⁹³

The funds of the various Withington charities, including those given by the Fieldings for educational purposes,⁹⁴ were administered together by the rector and leading parishioners and, though carefully husbanded, were used fairly unspecifically. Under the Osborne and Rich bequests apprenticeships were made in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, usually at the rate of one a year to masters in a wide area of the Cotswolds; later, until the mid 19th century, they were made only intermittently. From 1720, as recorded above, part of the proceeds was devoted in various ways to charity schooling, and from 1773 a subscription to the Gloucester Infirmary was made on behalf of the poor parishioners. Under John Hayward's gift £3 a year was applied from 1781 for the two doles of bread, and from the 1820s doles in cash were

also made from the charity funds and blankets were bought. In the late 19th century some of the funds were assigned to a coal club, presumably in respect of John Smith's gift.⁹⁵

By a Scheme of 1899 all the Withington charities (though Mrs. Rogers ceased to be credited as a donor) were put under a new body of trustees with the title of the United Charities of Osborne and Others. The proceeds of the Osborne and Rich charities were assigned specifically to apprenticeships or else to exhibitions of up to £10 for those in education above elementary level, while the proceeds of the other charities were assigned to provide eleemosynary aid in the form of subscriptions to a hospital, to a provident club, or in other ways. The total annual income of the charities, all then drawn from stock, was £59; from 1906 a third of the assets of the Osborne and Rich charities (£433 in stock) was applied as a separate educational charity.⁹⁶ During the early 20th century the non-educational income of the Osborne and Rich charities provided clothes for children, nursing for the sick, and subscriptions to a provident club, while the income of the Fieldings' charities was distributed in small cash doles, and that of the Smith and Hayward charities continued to provide coal and bread;⁹⁷ the Hayward charity was still distributed at the church door in loaves in the 1950s.⁹⁸ In 1971 the non-educational charities were regulated by a new Scheme and, under the title of the Withington Welfare Trust, applied to the general benefit of the poor in cash and kind.⁹⁹

⁹¹ Ibid; cf. Bigland, *Glos.* iii, no. 307.

⁹² *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1.

⁹³ *G.D.R. wills* 1834/124.

⁹⁴ Above, educ.

⁹⁵ *Glos. R.O.*, P 374/CH 1; for the char. schs., above, educ.

⁹⁶ *Glos. R.O.*, D 3469/5/174.

⁹⁷ Ibid. P 374/CH 4.

⁹⁸ Ibid. CH 6.

⁹⁹ Ibid. D 3469/5/174.

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The plates referred to are between pages 152 and 153
Page numbers in bold type indicate the main entry for a place.

The following abbreviations have been used: Alex., Alexander; And., Andrew; Ant., Anthony; Bart., Bartholemew; Benj., Benjamin; Cath., Catherine; Chas., Charles; Chris., Christopher; d., died; Dan., Daniel; dau., daughter; Edm., Edmund; Edw., Edward; Eliz., Elizabeth; fl., floruit; Fred., Frederick; Geo., George; Geof., Geoffrey; grds., grandson; Hen., Henry; Humph., Humphrey; m., married; Jas., James; Jos., Joseph; Lawr., Lawrence; Matt., Matthew; Mic., Michael; Nat., Nathaniel; Nic., Nicholas; Phil., Philip; Reg., Reginald; Ric., Richard; Rob., Robert; Rog., Roger; s., son; Sam., Samuel; Steph., Stephen; Thos., Thomas; Tim., Timothy; w., wife; Wal., Walter; Wm., William.

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